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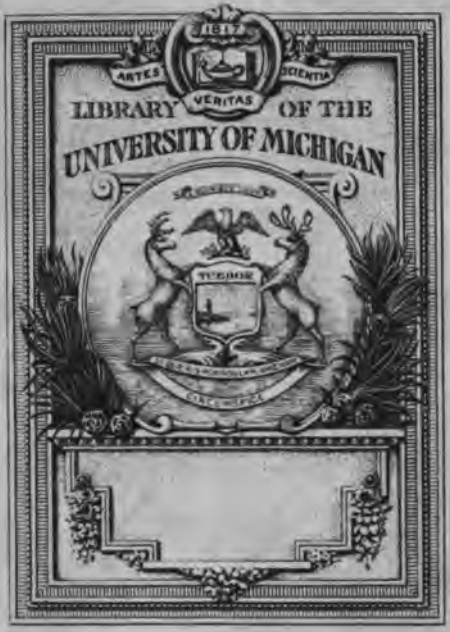
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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

MDCCCXLI.

JULY—DECEMBER.

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NEW SERIES.

VOL. X.

LONDON:

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ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1841.

Art. I. PUBLICATIONS OF THE EVANGELICAL VOLUNTARY CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

1. *The Church of England and the Church of Christ; a Lecture delivered in the Town Hall, Hertford.* By JOHN BURNET. Seventh Thousand.
2. *Christianity against Coercion; or Compulsory Churches Unscriptural and Anti-Christian. A Lecture delivered on Wednesday, March* 25, 1840, *in Freemasons' Hall.* By GEORGE REDFORD, D.D., LL.D.
3. *Worldliness engrafted upon the Episcopal Church, through her Connexion with the State: with Remarks on the Voluntary System.* By MATTHEW BRIDGES, Esq.
4. *Two Lectures on the Connexion between Church and State, in Reply to the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, M.A., delivered at the Hanover Square Rooms.* By the Rev. JOHN BURNET. Second Thousand.
5. *The True Independence of the Church of Christ: or a Voluntary Maintenance of the Church essential to its Liberty.* By the Rev. DAVID KING, Minister of Greyfriars Church, Glasgow.
6. *Letters to the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, M.A., on some Portions of his 'Lectures on the Church of England.'* By RALPH WARDLAW, D.D.
7. *The Voluntary: a Monthly Publication, under the direction of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association. No. I. to VI. Price Threepence.*

THESE are days of conflict and trial. Discordant elements are at work in religion, as well as in politics; and there is enough of movement and of mystery to awaken solicitude in most men. Some are not only disturbed, but alarmed; doubtful of what may be the result, and how the true interests of religion may be affected. For our part, we entertain very little

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apprehension on the subject; and for reasons which we shall proceed to state.

In the first place, the differences of sentiment which at present agitate the Christian church are not, generally speaking, fundamental to Christianity. Some of these differences relate solely to outward forms, and some, with slight exceptions, to opinions which may be admitted or repudiated without prejudice to the eternal salvation of men. Not that we are indifferent to the one or the other. The outward framework and the inward discipline of Christianity are connected with its beauty and with its strength. That which is true may be distorted by the medium through which it is represented, or so cramped and fettered that its progress may be impeded. Its direct effect may not be so powerful, nor its diffusion so rapid as might be, were it exhibited in its strictly primitive character; and every friend of the gospel must deplore any degree of inefficacy superinduced by the errors or fostered by the passions of its advocates;—still amidst all the chaff there is this consoling fact, that we have the wheat. The Dissenter objects to the Church of England or to the Church of Scotland, or the Churchman of the north becomes dissenter from the established religion when he changes his latitude and passes the Tweed; the Baptist opposes the Pædobaptist, or the Pædobaptist the Baptist, in urging with argumentative vehemence the points on which they respectively stand; the advocate of strict communion contends against the advocate of free communion, and vice versâ; the Arminian and the Calvinist assert their characteristic views with all the warmth of debate, and perhaps, too, not always with all the candor which the love of truth should inspire;—but these disagreements consist with the 'holding of the Head,' and with the mutual estimation of each other's character and labors of piety as fellow workers and fellow heirs.

In the next place, although we can have no pleasure in contention itself, yet we cannot help perceiving its direct tendency to elicit truth, to destroy superstition and corruption of every kind, and to send the thoughtless and the prejudiced to their principles and their Bibles. Thousands and tens of thousands take their religion upon trust, without examination. They believe as their fathers and grandfathers did before them. They are not, in fact, believers in Christ, but believers in their ancestors; and on the ground of this faith they hope for heaven. Whatever scatters these delusions must be a good. In an age of controversy, and especially when there is a battle for great principles, the din and the stir, though on some accounts to be deprecated, are on others to be hailed. They wake the sleepy, and force the formalist to think. He can no longer swim on the stream; he is urged out of his inaction and neutrality.

Being driven to his Bible, he will there see what truth is, and in that holy light discover many of his own errors, and the prevalent corruptions that disfigure and defile religion. To this at least we may hope there will be in many minds a rapid approximation.

Again: though we undoubtedly regard the denominational divisions among Christians as an evil, which Christianity will in all probability ultimately exterminate, yet if the condition of society be such as to afford no reasonable prospect of their speedy removal, we may derive some consolation from the fact that there are many things arising out of the evil itself which possess a mitigating power. It cannot be denied that a certain spring and activity in the propagation of the gospel arises from the separate operations of various religious societies, both in this country and in heathen lands. There is often in consequence a concentration of effort within particular limits, a zeal inflamed by rivalship, and the union of parties or persons for consistency's sake or for other reasons, which produce large results, and results not likely to be attained were all parties in *the present state* of feeling in the Christian community, to make one undivided effort. If we cannot secure the primary and best motive, we may be allowed to rejoice in secondary aims and subordinate purposes, without either sacrificing principle or losing sight of the noblest workings of the soul. This view of the case, however, furnishes no countenance to the notion of many persons, that on account of these incidental benefits it is as well or better for differences and divisions to remain. Paul could rejoice that the gospel was preached, even though it were in the spirit of contention, without sympathizing in the contentious spirit, and without ceasing to aim at the promotion of united effort in the church of Christ.

The great question of the present times relates to the union of Church and State as the means of propagating religion; in other words, whether religion is to depend on the voluntary efforts of its agents and the strength of its own moral power, or whether it can only be established by the decrees of ruling authorities in a nation, and upheld by taxation. Those who are emphatically denominated voluntaries, affirm that truth is to be supported and propagated by love; the advocates of national establishments maintain that the civil magistrate has a right to interfere, and that it is the duty of a government to provide a religion for the people. It comes, moreover, to this, that a government is empowered to enforce—not Christianity—but *their view* of Christianity. It may be an orthodox Christianity, if orthodox men hold the reins of political authority; but it may also be a heterodox Christianity—a popish—a socinian Christianity, if others bear rule. The objection of the Dis-

senters is, that religion should be made to depend on the fluctuating opinions of men incorporated as self-constituted judges of it, and judges for others; and not upon its own moral energy, directed and sanctified by the sovereign Lord of the church himself. Either Christ can or cannot take care of his own religion: if he can, then there is no need of state establishments; if the contrary, then his supremacy is denied and his authority displaced. In this case we may have the form of Protestantism, but its spirit is wholly wanting.

We have just been greeted with the following most edifying example of self-complacency. It occurs in the preface to a volume of 'Lectures on the Headship of Christ,' by no fewer than seven ministers of the established Church of Scotland. 'The grand 'religious controversy of the present age,' say they, 'concerns 'the union of Church and state. This controversy has two 'parts—the one of which respects the *lawfulness*, the other the 'conditions of such union. Of the former it may without 'offence or presumption be said, that it is already determined. 'After five or six years of keen and able discussion, on every 'arena open to the combatants—on the platform, in the senate, 'and through the press—the supporters of the lawfulness of 'national establishments of religion have not only kept their 'ground, but have made a decided movement in advance. The 'public mind has been confirmed in its attachment to a princi-'ple which, after the most searching investigation, has been 'found to be so manifestly consonant to right reason and to the 'word of God. And as the natural result, not only have those 'open and avowed attempts to overthrow the existing national 'churches of the empire, which in the earlier stages of the con-'troversy were presented with so much vigor, been almost 'abandoned; but these churches have greatly extended their 'resources and influence, and at this moment undoubtedly 'possess a much larger share of the people's sympathy and 'esteem than when they were first assailed. It is the latter 'branch of the controversy with which we have now to deal. 'The lawfulness of a union between Church and state being 'decided, the conditions of that union are what remain to be 'tried.'

All this is doubtless very plausible and very imposing; but we should be inclined to treat it as a mere flourish of trumpets, if the good men did not bring it forward with a solemnity that indicated their conviction of its truth, and were it not that seven ministers of the Church of Scotland, thus concurring and thus writing, might induce many of the common people to follow their masters. These worthy advocates of a hierarchy think it may be said without offence or presumption, that the lawfulness of the union of Church and state *has been already*

determined! But *when and by whom?* That this question has been so determined ages before these excellent advocates were in being we admit. Every hierarchy, papist or Protestant, has so determined it—Constantine so determined it—Hildebrand so determined it—even our reforming Henry so determined it—the members of the Church of England and the ministers of the established Church of Scotland have determined it, and have nobly resolved that their assertion, so clear, so simple, so calculated to settle all controversies, should be taken as the *quod erat demonstrandum* in the matter. Happily the press can speak as well as the pulpit; and to this we shall presently advert.

'After six years of discussion the supporters of the lawfulness 'of national establishments of religion have not only kept their 'ground, but have made a decided movement in advance.' How does this appear? The seven worthy divines can scarcely refer to their own country, where the public demonstrations proclaim something very much of the nature of defeat. The debates which have of late occurred show that the supporters of the lawfulness of national establishments are anything but supported by the general voice and concurrence in their notions of high Church prerogatives; and the movements within the Church itself prove that the non-resistance and passive obedience doctrines incident to the principle of the lawfulness of the union of Church and state, have at least now no power to preclude divisions or suppress the independent energy of thought and action. If the reference, however, be to the mission of Dr. Chalmers to the metropolis to plead the cause of establishments—this was in one sense a movement in advance; but such a movement that we verily believe even those reverend and distinguished persons who regard it as a triumph are ready, in walking over the field, to exclaim with Epaminondas, 'Such another victory and we are 'ruined.' Nor are they, one would imagine, much disposed to boast of Mr. M'Neile's attempt to cover the retreat. As it respects England, indeed, there are symptoms of 'advance' on the part of the supporters of national establishments: but advance in what, and towards what results? An advance in bigotry, intolerance, and oppression. Of these we have ample specimens in the imprisonments for the resistance of church-rates on the one hand, and in the progress of Puseyism on the high road to Rome on the other. But do our brethren of the north imagine that the exactions of churchwardens, the tyranny of magistrates in clerical robes, and the persevering despotism of ecclesiastical courts amidst the execrations of the people, and even the denunciation of parliament itself, possess any moral power or bespeak the advance of righteousness and truth? So far as we have been enabled to ascertain from the pages of

history, the advance of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny has been invariably accompanied with moral degradation; and if it were really the fact, of which we do not believe one word, that the people were beginning to show themselves mad enough to hug their ecclesiastical chains, we could not be brought to sympathize with their folly or to relax our endeavors for their freedom.

The union of Church and state, say these divines, has been found to be *manifestly consonant* to the word of God! Who has found this we really do not know; it is a discovery of which we had not heard. We are aware that the advocates of the union have labored hard to find the principle in the Old Testament, and have pleaded the sanction of the Jewish theocracy; but if anything ever was manifest, it is that they have been entirely and for ever beaten from this ground. As to the New Testament, although some have tried their utmost to wrest particular passages from their obvious meaning into some kind of indirect countenance of the principle in question, yet in general the plea for it has been founded upon experience and supposed utility. We believe that most reflecting Churchmen have abandoned the attempt to find the principle or practice in the New Testament, and seldom even appeal to it in the controversy. They infer from the Old Testament, whose institutions have in reality altogether a different character, and from the silence of the New Testament, that the union is legitimate and useful, though not directly authorized. But the New Testament records no church establishment; on the contrary, it exhibits the primitive church as forced into constant hostility with the state, and as an independent ecclesiastical empire governed solely by the laws of Christ. So much for this *manifest* consistency with the word of God!

To return to the question respecting the *advance* of the principle of national establishments of religion. Were this even admitted, yet if pleaded as a test of truth, it is the feeblest of all arguments. The very worst of causes have made great advances, and in the worst of times. If the voluntary principle were universally discarded and scouted from the land, and the compulsory as universally adopted, it would afford no satisfactory evidence in itself of the error of the one or the correctness of the other. An argument founded like this might prove popery, and even disprove Christianity itself. In the present instance, the evidence is otherwise. The advance of public opinion is on the side of the anti-establishment principle. Look for instance at the effort of last year for Church extension. Sir Robert Inglis utterly failed, even though the Dissenters were not roused to any very large and combined movement by the threatened imposition. And why were they not so roused? Simply because they deemed it unnecessary. They believed

that public opinion was against the monstrous measure—a measure, however, which the Church labored by petition to uphold, and which the Dissenters with little of counter-effort had the satisfaction of seeing discountenanced.

Within the period of six years, to which the Scotch divines have referred, what multitudes have actually joined the dissenting churches! Of those who in the strictest sense may be termed Dissenters—exclusive of all the borderers, the nondescripts, and the intermediate order of Wesleyans, and apart from baptized infidels and unbaptized formalists, and masses of the kind which swell the bodily form of the Establishment—the bona fide additions to the real strength of the voluntary churches has been very numerous, consisting of thousands of godly, devoted, active Christians, who are shining as lights in the world. There is stamina here. Such persons are pillars in the house of God. It may be said that multitudes of this class have been born in dissenting families, and *brought up* Dissenters. Be it so; at any rate they are additions; and their adhesion demonstrates that the cause of nonconformity is sustained, and that all the demonstration professed to have been given of the validity of the Church and state principle has not advanced with any convincing power in this direction. Moreover, a vast proportion of the thousands added to the ranks of an unendowed and unestablished religion, have been converted from the world by the labors of voluntary missionaries and ministers, and have brought with them into the dissenting churches enlightened minds as well as sanctified hearts. Besides, although many of this second class may not be reckoned among the most obviously intelligent or very educated persons included in the enumeration, they have become greatly instructed of late years by two circumstances; and bid fair, many of them, though in comparative poverty, to display the best endowments of mind. The first of these circumstances is the general progress of knowledge. It cannot be questioned that the spirit of inquiry has been awakened since the schoolmaster has been abroad, and religious schools have multiplied over the land; for in spite of the pompous pretensions and the grasping monopoly of a state endowed Church, whose clergy have been eager to *taboo* the whole region of education, these schools have muliplied and prospered both for secular and pious instruction. The diffusion of every kind of knowledge among the lower classes, both by oral teaching and by the distribution of the Scriptures, has given an impulse to the popular mind, expanded the faculties, and taught even the humblest to soar above the popish and priestly doctrines which spread a dark and murky atmosphere around the free born soul.

There has been yet another source of enlightenment to which

we have referred. A persecuted people have been driven to an examination of their principles. The imposition of church-rates, and the incarceration of those who have resisted them, have furnished useful lessons, though intended only for evil. We do not at all regret the severe discipline that has been exercised, nor should we have done so even if it had thinned our ranks; for what the body might have lost in size it would have gained in health. We have enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing that popular resistance to unrighteous taxation for religion has become equally firm and enlightened. The veriest children are beginning to see that it is iniquitous to compel payment for the support of a system which the conscience of the individual disapproves.

There was a time when the Dissenters scarcely ventured to utter a syllable against the union of Church and state. It was hardly whispered in private; and never intimated in a public document. Those who were a little bold in mooting the subject were rebuked for their indiscretion. Whoever ventured ten years ago to talk of anything but simple grievances, was denounced as a political radical. It was continually urged that we must not ask too much; that ministers could not be expected to listen to us if we went beyond an humble desire of having the marriage act altered, or two or three other little pieces of oppression removed. We remember a deputation going to the leading authority on the subject of some of the Dissenters' grievances, and upon their venturing to hint at the great radical grievance—the bottom and root of all the grievances, the alliance of Church and state—the minister turned pale with astonishment, and declared he had never heard of such a thing, and did not suppose it possible that such an idea could ever enter a human mind! Separate Church and state! It would be the destruction of the country!

There is then an advance at least in freedom of speech; and freedom of speech is conducive to great good. Let the advocates of intolerance beware; 'knowledge is power.' What was lately regarded as an almost interdicted topic is now universally talked of; the people *will* have it discussed; and if men in priestly robes rush in to stop the current of public opinion, they will assuredly find themselves deceived; for the very resistance they offer will rouse the torrent to foaming vehemence, and increase in the end its resistless impetuosity.

It is this state of feeling which has given rise to the Society whose publications are enumerated at the head of this article. Some months ago we introduced this institution to the notice of our readers, and are happy to know that it is pursuing its course with renewed and extending efforts. While the Religious Freedom Society wears a more political aspect, this has an exclusively religious character. It aims at the same end, without

appealing to the legislature; but seeks to promote all religious objects by strictly religious means. The plan is to maintain lectures, and issue various publications. It addresses the reason and conscience, and goes forth to contend against the errors of the times, simply with the Bible in hand. Both these institutions demand support; but neither have yet received a merited degree of countenance. To the latter, or rather to its publications, our attention shall now be turned. These from their merit, and the society from its anti-political character, will be likely to share the favor of many persons who adhere alike to voluntaryism and evangelical religion. Some of the pamphlets on the list, as the first and second, have already in former articles received a passing notice: we need not, therefore, refer to them again.

The third of the series, by Mr. Bridges, is ably written. It is, moreover, very useful in its tendency. Worldliness has been the crying sin of the Church of England for centuries; a sin which, it is plainly shown, is fostered by its very constitution. The remarks contained in this tract are the more valuable as they proceed from a Churchman; the claim to which distinction the author states at the commencement of his disquisition. That the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association should have placed a production from such a quarter among the earliest of its publications, is a convincing proof that the voluntary question is not viewed by them as a mere dissenting question, but is in truth one that may be fairly entertained by Episcopalians.

Several passages contain searching expositions of the mischiefs resulting from the alliance between Church and state, and illustrate that worldliness which, as is properly remarked, afflicts the former like a leprosy. Take the following.

'Let the truth be fairly and honestly, yet respectfully stated. Is the godliness of a primitive and scriptural bishop a likely road to the episcopal bench in this country? Has not an overwhelming majority of our prelates illustrated the correctness of statements just now made? Let the sees of England or Ireland pass in review before us! How many nominal Fathers in God have been novices in divine things, contrary to apostolic injunctions? Has not vigilance after the fat pastures of patronage superseded or neutralized watchfulness for the salvation of mankind? Where is the host of right reverend overseers treading in the saintly footsteps of Wilson, Usher, or Bedel? Alas! returns from Doctors' Commons tell a melancholy story. The revenues of primacies, or the palatinate; of such dioceses as Derry or Winchester, have heaped treasures together for the last day, when the rust of them shall bear frightful witness, and devour their accumulators, as with fire! Nor is there, through an establishment, any security for even cold orthodoxy of doctrine, or morality of life. Matters are better now than during the last century, or the commencement of the present,

simply because public opinion operates as a check upon public men. Yet this very public opinion is the offspring of a movement originated by the Holy Spirit, through the instrumentality of men, and the diffusion of sentiments, which the Establishment did its utmost to discountenance. The fact is indisputable, that when a divine in our Church, enthralled as she is by the state, has been chosen for a bishop, the magic pen of the premier metamorphoses him into an hierarch; a lord over the heritage of God; a social nondescript, with the head of an ecclesiastical elder and the tail of a temporal politician, placed in circumstances cruelly perilous to his own soul, and injurious, from first to last, to the general community of the faithful.'—*Bridges*, p. 11.

Another passage is forcible and instructive.

'The professed object of an Establishment, avowed in its territorial subdivisions, is to bring home real religion to the door of every habitation, and to the heart of every inhabitant. In other words, it assumes the office and responsibility of christianizing the country, upon what its members believe to be the soundest and purest plan. In Ireland, after a trial of three centuries, the failure is at once apparent and palpable. Out of eight millions of people at the present moment, nearly seven-eighths are bitterly hostile to Protestantism in every form; but above all to our episcopal church. Romanism has there encountered the genius of what we call our Reformation, and has beaten it hollow; an admission to be made with groans and tears of humiliation. In the reign of Charles the Second, the papists were to the Protestants in the proportion of eight to three, or little more than a large moiety: they are now approaching that of five or six to one; even including in the latter all the nonconformists! How can this be explained, conceiving as we do the Romish communion to be under an eclipse of the most serious error? Our Church in Ireland possessed more than thirty bishoprics, consolidated into twenty-two provinces and dioceses, an enormously opulent episcopate, a fairly endowed clergy, immense glebe land, and many prelates, presbyters, and deacons, devoted to their work. The reasons given in parliament and out of parliament, upon platforms and in pamphlets, amount to no more than an enumeration of the evils arising out of any church whatsoever having the misfortune to be established. We are told that the spiritual revenues of Ireland were expended here, or on the continent, through a system of non-residence! How could such an enormity have been dreamt of, not to say perpetrated, had not the Church become thoroughly secularized? What was there to secularize that Church more than other churches, except her unfortunate connexion with the civil government? What did that government demonstrate, by its toleration of such an evil, but its utter unfitness to exercise any control over religious concerns? Ireland, therefore, surely constitutes an unanswerable and unimpeachable witness against the efficacy of any union between Church and state for the realization of its professed purposes. But let us look also at England, as a more favored country. So inadequate has proved the principle of an establishment, that with from ten to twelve thousand consecrated or licensed edifices, with from sixteen to eighteen thousand

clergy, with a revenue of from four to five millions sterling per annum, and with all the associations of temporal power and rank to support her, our episcopal Church now painfully feels and acknowledges that she is unequal to the task of dispensing religious instruction through the nation. And well she may feel it: for what does the admitted growth of Romanism from John o'Groat's house to the Land's End proclaim to Great Britain at large? What sentences of condemnation are not Chartists and Socialists inscribing upon our walls? Nor until recently was there any cry for more churches and chapels heard: at least not in our communion; nor now that it is somewhat loudly expressed, can we continue blind to the fact, that throughout immense rural districts a majority of our morning congregations are too like that of St. Neot's, in the days of the excellent Mr. Venn. When that revival of religion occurred, for which we are all of us so justly thankful, and which, whilst it summoned into existence and activity Sunday-schools,—missionary, Bible, and anti-slavery societies, also quickened our two principal associations in more immediate connexion with the episcopal Church,—what was the general aspect of the Establishment towards it? Was it not one of very bitter and decided hostility? Did not vast numbers exhibit a disposition analogous to that which actuated Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen at Ephesus? Alas! the consequences are no other than those predicted forty or fifty years ago, notwithstanding the extensive change that has come over the public mind for the better, as to all matters of this sort. Opposition, based upon the prejudices, and supported by so many among the members of the state-church, lasted quite long enough for the enemy; so as to permit him to scatter the serpent's teeth far and wide upon the rank soil of rising generations. Improvement, though better late than never, has found the field fearfully preoccupied. Fanaticism was able to gather its throng of deluded adherents after the person and preaching of Courtenay, or Thoms, near Canterbury itself, and lead them on even in the face of a military force: so satisfied were its victims, first that the impostor was a celebrated baronet,—then that he was the Earl of Devon,—then that he was Baron Rothschild,—and lastly, that he was the Saviour of the world! Had this happened in Connaught, or Belgium, or Spain, it would not have so easily been forgotten. In common fairness we should call it to mind, together with our assize calendars, and the report of a recent parliamentary commission, on which the constabulary police is proposed to be founded; so that the failure of our English Establishment at least may fully appear.'

—pp. 19, 20.

Mr. Bridges proceeds to show the superior advantages of the Voluntary over the compulsory system, in several particulars, which are clearly discussed; namely, in its tendency to render the pastorate accountable to the people, in a sense the reverse of everything secular; in its adaptation to the religious wants of a community, without exciting temporal expectations or apprehensions; and in its avoiding all collision with the sacred rights of conscience; whilst, without any compromise of minor

peculiarities, it might combine all orthodox denominations into one blended protest against worldliness, were its tendencies fairly acted upon. We are glad to find the writer saying, in corroboration of our own views, that these sentiments are gradually acquiring influence, not only amongst dissenters, where they have long been general, but even amongst episcopalians. Some, he states, go as yet but a little way in wishing for a severance between Church and State; others proceed further; a small, yet increasing minority, contemplate both the possibility and even expediency of going the entire length. The only wonder with us is, that any episcopalian voluntaries should continue practically to uphold a system which they deem at once unscriptural and pernicious.

Mr. Burnet's two lectures are in reality speeches; and though destitute of the regularity and graces of literary composition, possess a certain plain spoken grappling with the subject that answers well. The spirit in which they are written is excellent; they are dispassionate and argumentative, with a sprinkling of sarcasm which, without disparaging either the intellect or motives of his antagonist, serves to enliven and give point to the discussion. They tend to prove that the interests of truth are best subserved by calmness, dignity, and courtesy, in dealing with even the most monstrous propositions, or the most artful sophisms of opponents. Mr. M'Neile, as is well known, succeeded Dr. Chalmers in a series of lectures, at the Hanover Square Rooms, on the question of National Establishments of Religion; and, like his predecessor, afterwards presented them to the public in an octavo volume. At the request of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association, Mr. Burnet undertook to reply to some of the statements which were at the time most welcomed and applauded by a party audience, particularly as relating to the controversy on the Voluntary system. The apostolical succession, the constitution of the Church of England, the state of her formularies and other points, are left untouched, as not strictly belonging to the duty he was called to discharge. Without following Mr. Burnet through his ingenious and eminently successful course, we shall furnish what our limits alone will permit, an extract or two, by which the reader will be enabled to judge of the instruction and entertainment he is likely to derive from the perusal of the tract. We wish the advocates of national churches would listen to a just exposition of the design of some of our Saviour's parables, which they are wont miserably to pervert—

'I find that our friend adduces some of the Saviour's parables as indicating the nationality of churches. Let us look for a moment at these parables. He tells us, the parables were intended to represent the national condition of the Church of England, and hence he speaks

of the wheat and the tares growing together, and the net being cast out, and the good fish and the bad being brought into it. And he speaks of these parables as showing that no discrimination of the different characters of individuals could take place with any effect so as to purify any religious community till the last day. And then he brings the parable of the wedding garment as a further illustration, and in these parables he says, we have a type of the Church of England, but not a type of the dissenting bodies; and certainly we do not envy him the result of his analogy. I regret that he should have uttered the announcement of a resemblance, and I regret the enthusiasm with which it was received. We can only promote the cause of God and his Christ, by taking the solemn ground of the glorious discoveries of redeeming love made in the word of God, and inviting the faith of a sinner; and where those discoveries are not practically embodied in the profession of the Gospel, there is 'a name to live' while the parties are dead; and if we can prove that in their outward practice these discoveries are not regarded as their great guiding star, the Church of Christ and the testimony of the word of God conspire to demand that we should expel from the churches those who make such a profession, and not hold them up as the true scriptural mixture of the tares and the wheat. But when we come to look at the parables referred to, we shall find that our worthy friend has not been happy in regard to the manner in which he conducted his case, or the conclusions at which he arrived. What were these parables intended to show? 'The kingdom of God is like unto,' is the ordinary introduction, or, 'the kingdom of heaven is like unto,' and then the parable proceeds. But according to the opinion of a very acute reasoner, and a member of the established Church of Scotland, Dr. Campbell, of Aberdeen, all these phrases to which I have alluded were intended to set forth the character, the opening, progress, and termination, of God's general administration under the gospel. He translates this phrase, 'The reign of God,' and thus the general character of the divine administration appears to have been intended in the application of the phrase in question. Our worthy friend says of the tares and wheat which grew up together to the harvest, that they are the church, 'and must not be separated till God himself come forth to make the separation.' Now as to the declaration, still unproved, that this parable represents the church, we go with the great Author of the parable, we take his own interpretation of it. Does he say as Mr. M'Neile will have it, 'This is the church?' No; he says, 'the field is the world.' Here again our friend is directly at issue with the Scriptures, and the great Lord of the Scriptures. And what is the winding-up of the parable? Not, the Head of the church shall come forward to purify the church; by no means. Or to make a separation between the wheat and tares in the church; by no means. He sends forth his angels to gather the whole human race,—church and no church. He separates the wheat from the tares. He lays up the wheat in his own garner, and binds up the tares in bundles to be burnt, including not the false professors of the church only, but all the world that have not accepted the Gospel. This parable, therefore, is

not our friend's type of the church, but the outline of God's administration of the affairs of the world; beginning with the publication of the Gospel, and ending with the day of judgment—that great day, when the doom of every man—not every professor merely, but the doom of every man is to be decided, and when that decision is to be followed up by the application of the parable of the wheat and the tares. Let us hear no more then of the 'tares and wheat' as professors of the church. The tares and the wheat are the race of men. The field is the world in which that race has grown up. This description of the parable accords not with that of our worthy friend, but as he had adopted the theory of Hooker, in regarding the inhabitants of a kingdom, and the members of a church, or baptized nation, as he called it, the same, he must admit then that he had before him a mass of wheat and tares, but he kept it out of view that they were the world and not the church. Then our friend speaks of the net being thrown into the sea for fish, when both bad and good were taken; that is just another case of the same kind. It is the form of the administration of God's moral economy under the revelation of the Gospel of Christ, that is intended to be set forth; and the good fish and the bad, must be placed on the same ground with the wheat and the tares, including the world. The world was the field, and give me leave to add, the world was the sea, and under both cases we have the same doctrine, which is also illustrated by the invitation to the feast. Individuals may come in to the feast or may refuse to come in; but those who refuse, and those who come in under hypocrisy, are considered at last on the same ground by the Lord of the feast. We have not a church in this case before us.'—*Burnet*, pp. 12—14.

The second lecture is chiefly occupied with a consideration of the argument advanced by Mr. M'Neile, in support of the authority of the civil ruler in matters of religion.

The fifth lecture by Mr. King, on 'the true independence of the Church of Christ,' is a logical performance, written with force and feeling. His object is to show, that a voluntary maintenance of the church is essential to its liberty, and that a state-paid church cannot enjoy the scriptural freedom of the Church of Christ. His positions are as follow:—

1. If the state provides for the church, it must regulate its provision.

2. The temporal provision, afforded by the state to the Church, opens up a constant inlet to political interference.

3. A church in alliance with the state, cannot conform its creed to the standard of Revelation.

4. Churches allied with the state, subject themselves by that alliance to the yoke of patronage.

The letters of Dr. Wardlaw, containing a further reply to Mr. M'Neile, reached us while engaged in writing this article. The association has acted judiciously in securing this additional advocacy of their principles, and, we may add, this fresh defeat

of the Christian Influence Society's second champion. The personal references which pervaded Mr. M'Neile's Lectures, seemed to demand Dr. Wardlaw's distinct notice. He begins by expressing the satisfaction he feels, that Mr. M'Neile has so decidedly taken the ground of *Scripture authority*. From the very first we expressed, in like manner, our satisfaction in his announcement of this purpose, and intimated our belief, that such an appeal must issue in a favorable result to the voluntary cause. Of this we have now no doubt; for that appeal has promoted discussion and inquiry, which must be advantageous to the interests of truth, and has already produced the happiest results.

'The one point constituting the great ecclesiastical question of the day is—whether *any system of church order, how clearly soever evinced to be scriptural, ought to be established by the State.* This, then, is the true previous question. It is not at all with *Episcopacy*, under any of its forms or modifications, that we have to do,—nor with any other ecclesiastical constitution for which scriptural authority may be pleaded. To prove the principles and practices of the English Church ever so much 'in accordance with the Bible,' is to do nothing towards the settlement of this question. It is not the scriptural authority of that or of any other constitution that is the point in debate; it is the scriptural authority of *its establishment and endowment by the State.* On the supposition of your having first proved the right and duty of the State to establish religion *at all*, you might then, with propriety, have asserted and vindicated the scriptural character of your own as *entitling it to a preference.* But if the civil establishment of christianity, under any of its external forms, has no authority from Scripture, we are constrained to say of all such discussions—*cui bono?* Your eloquent eulogies of the system might serve the purpose of adding to the fascination in its behalf of your episcopalian auditors, of elevating their admiration of the matchless excellencies of *our church*, of warming their hearts with a zealous horror against the sacrilege of touching a fabric so divine, or removing from around it the towers of earthly dignity and strength, by which it is so worthily honored and maintained. But this, you know, is only raising the old cry of 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians;' and, in regard to the question of establishments, exciting a prejudice rather than impressing a conviction.'—*Wardlaw*, pp. 10, 11.

In this paragraph the essence of the voluntary question is brought forward to view—the very point and pith of the matter is, whether the civil establishment of christianity is authorized by Scripture, and not whether this or that form of it may be established. It is true we have serious objections to many parts of the ecclesiastical system, as incompatible with the simplicity of the Gospel, and as totally destitute of any sanction in the word of God; but the main stress of our argument rests on the unscriptural foundation of establishments. It signifies not

that the doctrines or the formularies are accordant with divine institutions, for it is not their accordance that warrants their enforcement by human laws, any more than their disagreement. In fact, their disagreement would more call for their establishment than their accordance; because, if people are to receive the interpretations of men as their religion, and not simply and solely the inspirations of heaven, surely they will require some civil enforcement to prevent all questioning and hesitancy. That communication which claims to be divine, cannot need such external influence, for its own divinity and moral power must be its strongest enforcement; our opponents seem never to understand the difference between coercion and conviction; they appear to imagine that the conscience must be satisfied when the conduct is constrained; and that outward forms and modes are identical with inward religion. To this, the very vague sense in which the term religion is employed, has conduced; sometimes meaning what is ceremonial, having relation only to outward worship, and sometimes what is spiritual or concerning the state of the heart: it is just that kind of term which is calculated to confuse the ideas and mystify the subject of discussion.

The following citation from the second letter, will furnish a specimen both of Mr. M'Neile's mystifications and Dr. Wardlaw's method of disposing of them:—

'You give *four reasons* for dissenting from the view I had taken of the national church of Israel as a type of the spiritual community of believers under the new covenant dispensation.—My first observation respecting these is, that *they are all substantially the same*—all reducible to *one*. In the *principle* of them they are identical. You affix to each of them, in succession, the formal Q. E. D.—'Therefore the Jewish nation does not correspond to, and could not have been typical of, the church mystical.'—In this way, you appear as if you had a succession of distinct arguments; and this imparts to your cause the semblance of greater strength of evidence than actually belongs to it. Yet what are the four points of distinction? The *first* is, that according to the apostle's statement, 'They are not all Israel who are of Israel;' the Jewish nation contained two bodies, to be distinguished from one another—'Israel as seen of man' and 'an inner Israel as seen of God;' whereas in the church mystical there is no such distinction, all who compose it being such as 'truly trust in God.'—Your *second* is, that 'concerning the church mystical it is true, as Dr. Wardlaw himself allows and reiterates, that they are all true believers, but concerning the Jewish nation no such statement is true; they were not all believers.'—Your *third* is, that 'the Jewish nation included a vast variety of character, from the piety of a Nathanael down to the profligacy of a Barabbas, and the deeper deadlier hypocrisy of an Annas or a Caiaphas:—but the church mystical contains only one description of character: they all hear the voice of the heavenly

Shepherd, and follow him.'—Your *fourth* and last is, that 'concerning the church mystical it is written, that none of them shall perish,—that they are all objects of God's endless love and saving mercy, &c.; —but concerning the Jewish nation it is written, as we have seen, that many of them perished, that God destroyed those among them who believed not.'*

'Now, my dear Sir, if you saw any material difference between these four reasons of yours, I must bow to your superior powers of discrimination; for to me they seem to be very much like each other. What is there, in them all, but the subsistence in the national Israelitish Church of two classes of characters, while in the true spiritual community of believers, called by you 'the church mystical,' there is but one? How could your conscience allow you thus to coin four arguments out of one?—And, having thus reduced them to one, I have next to ask, how the circumstance of there being a spiritual Israel, known and owned of God as such, subsisting in the midst of the national Israel, prevented the outwardly chosen and covenanted people from possessing certain analogies to the spiritual community chosen out of all nations under the New Testament dispensation, such as to constitute the one a suitable *type* of the other? We have seen, that a type is a 'shadow of good things to come, not the very image of the things.' If, therefore, the Israelitish nation had been an entirely spiritual community, with corresponding spiritual institutions and rites of worship, it could not, in strict propriety, have been a type. The correspondence would not have been one sufficiently of *analogy* to justify the designation. There would have been, as has already been said, too much of generic identity. The shadow would have incorporated too much of the substance. It would, indeed, have *been* the substance.—And that there *are* such analogies between the national church of Israel and the church mystical under the new dispensation, as to justify the view I have given of the one as a type or figure of the other, I shall not put my own inventive powers in requisition to make out, but shall take those only which the Scriptures themselves directly suggest.'—pp. 14, 15.

The last publication on our list is the 'Voluntary;' a cheap monthly periodical, which the society issues for the purpose of recording its proceedings and diffusing its principles. To some the name may seem repulsive, yet we think it is but a fair and honest avowal of the general principles intended to be advocated. These numbers being taken as a specimen of what is to be expected hereafter, we should not hesitate to express our high estimation of it. The style of composition is calm, dignified, persuasive: its contents are often instructive; and we cannot but hope that its talent and spirit will secure for it the well-merited support both of liberal churchmen and dissenters.

The Voluntaries above all people have reason to value the press, and should avail themselves of its power. They seek no

* Lectures, pp. 20—22.

concealments; on the contrary their strength lies in the circulation of knowledge, and in the publicity of appeal. Their resort is not to authority, that is, human authority, but to reason and to Scripture. They are opposed in principle to the mere dogmas of tradition, the impositions of an hereditary faith, and the enforcement of creeds and formularies derived from the fathers of the church, which have nothing but antiquity for their basis, and which have been palmed upon the world by ignorance, superstition, or cunning,—not to promote religion, but to prop a cumbrous and feeble system. Their chief concern is to awaken a spirit of serious inquiry and unrestricted examination. Whatever will not endure this test they reject; and they are assured that there is no better way of applying it than by the diligent use of that great means of moral improvement, a free and well worked press. It has been abundantly employed for questionable and injurious purposes, but it has not yet been sufficiently urged into the service of truth and righteousness. The publications enumerated at the head of this article evince the growing conviction that prevails upon the subject; and we trust that the Society which has begun so well, and which comprises among its pledged supporters so many distinguished speakers and writers, will multiply both their public lectures and their literary contributions.

Art. II. *Ashantee and the Gold Coast: being a Sketch of the History, Social State, and Superstitions of the Inhabitants of those Countries: with a Notice of the State and Prospects of Christianity among them.* By JOHN BEECHAM. London: Mason. 1841.

THIS volume is intended to meet the desire for information respecting Ashantee and the countries upon the Gold Coast, which has been recently excited by the efforts of the Wesleyan Mission in that part of the world. It contains an interesting sketch of the history and condition of the principal nations located in that part of the African continent, and is founded upon a careful investigation of the best works which have previously appeared, and of the correspondence of the Wesleyan missionaries with the society at home. The early chapters are mainly occupied with the history of Ashantee, a numerous and warlike people, with whom we have recently been brought into collision, the immediate effects of which were of the most serious and alarming character. The precise period of the foundation of the Ashantee kingdom is involved in con-

siderable obscurity. Various traditions exist respecting both the time and circumstances of its origin. The most probable opinion would seem to be that which represents the Ashantees as part of the great negro emigration which withdrew from the mountains of Kong before the Mohammedan invasion. Here they have maintained their independence, and have successfully resisted the progress of the Moslem faith. From their earliest history the people have been distinguished by their military prowess, which has rendered their influence paramount throughout an extensive range of country, and made them the terror of their weaker neighbors. In the commencement of the last century their power was greatly extended by Osai Tutu, whose sagacity and courage secured for him the epithet of 'the Great.' 'To the excellencies of this monarch,' Mr. Beecham informs us, 'the Ashantees advert with a national satisfaction. They say 'he was the Good as well as the Great, for in his reign justice 'was ever on the alert, and the claims of his subjects were 'listened to without distinction of rank or title.' Cape-Coast Castle was the nearest British settlement to this formidable power, and some misunderstandings having arisen, an embassy was sent to the Ashantee monarch in the spring of 1817. We find it happened in this, as it has too often done in similar cases, that our countrymen showed little respect for the rights of the half-civilized tribes in their neighborhood. The king was evidently anxious to avoid a rupture with the English, and did every thing in his power to prevent it. Several embassies were sent to Cape-Coast Castle to enforce a performance of the existing treaty, but without effect; and when Mr. Dupuis, who had been deputed as British consul to Coomassie, had succeeded in effecting a pacific treaty with the king, the local authorities at Cape-Coast Castle refused to ratify the same. Affairs were brought to a crisis by the injudicious conduct of the new governor, Sir Charles M'Carthy, who took the command of the forts on the Gold Coast in the spring of 1822. Ignorant of the character of the people with whom he had to do, and despising the power of the Ashantee monarch, he hastened on the rupture which had long been pending. The policy of Sir Charles was not to be mistaken, yet the king still hoped that he would see reason to adopt a different course, and therefore delayed for a considerable period the commencement of hostilities. This moderation was mistaken by the governor for fear, and the most fatal consequences resulted from his error. Sir Charles fell in battle, and his troops, together with those of the native chiefs who sided with him, were utterly routed. Various reverses attended the subsequent progress of the war, which was finally concluded in April 1831, by the re-establishment of friendly relations.

The government of Ashantee is despotic, though the will of the monarch is somewhat controlled by that of his captains.

'The king of Ashantee (As-hánti), although represented as a despotic monarch, having the lives and property of his subjects at his absolute disposal, is not, in all respects, beyond control. He is placed in a situation somewhat similar to the kings of the ancient Medes and Persians; among whom it was a principle, that what had once passed into law, the power of the sovereign himself could not change. The imperative mandate of Darius was quite sufficient instantaneously to consign to the jaws of the lions all the individuals, and their wives and children, who had been the occasion of procuring the decree for the ruin of the prophet Daniel; but the utmost power of the king could not save the prophet himself from its operation. Now, the king of Ashantee is under a somewhat similar obligation to observe the national customs which have been handed down to the people from remote antiquity; and a practical disregard of this obligation, in the attempt to change some of the customs of their forefathers, cost Osai Quamina his throne.

'The caboceers and captains, moreover, claim to be heard on all questions relating to war and foreign politics. Such matters are considered in a general assembly; and the king sometimes finds it prudent to yield to the views and urgent representations of the majority. Four individuals, representing the general assembly of caboceers and captains, signed Bowdich's treaty at the same time with the king himself, after it had been agreed upon at a full meeting of the caboceers, tributary princes, and captains. And Dupuis states, that the treaty which he afterwards negotiated at Coomassie (Kumási) was criticised and scrutinized by a full court of the principal nobles and captains, and was the subject of a most laborious discussion, before it obtained the royal signature. The Ashantees advocate the participation of the caboceers and captains in the consideration and management of war and foreign policy, on the principle that it makes the nation more formidable to its enemies, who feel that they cannot offer provocation with impunity, where there are so many guardians of the military glory.

'But while the caboceers and captains, in their collective capacity, possess considerable influence in the management of questions relating to foreign policy, as individuals they are subject to the most despotic authority, and frequently become the victims of the jealousy or displeasure of the king. A few cases of recent occurrence will sufficiently illustrate the temper of the chiefs, and the character of the Ashantee government. When the king of Ashantee conquered Wassaw, he placed the king, or principal chief of that country, under the care of Aprakú, the captain of Bantama; and the captive chief so ingratiated himself with his guardian, or keeper, that he obtained permission from him to return to his own country. It was presumed that, in the lapse of years, the captive was almost forgotten, and that his withdrawal would not even come under the notice of the king; or that, should he become acquainted with the transaction, it would not call forth any serious

expression of dissatisfaction. The event proved the fallacy of the hopes which were thus entertained. The king was immediately informed of what had happened, and required from Aprakú an immediate explanation. But the answer of the guardian chief, so far from being deemed satisfactory, was regarded as wanting in due respect for the king's authority; and his life became the forfeiture of his two-fold offence.'—pp. 90—92.

The usual arts of European statesmanship are known and practised by the African chief.

'The king of Ashantee maintains such an efficient system of espionage, that it is difficult for his subjects to speak or act in any manner derogatory to his authority without his being made acquainted with the offence. He employs a number of clever boys, trained for the purpose, who are placed as spies upon the conduct of the great men, and convey to the king a report of all they see and hear. While Mr. Freeman was at the frontier-town of Fómunah, waiting for permission to go up to the capital, some of those boys were in attendance upon him. When he was at meals, one would enter, and, placing himself at a distance, would silently mark all that passed; and wherever Mr. Freeman went, he had reason to believe that his proceedings were subject to their scrutiny.'—pp. 93, 94.

In common with the other nations of western and central Africa, Ashantee abounds in slaves. Every caboceer, or noble, is the possessor of thousands, and the inferior chieftains of a less number in proportion to their dignity and wealth. The lives of these wretched beings are at the absolute disposal of their masters. A person may kill his own slave with impunity, and is subject only to a pecuniary fine in case of his killing the slave of another. Degraded and miserable as must be the condition of a population thus subject to the caprice and insolence of brutal power, the slaves of Ashantee are not entirely without hope, as were those of our own colonies. Vestiges of patriarchal times may now be discovered in the wealth and influence to which some of the slaves attain. Mr. Beecham remarks on this subject,

'Humiliating as is that state of dependence in which the life and services of an individual are at the absolute disposal of another, the treatment of slaves in Africa is not uniformly harsh and severe. In Ashantee (As-hánti), a slave sometimes succeeds to the stool and property of his deceased master; which custom may serve to illustrate the circumstances of Abraham previous to the birth of his son Isaac. 'Behold,' says the patriarch, 'to me thou hast given no seed; and lo, one born in my house is mine heir.' Was not this presumptive heir of Abraham the son of one of his own domestics, and may it not be concluded that the Ashantee custom has thus descended from remote antiquity?

'In many instances, slaves rise to power and office. The case of

Barka Gana, mentioned by Denham, affords an apt illustration. This individual was the general of the sheikh of Bornou, and governor of six large districts. He had a considerable number of slaves of his own, and enjoyed, in a high degree, the favor of his master. This, however, he forfeited by an act of disrespect. The sheikh, having inadvertently presented him with a horse which he had promised to some one else, sent for the animal back, which so offended Barka Gana, that he returned all the horses previously given to him by the sheikh; declaring that in future he would either walk, or ride his own horses. On receiving this message, the sheikh immediately summoned him to appear, and, reminding him that he was only a slave, caused him to be stripped in his presence, and ordered that he should be immediately sold to the Tibbu merchants. That this order was not ultimately carried into effect, was solely owing to the returning kindness of the sheikh.

'Sometimes slaves acquire such power as to become the objects of the sovereign's jealousy. The king of Ashantee (As-hânti), in conversing with Mr. Hutchinson, advocated the slave-trade, for the reason that the slave-population in the country was too numerous for the public safety; and to show that his apprehensions were not groundless, he instanced the conduct of a number of slaves who rose against him in the Buntuku war, and joined the standard of his enemies. He said, he had at that time one slave who had a thousand followers at arms, and expressed his fears that he might disturb the public peace like Kujoh Kuma, who was a slave of his when he revolted, and who, independent of runaways, had at his command a force of ten thousand men. When Clapperton was passing through Yarriba, he found that there had been a servile war in that country. The Hausa slaves, encouraged by the Felatah invaders, had risen against and murdered their masters; and, after a severe struggle, had secured their independence.'—pp. 116—118.

Polygamy prevails to an astonishing extent throughout the country. The law is said to allow the king of Ashantee 3333 wives, and our author informs us that this number is carefully kept up. More than six seldom reside in the palace at the same time, the remainder live at the country residence of the king, or in the two streets of the capital which are specially devoted to their occupation. They rarely go abroad, and are attended on such occasions by a great number of boys, whose province it is to lash all who do not immediately turn out of their way. 'It 'is stated that their appearance in the more public parts of the 'city occasions great confusion, caboceers and captains, as well as 'slaves and children, are seen tumbling one over another at their 'approach.' Three hundred of the wives of the king of Ashantee were present at the signing of Bowdich's treaty, and more than double this number were seen by Mr. Norris at a public entertainment given by the king of Dahomy. The usual consequences of such a state of things are visible. Deprived of

her just rights, and degraded below the level of her lord, the wife becomes the slave rather than the companion and solace of her husband. Little regard is paid to the feelings or wishes of the female sex in domestic arrangements, which are formed either by their parents or their husbands. The following extract may well teach the women of England what they owe to the humanizing influences of the Christian faith.

'The number of wives which caboceers and other persons possess depends partly on their rank, and partly on their ability to purchase them; for the practice which prevailed in the remote ages of patriarchal antiquity, is perpetuated among the descendants of Ham. With them also, it is the rule that the parent receives a sum for his daughter, instead of giving a fortune with her, as is the practice in European countries; and it consequently follows that a large family of daughters is a source of wealth to an African father. Nor has the husband cause to complain that he is required to pay for every wife; for in Fantee (Fánti), and the countries near the coast, if a man can only obtain six or ten wives, the fruits of their labor are sufficient to enable him to lead a life of indolence.

'In the affair of courtship the wishes of the female are but little consulted; the business being chiefly settled between the suitor and her parents. No Ashantee, however, compels his daughter to become the wife of one whom she dislikes: but if she refuse to receive as her husband one of whom her father approves, he instantly withdraws from her his support and protection, and prohibits her mother also from affording her any aid or countenance whatever. It is not unfrequently the case that infants are married to each other, to promote the connexion of families; and infants are also frequently wedded to adults, and even to elderly men. In such cases, the husband sends a present to the mother, who brings up the child for him, until she is old enough to be removed to his own house. The Ashantee caboceers speak of this as a good plan for a man who wishes to get gold; for the most innocent freedom, when the girl become ten or eleven years old, proves the occasion of a serious palaver with the husband; and as these marriages are not generally known, it happens that such palavers frequently occur, and a person has to make compensation for taking liberty with a wife when he supposed that he was only playing with a child. It is, moreover, a custom in Ashantee (As-hánti), to contract for a child before it is born. When a man takes a fancy to the wife of a caboceer in a state of pregnancy, he *consaws* the infant in the womb, by the payment of a sum, varying from two to ten ounces of gold; and should the child prove to be a girl, she is brought up for him as his wife.

'The domestic arrangements, in places where polygamy prevails, are formed on a different principle from that which regulates an English domicile. In Ashantee (As-hánti), Fantee (Fánti), and the neighboring countries, the husband lives separate from his wives, who dwell in houses or sheds built contiguous to each other, in the form of a square; and in some cases they continue with their mothers.']

cook and carry food to their husband, but are not allowed to partake of a meal in his presence. Sometimes his children eat with him, but more frequently he eats alone. On one occasion, when Mr. Hutchinson paid a visit to the croom of Apóko, one of the greatest men in Ashantee, he had the opportunity of witnessing a domestic scene. About the middle of the day, a large pot of yams, and another of boiled fish, were placed in a side room, whither Apóko repaired and dined; after which he divided the remaining yams and fish into a given number of portions, when the door opened, and about twenty of his sons and daughters received their respective shares in calabashes with which they came furnished. In the after-part of the day, four of his wives arrived from Coomassie, a distance of about three miles, with some prepared food; but as he was disposed to sleep, he sent them word that they were not to enter the room, but leave the meat, and go back again to town.

'The children are left chiefly to the care of their mothers, and grow up without correction, until at length, when the perverseness of a boy can no longer be endured, the Ashantee father punishes him by cutting off an ear. Some of the Ashantees, however, appeared to admit the force of Mr. Freeman's arguments in favor of early and moderate correction.'—pp. 124—127.

The superstition of the people is extreme. It is believed that the supreme Being created three white and three black men, with an equal number of women, and that the difference at present observable in the condition of the white and black races is traceable to the choice which they respectively made, when a calabash and a sealed paper were placed before them by their Creator. The black men having the first choice, were allured by the promising appearance of the calabash, which on being opened was found to contain only some metals, of the use of which they were ignorant; whilst the white men on opening the sealed paper, discovered the elements of knowledge and civilization. Such is the miserable trifling by which human ignorance seeks to explain the facts which are around it. The belief of a future state prevails universally, but the notion entertained of its character partakes of the grossest and most deluding superstition. The following account of an annual ceremony exhibits a pitiable view of the religious condition of the natives.

'The existence of the devil is also an article of negro belief. He is called by the Fantees and Ashantees *Abonsum*, or *Aiyen*. This evil being is supposed to be ever at hand for purposes of mischief; for when a person rises from his seat, his attendants are accustomed immediately to lie down upon their side, to prevent the devil from slipping into their master's place. Whatever may be the case in other parts of Africa, it does not appear that the devil is worshipped by the Fantees and Ashantees; on the contrary, he is annually driven away on the

Gold Coast, with great form and ceremony. This custom is observed at Cape-Coast Town about the end of August. Preparation is made for the ceremony in the course of the day; as the hour of eight o'clock in the evening draws nigh, the people are seen collecting in groups in the streets, armed with sticks, muskets, and other weapons; at the instant when the eight o'clock gun is fired from the castle, a tremendous shouting, accompanied with the firing of muskets, breaks forth from all parts of the town; and the people rush into their houses, and beat about with their sticks in every corner, shouting and hallooing with all their strength. This sudden outburst of all kinds of noises often alarms Europeans who have recently arrived, inducing them to suppose that an enemy has attacked the place. When it is imagined that the devil is excluded from all the houses, a simultaneous rush is then made out of the town, and the people in a body pursue the invisible enemy, with lighted flambeaux, shouts, and the firing of muskets, until it is concluded that he is completely routed and put to flight. After this achievement they return; and, in some of the towns, the women proceed to wash and purify their wooden and earthen vessels, to prevent the devil from returning to their houses.'—pp. 183—185.

A numerous priesthood is maintained in connexion with the popular superstition, and their influence is now powerfully exexerted in opposition to the labors of the Wesleyan missionaries. Human sacrifices are frequently offered on state occasions, and at the funeral of distinguished personages. When an Ashantee of rank dies, his slaves immediately attempt to conceal themselves, as it is usual instantly to sacrifice some of their number in order that the deceased may have such attendance as comports with his rank. This horrible custom grows out of the popular superstition, and has come to be regarded as an indispensable expression of respect and affection for the deceased. Mr. Beecham furnishes ample evidence of the brutalizing tendency of the popular faith.

'The funeral customs for kings and members of the royal family are conducted on a scale corresponding with the rank of the deceased. The okras, who are slaves peculiarly devoted to the king, and distinguished by a large circle of gold suspended from the neck, amounting in number to more than a hundred, are always sacrificed, with many women, on the tomb of the king. When Osai Quamina died, the funeral-custom was repeated every week for three months, two hundred slaves being sacrificed, and twenty-five barrels of powder being fired on each occasion; but when the king's brother died, during the invasion of Fantee, the king devoted three thousand victims, two thousand of whom were Fantee prisoners, and nearly one thousand more were furnished by various towns; making, in the whole, about four thousand human beings who perished at the grave of this royal personage.

'When the king dies, Ashantee is, in fact, one vast Aceldama; for all the customs which have been made for deceased subjects during his reign, must be repeated by their families, simultaneously with the

custom which is celebrated, in all the excess of extravagance and barbarity, for the departed monarch himself. During the first two or three days after the death of the king, scarcely any one is safe, for the relatives of the king, bursting forth with their muskets, carry havoc and death around; and few persons, even of the highest rank, dare, for a time, to stir from their houses. The funeral-customs of the kings of Ashantee are frequently repeated; and Bantama, the royal sepulchre, is ever and anon made to reek with the blood of newly-slain victims.

'The annual Yam-Custom furnishes another exhibition of the true character of the national superstitions. This festival is celebrated about the end of the month of August, or the beginning of September, when the yam is ready for use; and the feast is intended as a public acknowledgment, on the part of the people, of the kindness of the fetishes in preserving them through another year, and permitting them to see the new yam.....

'At a Yam-Custom which Mr. Bowdich saw, there was a display of the same barbarous splendor which is witnessed on all state-occasions; and this was made on the largest possible scale, seeing that there was present a full representation of all the power and wealth of the empire. Spectacles the most appalling were also exhibited on the occasion. Every caboceer, as he arrived, sacrificed a slave at the gate of the capital by which he entered; and, in the procession of the first day, all the heads of the kings and caboceers who had been conquered, from the reign of Osai Tutu down to that time, with those who been executed for rebellion, were carried by two parties of executioners, each consisting of upwards of a hundred individuals. In the skulls were inserted sprigs of thyme, to prevent the spirits of the deceased from troubling the king; and as the bearers of those horrid trophies passed along in an impassioned dance, they clashed their knives upon the skulls either with the most frightful gestures, or with an expression of indescribable irony and ridicule. The festivity was kept up during the greater part of the night; and on the following morning, which happened to be the Christian sabbath, the king ordered a large quantity of rum to be poured into brass pans, for the use of the people, in various parts of the town. A most beastly scene resulted; for, in less than an hour, excepting the principal men, not a sober individual was to be seen. Towards the evening, another splendid procession took place. The third day was chiefly occupied with state-palavers; and on the day after (Tuesday) the assembly broke up, and the caboceers took their leave.

'In the course of these proceedings about one hundred persons were killed at various places in the capital. Several slaves were also sacrificed at the royal sepulchre of Bantama, over the enormous brass pan which is used there for sacrificial purposes; and the streaming blood of the victims was mingled with various vegetable and animal matter, partly fresh and partly putrified, for the purpose of making the most powerful fetish. All the chiefs, likewise, killed several slaves, and caused their blood to flow into the holes from which the new yams were taken; and those who could not afford to kill slaves, took the head of one already sacrificed, and placed it upon the hole.....

'Mr. Hutchinson remarks, that the greatest sacrifice of human life which took place while he resided at Coomassie (Kumási), occurred on the eve of the little Adai-Custom. He had a friendly caution given him respecting it, from a quarter which he did not feel himself at liberty to name. 'Christian,' said his kind monitor, 'take care and watch over your family: the angel of death has drawn his sword, and will strike on the neck of many Ashantees. When the drum is struck on Adai-eve, it will be the death signal of many. Shun the king if you can, but fear not.' As the time approached to beat the drum, and Mr. Hutchinson sat meditating on the horrors of the ensuing night, he suddenly received a message to attend the king. This was a somewhat startling summons, as obnoxious caboceers are frequently thus sent for on such occasions, ostensibly to talk a palaver, but, on entering the palace, they are seized and led to execution. Mr. Hutchinson, however, waited upon the king; and, while he remained with him, the officers appointed to attend the sacrifices came in with their knives, and other weapons of destruction.

'The design of the sacrifice was to propitiate the fetish, and secure its assistance in the approaching war with Buntuku. The bones of the king's mother and sisters were, in the first place, taken out of their coffins, and bathed in rum and water; and after having been wiped with silks, they were rolled in gold-dust, and wrapped in strings of rock-gold, aggry beads, and other most costly materials. Those against whom the king had any cause of complaint were then sent for in succession, and immolated as they entered, in order that 'their blood might water the graves' of the royal personages whose bones had been exhumed. During the whole of the night the king's executioners traversed the city, and all whom they met were dragged away for execution; but the intended massacre having by some means become known, the king was disappointed in securing many of the most distinguished individuals, who had been marked out as victims. Next morning desolation seemed to reign over the capital, and no persons appeared in the market-place, but the king and his attendants. When the day closed, the human sacrifices were again renewed; and during the night, the bones of the royal deceased were removed to the sacred tomb at Bantama, accompanied by a splendid procession. The chiefs and their attendants were all habited in their military costume; the stools, and all the ornaments used on great occasions, were borne by the proper officers; the human victims, in chains, with their hands tied behind them, preceded the bones; while, at intervals, the chanting of the war-song indicated the eagerness which prevailed to march against the enemy. When the procession returned, on the following day, the king proceeded to the market-place; his horns sounded the well-known 'wow, wow, wow,' interpreted, 'death, death, death;' and the work of sacrifice was at once resumed. The king sat with a goblet of palm-wine in his hand, and every time the executioners cut off a head, he imitated a dancing motion in his chair. The terrors of the day ended when the king returned to his palace; and the chiefs, issuing from their places of concealment, paraded the streets, rejoicing that they had, for that time, escaped death.'—pp. 236—247.

This is a sufficiently dark picture, and men of morbid sensibility will turn from it as too disgusting to be dwelt on. Such however is not the course which Christian philanthropy suggests, and we rejoice to learn from the concluding chapters of Mr. Beecham's volume, that the Wesleyan Missionary Society have commenced and are vigorously carrying on their labors of love in these dark regions of the earth. It is in the nature of Christianity to triumph over ignorance and superstition: she has done so on many past occasions—and her energy is still as vital and her faith as efficacious as when the rude nations of Europe bowed submissively before her. The hopes of the world are identified with the progress of Christian truth, for there is no other element of social or moral renovation that is capable of combating successfully the dark agencies which are abroad. The Wesleyan Mission to this part of Africa was commenced towards the end of the year 1834, and soon assumed a most promising appearance. It was severely tried by the death of several of its earliest missionaries; but the Spirit of the Lord has given testimony to the word of his grace, by causing many to turn from their degrading idolatry to the service of the one living and true God. The following brief account of the last moments of Mr. Dunwell, the first Wesleyan missionary, will be read with deep interest—

"'On the 24th instant,' Mr. Smith says, 'Mr. Dunwell sent for me this morning; and, to my great sorrow, I found him worse than I expected. On my first entering the room, he called me by name, and, having conversed with me for a considerable time on various subjects, desired me to pray for him. I knelt by the side of his bed, and engaged in prayer for about a quarter of an hour: he also prayed himself. He besought the Lord to let the cup pass from him, as the sons of this part of Africa would be left to grope in darkness, if he were removed away by death. At this I was uncommonly sorry; but he encouraged me to hope in the Lord; for the debt of nature must be paid. He repeated the fourth verse of the twenty-third psalm: 'Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.' If I may use the expression, I would say, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.' When it was now time to leave him, and attend the school, he said, with tears, 'Brother Smith, we have passed many agreeable evenings in conversing on instructive subjects; but I have to tell you I shall soon be absent from you, and be present with the Lord. I am going hence, and shall be no more seen; but watch over the flock, and strengthen them in the Lord, when I am gone.' About four o'clock in the afternoon I visited him again. He was quite insensible; the pangs of death had seized him, and every hope of his recovery was then lost: between eight and nine o'clock he expired.' Thus died the Rev. Joseph Dunwell. No words of disappointment or regret escaped his lips, on account of his having

so early sacrificed his life in the missionary enterprize; but a quenchless zeal for the cause of his divine Master sustained him to the last, and all the solicitude which he manifested was for the infant church formed by his instrumentality.

'This afflictive dispensation produced the deepest feeling among all who took any interest in the mission. On the following morning, a native wrote, 'Sad news in the town; the shepherd is away! The poor missionary is reported dead.'"—pp. 275—277.

The little flock which had been gathered by the apostolic labors of this excellent man met together the day after his funeral, to take into consideration their bereaved circumstances, and the entry made in the minute book of the society will best explain the views which prevailed amongst them. The entry is as follows:— 'I met the class on purpose to know 'whether they would continue in the profession they had re-'cently entered into, or desire to return to their former ways, 'in consequence of the death of their missionary. They said, 'they would remain in the new profession; for though the 'missionary was dead, God lives. We commended our souls 'in prayer to God, and separated at ten o'clock.'

Our limits prevent our proceeding further; and we take our leave of Mr. Beecham, with a hearty recommendation of his volume to our readers.

Art. III. *The Shield of Dissent; or Dissent in its bearings on Legislation, especially on the Lord's Day, National Education, Public Documents, Religious Taxation, &c., with Strictures on Dr. Brown's Work on Tribute.* By EDWARD SWAINE. London: Snow.

THE terms DISSENT and DISSENTER, always grating enough to a churchman's ear, are become in these days perfectly appalling. What sensations may be produced by the martial appendage to the already odious name, which our author has thought proper to adopt, it behoves not ourselves to conjecture. The policy or wisdom of such a combination of terms may very fairly be questioned, though we shall content ourselves with merely alleging its utter destitution of any definite meaning, till explained by the author in the preface. 'The title prefixed 'is adopted simply to convey the idea that dissent wears no sword, but fears no attack so long as aggression confines itself to weapons that are 'spiritual.'" We do not intend to pick a needless quarrel with the author; but if he means to say, that *dissent* is something that always restricts itself to the defensive—then we beg leave to observe, that this definition neither agrees with the idea conveyed by the term, which is hostility to something previously supposed, neither does it agree with the

author's dissent, which is declared hostility to the principle of an Established Church; nor does it accord with the conduct and admitted principles of dissenters of the present age, which appear in an honest and open warfare against the political and religious error involved in an establishment. We wish, however, to dismiss the title. But at the admission, involved in these remarks, we can imagine the scribes, whose vocation is to write down dissent, or, as they would say, is properly defensive of the church, exulting in a direct acknowledgment of what they have often alleged—that dissenters are wickedly bent upon destroying the church—and that here, in their own Review, is the open avowal of their determination. Pause a little—hear before you strike, and understand us before you take either shield in defence or sword in assault.

We disclaim hostility against the church as a section of the great christian family. It pains and grieves us to be unjustly and pertinaciously charged with intentions altogether foreign to our object—to be reproached and criminated as we daily are, in almost every church publication, and at every public assembly of the clergy, with attempting to destroy the church—to be told that we have combined with infidels and papists to overthrow that form of christianity which, in the minds of our opponents, is illogically and unfairly identified with the Establishment. All this we have openly and repeatedly declared to be false and unjust. Our opponents, however, persist in confounding these two things, which we aver are essentially distinct; they refuse to discriminate; they resolutely urge and repeat their impeachment of our motives; they vent their criminations in every possible form, and, with the utmost violence and vituperation of language; though they know that we are as devoted friends to the cause of uncorrupted christianity, and the evangelization of the land as themselves; though they know and dare not deny the validity of the distinction we make between the *Church* and the *Establishment*, upon which the whole of the controversy hinges; and though they adopt and use the same distinction themselves whenever it suits their convenience. Now this distinction we must be permitted to press upon them. They must not be allowed to overlook it. It is wholly and simply one between an end sought and the means of attaining it, or between a system of truth and the human manner of its extension—between a place to be reached by a journey and the method of travelling to it—a distinction so plain and palpable that a child may comprehend it, and every child ought to understand it; though learned and christian men, who ought always to be candid men, seem quite incapable of appreciating it, whenever it would be advantageous to dissenters to allow it, or convenient to themselves to sink it.

They must however allow us the liberty to state, whatsoever is said to the contrary, and whoever may say it, that, so far from being enemies to the religion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, we believe it to be substantially the religion of the Son of God. We are identified with them to the full amount of all that constitutes the Gospel and the laws of Christ. Nothing shall ever induce us to assume an attitude of hostility to their religion, or to themselves, while acting as christian men ought to act, under the guidance of the New Testament. We beseech them, as they love that religion common to us both, not to embitter our differences, unavoidable as they unhappily are, by captiously and uncandidly confounding our opposition to some of their means of promoting christianity with opposition to christianity itself. We affectionately entreat them to do us the bare justice, which our common christianity teaches, of restricting their descriptions of our hostility to those matters to which we ourselves restrict it; and not to extend it to other matters with which it has no more to do, than a question as to the most eligible mode of defending our common country would have to do with the patriotism of those who might honestly take opposite sides upon some particular measure of defence.

Dr. Paley has clearly expressed the distinction upon which we now repel the charge of being enemies to the church—'A 'religious establishment,' he says, 'is no part of christianity; 'it is only the means of inculcating it. Amongst the Jews the 'rights and offices, the order, family, and succession of the 'priesthood, were marked out by the authority which declared 'the law itself. These, therefore, were *parts* of the Jewish 'religion, as well as the means of transmitting it. Not so with 'the new institution.' This is perfectly just, and we have only to beg the advocates of establishments, either to refute the statement or candidly to admit and recognize it, in all their defences of the Church of England system, and in all their attacks upon the fundamental principles of dissent. Attention to this important distinction would greatly tend to lessen the acrimony of debate, and to promote candor, equity, and charity.

If a religious establishment is no part of christianity, but only the means of inculcating it, then it is perfectly possible, perhaps reasonable, for us to differ concerning this establishment, when we are perfectly agreed about christianity itself—or to be cordially one as to the end, though we may disagree as to the means of attaining it. Moreover it should be borne in mind, that these means about which we disagree, are merely human inventions—the devices of civil and ecclesiastical legislation, and no part of divine christianity: consequently it is most unjust to identify the establishment with the church, as though they were convertible terms, and thence proceed to

impeach the enemies of the establishment, as if they were enemies to christianity. We entreat, therefore, that dissent may not be charged with hostility beyond the real bounds and limits of its hostility. For all that christianity obviously is and teaches, we profess ourselves one with those, whom, in reference to that other part of their system which is not christianity, we are bound in conscience, as we judge, openly and manfully to resist.

There is another important matter upon which we may here be allowed to make a few observations. It relates to the spirit in which this controversy should be conducted. The controversy itself is inevitable. We cannot, we dare not give it up. The honor, the success, and, in some respects, the essential truths of christianity are implicated in it. Yet, because it is a controversy with some who are truly christian men, it is a painful sacrifice of feeling to maintain it. But truth, reason, and conscience, bind us to protest against measures adopted and maintained by them, no doubt with honest intentions, but which involve, as we conceive, an open and direct violation of the gentle spirit and divine principles of christianity. Yet we wish always to remind ourselves and others, that if we must withstand, both for conscience and the truth's sake, it ought to be in love, and not in the spirit of worldly or political partizans. If we must argue and expostulate with each other upon these matters, let us do it as christian men and brethren, the servants of a common Master, equally bound by the laws of truth, candor, and charity.

We have often availed ourselves of suitable occasions to testify our respect and Christian affection for all those ministers and members of the Established church who deserve the name of pious, and whose chief anxiety is directed to the spread of the gospel, aware, however, that there is a large body both of laity and clergy who deserve respect on no such ground. We repeat on the present occasion our unfeigned regard for all those members of the Establishment who adhere to the unadulterated doctrine of the Reformation, and maintain the truth as it is in Jesus without the supplements of tradition, and who are laboring in their own way to evangelize the people by the old gospel of the apostles, and not by the gospel according to Oxford and Dr. Pusey. We believe them to be true ministers of Jesus Christ. We acknowledge the worth and importance of their labors in the ministry of the word of life. We wish them 'God speed!' There is nothing in the principles of dissent that forbids the most full and frank expression of christian fellowship with such men. We wish they were at liberty to make common cause with us against the common enemy. We regret to see them engaged against that enemy with muffled

hands and weapons. We lament that their bondage should be self-imposed. There is nothing that obstructs complete and efficient Christian union with them but this human establishment, which is no part of Christianity. We long to see them extricated from their trammels, freed from the unseemly charge of persecuting their brethren in the faith, for the sake of supporting that establishment, and released from the painful inconsistency of owning as brethren in their own fellowship open heretics and papists, plain traitors to the faith of Christ, and subverters of the glorious reformation. They must not wonder at us if we even express our pity for excellent men whose awkward, perhaps galling, association in an establishment compels them one day to hear and sanction principles in their own Church which, in Irish papists, their consciences compel them the next day to execrate and condemn as inventions of the father of lies and destructive to men's souls. Doubtless all such good men painfully feel, without any hint from us, these bitter fruits of an ecclesiastical establishment—these natural consequences of allowing the civil power to intermeddle with spiritual affairs. Let those who repudiate the principle of state-interference with the Christian church, and who perceive the painful dilemma in which such worthy men are placed, bind themselves always to speak of them with all the tenderness possible, and which their obvious embarrassments require.

Mr. Swaine has borne his testimony against an Established Church in a spirit that is as frank and kind as it is fearless. But his intention is less to deal with the general question than with some mistakes, as he thinks, in the reasonings of brother Dissenters. He deems it wrong to resist church-rates, and to plead conscience as the reason. While the principle of an establishment is a part of the constitution, the principle of Dissent, he thinks, requires that it should be upheld by Dissenters as well as by all other good subjects. Duty to civil governors, he alleges, requires this according to New Testament doctrine. Therefore, the only blow he would aim is at the root, and the only advice he offers is, Strike at the bond which unites the Church with the State. His little tract is adapted to serve the cause of the rate exactors and discourage resistance. The great cause of dissent, he thinks, has only been retarded by recent efforts in this way. We certainly do not agree with him. He is quite wrong in affirming church-rates to be a law. No law exists which authorizes a rate to be made, if the parishioners agree by a majority that they will make none. The constitution gives them the liberty of saying *no;* and Mr. Swaine has not proved that to use this liberty is a breach of Christian duty. We do not agree with him in some other matters, but this is not the place to answer him. His peculiar notions have engaged

attention in other quarters. He deserves well, however, of the Dissenting bodies for his resolute attachment to principle, and able advocacy of the independence of Christ's church. His book will reward attention, and will tend to make those think closely who cannot assent to his doctrines. It is to be regretted that he has attempted to treat so many subjects in no small a space. In some respects he appears crotchety and dogmatic, not paying sufficient attention to the reasoning of his opponents, and on some questions doing little more than assert his own.

Art. IV. 1. *The Life of Petrarch.* By THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq. Two volumes. London: Colburn.

2. *One Hundred Sonnets, translated from Petrarch.* By SUSAN WOLLASTON. London: Bull.

GREAT were the obligations of England to Italy during the middle ages,—great indeed, although she sent hundreds of luxurious and haughty churchmen to fill her highest ecclesiastical offices, and impose an iron yoke on the neck of her church, —although Italian prelates and Italian legates joined heart and hand with John, and with his son, in refusing every petition for redress, until the spirit of a free people was aroused, and they redressed themselves. But Rome was not all Italy, nor were profligate churchmen the representatives of her whole people; and thus, while the priestly deputation might journey to Rome with their gold and silver, 'to be exchanged for lead, *more Ro-* 'mano,' as Matthew Paris bitterly remarks, the merchant who sought her ports, exchanged the wool, the tin, and the lead of the English staples for the richer produce of that fair land; for the dates and dried fruits, the spices of the east, for the delicate silks and damasks of the Sicilian looms.

But not luxuries alone were brought from thence:—in the haughty republics of mediæval Italy the merchant of 'Bris- 'towe,' Southampton, or London, saw what a lofty station the trader might assume. He beheld the Italian merchants building splendid palaces, and waging successful warfare with a powerful aristocracy; he beheld the Bardi, the Peruzzi, sued to by crowned heads, and the elected chief magistrate of Venice go forth to wed the Adriatic, with greater pomp than the monarchs of France or England could show. And important was the lesson,—for the English merchant returned rejoicing in his calling, and prepared to emulate, not alone the high bearing, but the intelligence, the refinement, of the merchant

princes of Genoa and Florence. But greater benefits still did England receive from Italy. Many a case of lutes and dulcimers, many a right learned treatise on music, many a sweet melody, came to us from that land which music has chosen for her own; and more precious still, many a graceful poem, many a witching tale, which supplied to Chaucer, to Spenser, to Shakspere, materials to be wrought upon by their master skill.

It is curious to observe, that while the troubadours—the precursors of the Italian poets,—although certainly well known to England, for they were extensively patronized by Elinor of Aquitaine, by her sons Richard Cœur-de-lion and John, and by her grandson Henry the Third,—exercised no influence over our native poetry, the Italian poets themselves, from the days of Chaucer to those of Milton, became the exemplars alike of our lyrical and narrative poets, and the source whence our dramatists have derived their most effective plots. It is creditable to the early taste of England that this should have been so. The more healthful feeling of our forefathers found little to admire in the wire-drawn sentimentalities, and the mere combination of musical words and flowing numbers, which the productions of the troubadours presented; but when Petrarch gave forth his truly poetical compositions, the Englishman yielded a willing admiration to the sweet singing-bird of the south, and scarcely had death hushed his melody, ere our Chaucer, with the ardent enthusiasm of the true poet, hastened to proffer his homage to

> 'Francis Petrarke, that laureate poet swete,
> (Who) Illumined all Itaille with poesie.'

Francis Petrarch, although for generations he has been remembered only as a poet, was yet an important personage both in the learned and in the political world. Like his great contemporary Dante, he was a public character; and notwithstanding his repeated eulogies on solitude, he was a frequent resident at the court of princes, and received from them the most flattering homage. His career, indeed, so far as worldly prosperity is concerned, forms a striking contrast to that of many an illustrious poet; while, unlike many a favorite of one generation, who having received his meed of praise in his lifetime, is forgotten by the next, five centuries have joined in accumulating laurels on the tomb of '*il piu gentile amatore*,' and whenever the names of the chief poets of modern Europe are pronounced, among them Petrarch finds a place. The life of a poet so illustrious was a suitable task for one who holds high place among our modern poets; we were, however, on looking over the first work on our list, disappointed that so very few specimens of Petrarch's poems were given; this deficiency is happily supplied

by the second work on our table, and from them both we shall draw our illustrations of Petrarch, his times and his poetry.

Francesco Petrarcha, the son of Petrarco del 'l Ancisa and Eletta Canigiani, both Florentines, was born on the 20th of July, 1304, at Arezzo, whither his mother had fled, her husband, as one of the 'Bianci,' having been banished from Florence. During his infancy, his parents 'had still to struggle with an adverse fate,' for the father was compelled to separate himself from his wife and child, that he might obtain employment. The first seven years of his life were passed at Ancisa; but on the arrival of the Emperor Henry the Seventh in Italy, Petrarch's father proceeded with his family to Pisa, and soon after to Avignon. From hence, in 1315, they removed to Carpentras, and here young Petrarch was first placed under a master who taught him the rudiments of grammar and logic—the two grand divisions of the school instruction of the day. From school, he was sent to the University of Montpelier, and from thence he was taken by his father in 1323, and placed at Bologna, the celebrated university for the study of the canon law, together with his brother Gherardo, and a young friend about his own age, Guido Settimo.

'But neither the abilities of the several professors in that celebrated academy, nor the strongest exhortations of his father, were sufficient to conquer the deeply-rooted aversion which our poet had conceived against the law. Accordingly, Petracco hastened to Bologna, that he might endeavor to check his son's indulgence in literature, which disconcerted his favorite designs. Petrarch, guessing at the motive of his arrival, hid the copies of Cicero, Virgil, and some other authors, which composed his small library, and to purchase which he had deprived himself of almost the necessaries of life. His father, however, soon discovered the place of their concealment, and threw them into the fire. Petrarch exhibited as much feeling of agony as if he had been himself the martyr of his father's resentment. But Petracco was so much affected by his son's tears, that he rescued from the flames Cicero and Virgil, and, presenting them to Petrarch, he said, 'Virgil will console you for the loss of your other MSS., and Cicero will prepare you for the study of the law.'

—*Life of Petrarch*, vol. i. p. 39.

Not long after he lost his mother, on whose death he composed a poem, and with troubadour-like affectation, made the number of the verses, thirty-eight, correspond with the years of her life. His father did not long survive; he died at Avignon, about 1325, and Petrarch, now in his twenty-second year, with his younger brother Gherardo, quitted the dull city of Bologna and its uncongenial studies, to take up their residence at the largest, most luxurious, and most licentious of the Italian cities. The bequests of their father not being sufficient for the

maintenance of the two brothers, they sought a subsistence from literature. Mr. Campbell says they entered the church; an assertion which he would find it difficult to prove from historical testimony; and which is, we think, completely disproved by Petrarch's account of himself. The case was, that as a scholar, he was viewed as belonging to the church, although not qualified to perform any of her peculiar functions (we need scarcely remind our readers that the phrase 'clerical,' in our language, has reference to learning, not to the priestly office), and thus although the young scholar soon received more than one benefice, and eventually obtained a canonry, still he was no more to be considered as an actual minister of the church than the lay fellows of our universities.

At Avignon, in the society of the great and noble, but in too many instances the profligate, did the young poet, at the most susceptible period of life, reside, and although he soon discovered, and expressed himself indignantly at the shameless licentiousness and venality of the papal court there, still that he was not proof against the baleful example which every where met his eyes, we have his own repentant acknowledgment in after life. There seems, indeed, to have been every thing in Petrarch at this early period to have rendered him an attractive companion both to young and old.

'Petrarch, when young, was so strikingly handsome, that he was frequently pointed at and admired as he passed along, for his features were manly, well formed, and expressive, and his carriage was graceful and distinguished. He was sprightly in conversation, and his voice was uncommonly musical. His complexion was between brown and fair, and his eyes were bright and animated. His countenance was a faithful index of his heart.

'He endeavored to temper the warmth of his constitution by the regularity of his living and the plainness of his diet. He indulged little in either wine or sleep, and fed chiefly on fruits and vegetables.

'In his early days he was nice and neat in his dress, even to a degree of affectation, which, in later life, he ridiculed when writing to his brother Gherardo. 'Do you remember,' he says, 'how much care we employed in the lure of dressing our persons? When we traversed the streets, with what attention did we not avoid every breath of wind which might discompose our hair; and with what caution did we not prevent the least speck of dirt from soiling our garments!'

'This vanity, however, lasted only during his youthful days. And even then neither attention to his personal appearance, nor his attachment to the fair sex, nor his attendance upon the great, could induce Petrarch to neglect his own mental improvement, for, amidst all these occupations, he found leisure for application; and, as he had no longer to contend with the absolute commands of a father, he gave up the law, and devoted himself entirely to the cultivation of his favorite pursuits of literature.'—Ib. pp. 46, 47.

He now began to compose, both in Latin and Italian; and in the former language, his productions, now for the most part forgotten, consist of 'Africa,' an epic poem, twelve eclogues, and three books of epistles.

'Petrarch found that the greatest obstacles to his improvement arose from the scarcity of authors whom he wished to consult—for the manuscripts of the writers of the Augustan age were, at that time, so uncommon, that many could not be procured, and many more of them could not be purchased under the most extravagant price. This scarcity of books had checked the dawning light of literature.

'The zeal of our poet, however, surmounted all these obstacles, for he was indefatigable in collecting and copying many of the choicest manuscripts; and posterity is indebted to him for the possession of many valuable writings, which were in danger of being lost through the carelessness or ignorance of the possessors.'—Ib. pp. 49, 50.

Although classical literature is doubtless indebted to Petrarch for this, still we cannot but think that if he had been thrown more upon his own resources, as Dante was, his poetry would have displayed more originality, and certainly more strength. Still we are aware it may be answered, that his keen relish for the refined diction of his favorite Latin authors, went far to qualify him for the task of refining and improving his native tongue, and that especially it enabled him to adopt in his sonnets that exquisite beauty of style which defies translation.

Young, handsome, learned,—admired by the scholar no less than by the lady—the friend of John of Florence, and the protegé of James Colonna, bishop of Lombes, Petrarch on the morning that he attended service in the church of Santa Clara at Avignon, had probably little foreboding of that influence which was hereafter to rule all his energies, and only cease with life. It was here he first saw Laura. Mr. Campbell remarks, that it is generally supposed Good Friday was the day, but that an Italian critic denies this; and considers it to have been Easter Monday. This is strange indeed, since Petrarch, who certainly knew better than his critics, has expressly stated in his third sonnet—

> 'It was the day when Phœbus veiled his light,
> In dread remembrance of his Maker's doom,
> Lady! thine eyes did first my heart illume—
> Their beauty then enchained my aching sight.'

His description of her is worth transcribing.

''I beheld a lady,' thus speaks the poet, 'habited in a green mantle interspersed with violets, upon which hung a profusion of golden tresses, whilst her lofty, yet graceful carriage, distinguished her from all who surrounded her. A countenance of celestial beauty was set off

by a throat of exquisite whiteness; her beaming eyes were surmounted by brows of ebony; her mouth, on which the rose seemed to have reflected its glowing hue, enclosed pearls of dazzling transparency, whilst to complete this modelled loveliness, were the most delicate hand, a small taper foot, a gay artless expression, and a clear musical voice, whose tones won an instant entrance to the heart.'—*One Hundred Sonnets*, p. 5, 6.

This was certainly a very suitable 'lady-love' for a young poet of twenty-three; nor, when he subsequently found that she was the wife of Hugh de Sade, is it probable that he felt great disappointment; for married ladies were the especial objects of the attention of the troubadours, and such was the state of morals in the Italian cities, that intrigue seems to have formed the chief occupation of the higher classes. But Laura, with a mind superior to those by whom she was surrounded, stood even more alone in moral purity, and although the wife of an unloving, a tyrannical husband, and celebrated ere long throughout all Italy by one whom prelates and princes united to honor, she never fell from her high moral station, but with unceasing effort sought to direct the enthusiasm of her gifted but erring lover from herself to loftier objects. The following sonnet, one of the few translated by Mr. Campbell, and which probably was written soon after the poet's first interview, is very beautiful—it is as he says, 'a gem of Petrarchan and Platonic homage to beauty.'

'In what ideal world or part of heaven
Did Nature find the model of that face
And form, so fraught with loveliness and grace,
In which, to our creation, she has given
Her prime proof of creative power above?
What fountain nymph or goddess ever let
Such lovely tresses float of gold refined
Upon the breeze, or in a single mind
Where have so many virtues ever met,
E'en though those charms have slain my bosom's weal?
He knows not love who has not seen her eyes
Turn when she sweetly speaks, or smiles, or sighs,
Or how the power of love can hurt or heal.'

—*Life of Petrarch*, vol. ii. p. 364.

For nearly three years Petrarch continued at Avignon, prosecuting his studies, but feeding that passion which rendered the name of Laura ere long illustrious throughout all Italy. In 1330 he accompanied his patron, James Colonna, on a tour through the south of France, to his bishopric of Lombes, and again returned to Avignon. Here his passion for Laura became so violent, he so constantly followed her, and was so unceasing in his addresses, that she retired whenever he appeared, or

covered her face with her veil, and refused to answer him. It was probably to endeavour to overcome his unrequited attachment, that he soon after set out on a long journey through France, Brabant, and part of Germany, and returned in 1334 to Avignon. But his love continued violent as ever, and Laura still repulsed his advances, and again, in 1336, the young poet, whose hair had already become grey with the violence of his feelings, set out on a journey to Rome.

On his arrival at 'the eternal city,' Petrarch received an affectionate welcome from his friends the Colonnas:—he had apartments assigned him in the capitol, and received from every branch of that proud family attentions which, in those early days, were bestowed on illustrious scholars alone. The magnificence of Rome impressed strongly his glowing imagination; but unable, it would seem, to find rest there, he quitted it after a few months' residence, and undertook a long voyage along the southern coast of Europe; and, passing the Straits of Gibraltar, sailed as far northward as Britain. He did not, however, visit our shores, but he returned to Avignon, vainly boasting that he had overcome his passion, and believing that he had. The following year his son John was born;—that the mother was a female of an inferior class, seems very probable, for her name is unknown; but notwithstanding the ridicule which Mr. Campbell would throw on our opinion, we are strongly inclined to consider that he was the offspring of a left-handed marriage; for Petrarch, when he mentions this son, or the daughter that was soon after born, never alludes to them as illegitimate. Such marriages, during the middle ages, were common, and they were easily set aside—it is therefore, not unlikely that Petrarch, in despair at the rejection of Laura, at length sought to turn his heart away by the formation of new ties. In our view of Petrarch at this time, it would be most unjust to apply our standard of morals rigidly to his conduct. The inhabitant of a city, the most licentious of all the cities of Italy, surrounded by friends who, while they admired the poetry of his homage to Laura, ridiculed its refinement and lofty aspirations, Petrarch would indeed have been the first of moralists, had he maintained that unstained character which Milton, surrounded by puritan associations, displayed. Still, that his conduct, neither in reference to Laura, nor perhaps toward this unknown female, was what his conscience could approve, is touchingly exhibited in the following sonnet, in which, in his own words, he 'prays for grace.'

'O thou, Heaven's father! tho' my days are gone,
My nights consum'd in yielding to the flame
Her fatal beauty kindl'd in my frame,
The day her light upon my spirit shone;

'My soul illumine, that it soon may own
A new existence, and a nobler aim,
And in *that* foe awake the blush of shame,
Who hath his snare around me vainly thrown.

'Eleven circling years have o'er me roll'd
Since first I bow'd submissive to a yoke
Most galling to the slave the most resign'd:

'This grief unworthy of myself behold!
Let holier dreams my wand'ring thoughts invoke.
Lord! of thy sacrifice my soul remind!'

—*One Hundred Sonnets*, p. 71.

It was about this time that Petrarch retired to Vaucluse, a beautiful valley, fifteen miles distant from Avignon, and here he purchased a small cottage, with an adjoining field, and, with no other companions but his books, took up his residence. The remarks of Mr. Campbell upon this, as well upon other parts of his conduct, are, to say the least, in bad taste. From his own acknowledgment, Petrarch evidently fled to Vaucluse to maintain, in solitude, that struggle against his sinful propensities which, in Avignon, he could not maintain. Whether he did best in thus doing, neither Mr. Campbell nor the writer of these pages can possibly tell. Still, to fly from admiring friends and fascinating associations, to a solitude enlivened only by the conversation, at long intervals, of 'a swarthy old 'woman,' and a few ignorant fishermen, argues a sincere desire to act 'as ever in his great taskmaster's eyes.'

Vaucluse was not destined long to be a solitude. Persons distinguished both by rank and learning came from the farthest parts of France and Italy to see the celebrated poet. But if Petrarch retired to Vaucluse with a hermit-like feeling, it was with no hermit-like indolence that he passed his days. While here he undertook a history of ancient Rome, and commenced his epic 'Africa,' and wrote several of his epistles. It is mentioned by his biographers, that during this time he carefully abstained from visiting Avignon, fearing to meet Laura. He, however, did meet her, and, according to some, received marks of kindness from her; and even the remark, 'Petrarch, 'you are tired of loving me.' This, however, seems most unlikely, for he always represents Laura as being most distant in manner; and the beautiful sonnet which Mr. Campbell gives in corroboration, we should place some six or eight years later. But while he continued in his seclusion, an honor which he earnestly wished for, but which probably he saw little expectation of obtaining, was at hand. On the first of September, 1340, he received a letter from the Roman senate, inviting him to come and be crowned poet laureate at Rome.

By a singular coincidence, on the afternoon of the same day, he received another letter, inviting him to come and receive the same honor at Paris. The Italian and poetical predilections of Petrarch prevailed, as we might well suppose, in his choice, and he determined to be crowned at Rome. Thither he set out early in the year 1341, first proceeding to Naples, to visit king Robert the Good. By this monarch he was received with the highest honors; and when he paid his farewell visit, king Robert, with a munificence which reminds us of the gifts of northern sovereigns to the troubadours, took off his mantle of violet velvet, bound with a girdle of diamonds, and presenting them to him, requested that they might be worn on the day of his triumph. Petrarch arrived at Rome early in April, and

'The morning of the 8th of April, 1341, was ushered in by the sound of trumpets; and the people, ever fond of a show, came from all quarters to see the ceremony. Twelve youths, selected from the best families of Rome, and clothed in scarlet, opened the procession, repeating, as they went, some verses composed by the poet in honor of the Roman people. They were followed by six citizens of Rome, clothed in green, and bearing crowns wreathed with different flowers. Petrarch walked in the midst of them; after him came the senator, accompanied by the first men of the council. The streets were strewed with flowers, and the windows filled with ladies, dressed in the most splendid manner, who showered perfumed waters profusely on the poet. He all the time wore the robe that had been presented to him by the king of Naples. When they reached the capitol, the trumpets were silent, and Petrarch, having made a short speech, in which he quoted a verse from Virgil, cried out three times, 'Long live the Roman people! long live the senators! may God preserve their liberty!' At the conclusion of these words, he knelt before the senator Orso, who, taking a crown of laurel from his own head, placed it on that of Petrarch, saying, 'This crown is the reward of virtue.' The poet then repeated a sonnet in praise of the ancient Romans. The people testified their approbation by shouts of applause, crying, 'Long flourish the capitol and the poet!' The friends of Petrarch shed tears of joy, and Stefano Colonna, his favorite hero, addressed the assembly in his honor.

'The ceremony having been finished at the capitol, the procession, amidst the sound of trumpets and the acclamations of the people, repaired thence to the church of St. Peter, where Petrarch offered up his crown of laurel before the altar.'—*Life of Petrarch*, vol. i. pp. 209—211.

From Rome he proceeded to Pisa, from thence to Parma, where the following incident attests his wide popularity.

'Petrarch experienced this sign of popularity when he was at Parma, from the circumstance of a blind old man, who had been a grammar-school master at Pontremoli, arriving at Parma, in order to pay his devotions to the laureate. The poor man had already walked to

Naples, guided in his blindness by his only son, for the purpose of finding Petrarch. The poet had left that city; but King Robert, pleased with his enthusiasm, made him a present of some money. The aged pilgrim returned to Pontremoli, where, being informed that Petrarch was at Parma, he crossed the Appennines, in spite of the severity of the weather, and travelled thither, having sent before him a tolerable copy of verses. He was presented to Petrarch, whose hand he kissed with devotion and exclamations of joy. One day, before many spectators, the blind man said to Petrarch, 'Sir, I have come far to see you.' The bystanders laughed, on which the old man replied, 'I appeal to you, Petrarch, whether I do not see you more clearly and distinctly than these men who have their eyesight.' Petrarch gave him a kind reception, and dismissed him with a considerable present.'—Ib. pp. 218, 219.

At Parma he continued for some time, but in the year 1342 he was sent to Avignon, as advocate of the Roman people to Clement the Sixth, the new pope, for the purpose of imploring him to bring back the papal chair to their city. On this subject Petrarch had always felt strongly, and not content with prose pleadings, he had recourse to verse; but the pope, although he complimented his eloquence, postponed, like his predecessors, his return.

With Petrarch on this occasion, a celebrated man, though as yet scarcely known, was associated, Cola di Rienzo; and to the eloquent lamentation of the poet over the unsettled state of Italy, and the degraded condition of Rome, the enthusiastic attempts of the future tribune may perhaps be attributed. The indignation of Petrarch at the scandalous conduct of the church dignitaries at this period, found scope in a work entitled 'A 'Book of Letters without a Title;' and Mr. Campbell expresses surprise that these eighteen letters 'fulminate as freely against 'papal luxury and corruption as if they had been penned by 'Luther or John Knox.' We could point out to Mr. Campbell's notice a score of works, earlier or contemporary, containing quite as vehement fulminations. The case really is, that from the twelfth century to the sixteenth, the voice of rebuke and warning was lifted against the papal power; and so far from the Reformation 'bursting upon astonished Europe,' as a writer more brilliant than well informed, expresses it, the Reformation of the sixteenth century was the slow result of influences, religious and political, which had been silently working their way for full three centuries. The remark of Mr. Campbell, too, that perhaps Petrarch was influenced by dislike to Avignon, not to Rome, is strangely puerile. Avignon was the seat of Romish ecclesiastical power,—for the pope and the cardinals were there; and surely when Petrarch remarks that the successors of the fishermen have forgotten their origin, that they

are 'fishers of men, who catch a credulous multitude, and de-'vour them for their prey,' he attacked the papal system, not its locality.

During this period Petrarch began the study of Greek. Bernardo Barlaamo, a Calabrian monk, was his instructor; a celebrated man, who had resided at Constantinople, and been abbot there;—but in 1343, the death of King Robert of Naples induced the pope to send him there, to negotiate with the council respecting the regency. When he arrived at Naples, all was in confusion, and his letters from thence are valuable contributions toward the history of the unfortunate Queen Giovanna, whose story, as Mr. Campbell justly says, reminds us greatly of Mary, Queen of Scots. He quitted Naples soon after, and again retired to Parma;—in the following year its siege compelled Petrarch to seek another retreat, and he determined to return to Avignon.

At this period a change seems to have passed over his mind in reference to Laura; and after an almost songless interval, he again pours forth the most ardent homage in strains of untranslateable beauty. The two following sonnets are among the proofs of this; the first translated by Mrs. Wollaston, the second by Mr. Campbell.

'Oh! what rich vein to Love the gold bequeath'd
Which wrought those tresses? Say, what thorn so blest
Resign'd to him its rose? what mount possest
That tender snow, he now to life hath breath'd?

'Whence sprang the pearls from whose restraint unsheath'd
Her words in weapon'd eloquence are drest?
Where woke that beauty, on her brow confest,
Serener than the smile o'er heaven enwreath'd?

'What spheres harmonious that sweet song inspir'd,
Whose melody so vanquishes my soul
No farther triumph can it now contest?

'What wak'ning sun those eyes exalted fir'd
With light so pure—they war and peace control,
And heat and cold alternate in my breast?'

—*One Hundred Sonnets*, p. 147.

'Time was her tresses by the breathing air
Were wreath'd to many a ringlet golden bright,
Time was her eyes diffused unmeasured light,
Though now their lovely beams are waxing rare,
Her face methought that in its blushes show'd
Compassion, her angelic shape and walk,
Her voice that seem'd with Heaven's own speech to talk,
At these, what wonder that my bosom glowed?

> A living sun she seemed—a spirit of Heaven,
> Those charms decline: but does my passion? No!
> I love not less—the slackening of the bow
> Assuages not the wound its shaft has given.'
>
> —*Life of Petrarch*, pp. 364, 365.

Mr. Campbell remarks that now 'the twentieth year of his 'devotion to Laura had elapsed; in viewing an attachment so 'deep and permanent, our sympathy begins to get ahead of our 'strict morality.' There is, however, no necessity that it should do so, since we think an easier solution is at hand than that which views Laura as yielding at length to a misplaced passion. We have already remarked that the married life of Laura was most unhappy; while that her husband had no very strong attachment to her, perhaps had formed another, is evident from his marrying within a few months after her death. Now divorces were of common occurrence among the nobility at this period, and especially in Italy, from the facility of obtaining papal dispensations. What, therefore, is more probable than that such a step might be contemplated by Hugh de Sade; and that the hope that Laura might eventually become free, should awaken in Petrarch's heart all the eager expectations which for so long a course of years he feared to indulge? At this period, too, he was free, for the mother of his two children died in 1343. Church preferment had repeatedly been offered him, and repeatedly been refused, and it is difficult to account for this, seeing that immediately after Laura's death he entered the church, save by supposing that he still indulged the hope of eventually becoming the husband of his twenty years loved mistress. His reply to the remonstrance of St. Augustine, whom in an imaginary conversation in his work '*De Con-* '*temptu Mundi*,' he represents as addressing him, is conclusive testimony, we think, to Laura's unstained character.

'Thou wilt not deny that the little good thou beholdest in me, is the work of *her* hands. However undeserving I may be of my present name and glory, still I had not attained this proud eminence, had not she, by her noble precepts, warmed into life the feeble germs of virtue nature had implanted within me. She it was who withdrew my youthful heart from its associating impurity; and, by the power of sympathy, made it pant for the contemplation of all that was sublime —thus, by love, changing the very nature of the lover. Never has the audacious and sharpened tooth of calumny dared to lacerate her spotless fame—not one hath presumed to breathe his censure either upon her actions, her words, or her looks; whilst they who confound alike all that should excite respect, silently evince their veneration of her, by leaving her in peace. Is it marvellous that one so pure, should have awakened within me the desire of winning a fame bright as her own, whilst my youthful aspirations sought no other recompense, save

her approval, who alone gave me pleasure on earth? And thou wouldst have me forget her—thou wouldst bid me love her less, who, in withdrawing me from a contact with the multitude, elected herself my guide in every undertaking—was the gentle spur of my sluggish spirit—and fanned anew into flame my half extinguished genius.'

—*One Hundred Sonnets*, pp. 32, 33.

Surely she, who many years after her death was the object of such grateful remembrance, must have been well worthy the poet's homage.

It was during this time that the singular revolution under Cola de Rienzo was accomplished at Rome; and Petrarch, whose feelings were always on the side of freedom, hastened to congratulate the tribune, and celebrate the event in an allegorical poem. But after events soon proved that Roman liberty was not as yet to triumph, and Petrarch at length found that Rienzo was not the hero he contemplated. He now determined to retire to Italy: it is not improbable that he had excited the hostility of some of the papal court, by his avowed advocacy of Rienzo, perhaps by his censures on the profligacy of the clergy at Avignon; where, however, he intended to settle is not known. Previously to quitting Avignon, he took leave of Laura, little thinking that it would be their last meeting. Toward the close of the year 1347, he proceeded to Genoa, and from thence to Verona.

The year 1348 was memorable throughout all Europe, for the earthquake that terrified its southern coasts, and the plague, which spread desolation from its eastern to its western boundary. Through all the ravages of that fearful pestilence Petrarch remained unharmed, but Laura fell a victim to it on the 6th of April, 1348. The following note, written by his own hand, in his copy of Virgil, which was formerly in the Ambrosian library at Milan, records his irreparable loss.

'Laura, illustrious for her virtues, and for a long time celebrated in my verses, for the first time appeared to my eyes on the 6th of April, 1327, in the church of St. Clara, at the first hour of the day. I was then in my youth. In the same city, and at the same hour, in the year 1348, this luminary disappeared from our world. I was then at Verona, ignorant of my wretched situation. Her chaste and beautiful [illegible] was buried the same day, after vespers, in the church of the [illegible]. Her soul returned to its native mansion in heaven. I [illegible] this with a pleasure mixed with bitterness, to retrace the [illegible] remembrance of 'MY GREAT LOSS.' This loss convinces [illegible] nothing now left worth living for, since the strongest [illegible] is broken. By the grace of God, I shall easily re[illegible] where my hopes have been vain and perishing. It is [illegible] Babylon when the knot that bound me to it is [illegible] vol. i. pp. 358, 359.

The death of Laura seems to have effected what she earnestly desired during her life—the advance of her lover in virtue and religion. Still, as may well be supposed, his sorrow was too severe to yield without a protracted struggle. The following sonnet, written most probably soon after, is very beautiful.

'Lady! whose gentle virtues have obtain'd
For thee a dwelling with thy Maker blest,
To sit enthron'd above, in angels' vest
(Whose lustre gold and purple had attained):

'Ah thou! who here the most exalted reign'd,
Now thro' the eyes of Him who knows each breast,
That heart's pure faith and love thou canst attest,
Which both my pen and tears alike sustain'd.

'Thou knowest, too, my heart was thine on earth,
As now it is in heav'n; no hope was there,
But to avow thine eyes—its only shrine:

'Thus to reward the strife, which owes its birth
To thee, who won my each affection'd care,
Pray Heav'n to waft me to *his* home and *thine*!'
—*One Hundred Sonnets*, p. 247.

But years after, Petrarch besought forgiveness for that idolatry which, occupied with the contemplation of her blessedness, had well nigh forgotten Him, who claimed his first devotion.

The three years after his loss were spent in visiting the various Italian cities, where he received the highest honors; during his stay at Padua, he met two Carthusian friars, and from them learnt the following interesting particulars of his brother Gherardo, who, some years before, in sorrow for the loss of a lady to whom he was devotedly attached, retired to the cloister.

'The plague, they said, having got into the convent of Montrieux, the prior, a pious but timorous man, told his monks that flight was the only course which they could take. Gherardo answered with courage, 'Go whither you please! As for myself, I will remain in the situation in which Heaven has placed me.' The prior fled to his own country, where death soon overtook him. Gherardo remained in the convent, where the plague spared him, and left him alone, after having destroyed, within a few days, thirty-four of the brethren who had continued with him. He paid them every service, received their last sighs, and buried them when death had taken off those to whom that office belonged. With only a dog left for his companion, Gherardo watched at night to guard the house, and took his repose by day. When the summer was over, he went to a neighboring monastery of the Carthusians, who enabled him to restore his convent.

'While the Carthusians were making this honorable mention of Father Gherardo, the prelate cast his eyes from time to time upon Petrarch. 'I know not,' says the poet, 'whether my eyes were filled with tears, but my heart was tenderly touched.' The Carthusians, at last discovering who Petrarch was, saluted him with congratulations. Petrarch gives an account of this interview in a letter to his brother himself.'—*Life of Petrarch,* vol. ii. pp. 67, 68.

From Padua, Petrarch proceeded to Venice, where he formed an acquaintance with its Doge, Andrea Dandolo, to whom soon after he addressed an earnest remonstrance on the occasion of its war with Genoa. The remonstrance was unheeded, although the writer was complimented for his deep eloquence; but if disappointed in his patriotic aim of preserving the peace and unity of the Italian cities, he received intelligence which highly gratified him, in the restoration of his family estates, and his admission to the citizenship of Florence, united to an invitation, in the name of the republic, that he would reside in the city of his ancestors, and become the head of the projected university. Petrarch declined the latter offer in a courteous letter, and proceeded northward. In the summer of 1351, he revisited Vaucluse, and wrote some of his most pleasing Latin verses in its praise. He then proceeded to Avignon, where, indignant at the even increasing profligacy of 'the western Babylon,' he wrote his seventh eclogue. It seems strange that this stern censurer of the clergy should have been invited by Clement the Sixth, himself no faultless character, to become his secretary;—was it on the principle that in the present day offers lucrative situations under government to the leaders of the opposition? However this may be, we find some objections were made; Petrarch took the advantage of them, and declined the honor, with the same feeling, he says, 'as that of a prisoner when the 'gates of his dungeon are thrown open.'

On the accession, soon after, of Innocent the Sixth to the papal chair, Petrarch retired to Milan, under the protection of the powerful John Visconti. This step was greatly blamed by his friends, for Visconti was a despot; and Petrarch's apology for his conduct, which, indeed, stripped of all its ornaments, is little more than 'I could not help it,' dissatisfied them still more. Without apologizing for him, as Mr. Campbell has, on the ground of his admiration of Visconti's talents, we think his conduct may probably have arisen from the necessity of placing himself under the guardianship of a powerful prince. Petrarch had evidently excited much ill will at Avignon, and by the present pontiff he was actually viewed as a magician;—while by his unwise attacks on the physicians there, he had excited their bitterest hostility; it might be as well then for him to retire to a better guarded place than the solitude of Vaucluse, and in

that case, the very reason which impelled him to seek an asylum with John Visconti, would be that which could not be acknowledged.

While at Milan he was employed to negotiate peace between Venice and Genoa, a mission which could not but have been grateful to him, and at the same time he received a present, doubtless to him beyond all price, a Greek Homer. At Milan Petrarch remained, until the arrival of the Emperor Charles, who entered Italy on the death of John Visconti. Petrarch, who had already been his correspondent, was now received by Charles with great respect, and the enthusiastic poet prophesied that the independence of Italy would soon be accomplished by the agency of a German Cæsar. But although Charles did not fulfil the poet's high expectations, he ever continued his warm friend, and, in 1357, bestowed on him the rather incongruous honor of a count-palatine of the German empire. Meanwhile he took up his residence on the banks of the Adda, and tranquilly pursued his literary occupations, and the education of his son. In a letter to his friend Settimo, he describes his mode of life very minutely; remarks that but for constant occupation he fears he should fall into sin, and adds, 'I depend on the 'grace of heaven, without which I should infallibly fall as I 'fell in former times. All my reliance is on Christ.' It was probably about this time that the following sonnet, which so strongly marks his increased devotional feelings, was written.

'Love held me one-and-twenty years enchain'd,
His flame was joy—for hope was in my grief;
For ten more years I wept without relief,
When Laura with my heart, to Heav'n attain'd.

'Now weary grown, my life I had arraign'd,
That, in its error, check'd (to my belief)
Blest virtue's seeds—now, in my yellow leaf,
I grieve the mis-spent years, existence stain'd.

'Alas! it might have sought a brighter goal
In flying troublous thoughts, and winning peace;
Oh Father! I repentant seek thy throne:

'Thou, in this temple hast enshrin'd my soul,
Oh bless me yet, and grant its safe release!
Unjustified—my sin I humbly own.'

—*One Hundred Sonnets*, p. 255.

Although advanced in years, Petrarch was once more sent on a political mission. It was to Paris, to congratulate John, King of France, on the termination of his captivity in England. On his return he proceeded to Venice, and made that republic a noble present, that of his library, his son, to whom probably

he might once have thought of bequeathing it, having grown up a profligate young man, and dying ere he had attained his twenty-third year. From his daughter Francesca, he, however, received much comfort; she attended her illustrious father in his latter years, and after her marriage he resided near her. From the year 1371, Petrarch's health began to decline; his death, however, did not take place until the night of the 18th of June, 1374. On the following morning his servants went into his library to call him as usual, and found him sitting with his head reclining on a book. They were unwilling to disturb him, but perceiving no motion, they approached, and found that he was dead. The following sonnet, believed to be the last he ever wrote, forms the best conclusion to his life.

'I mourn the wasted life I had begun
In loving *that*, was doom'd alas! to die;
Whilst vain the wings Heav'n gave, that I might fly,
And soaring—leave the track I nobly won.

'Oh Thou! invisible! immortal one!
Who seest the grief my spirit should defy;
Oh! that thy grace my weakness may supply,
Support the soul that knows not ill to shun.

'Tho' war and tempest mark my earthly course,
Oh! let a peaceful haven greet its close—
Tho' vain my life—a Christian let me die!

'Thou knowst thou art alone my soul's resource,
Oh guard the life thy mercy yet bestows,
And when in death, thine aid do not deny!'—Ib. p. 257.

In the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, when full five centuries have ratified the claim, it would be indeed a work of supererogation to demand for Francis Petrarch a high place among the poets of Europe. Still, although that place has been conceded to him by universal assent, there are not wanting critics who view him as a poet of the imagination rather than of the heart, and who characterize his life-long devotion to Laura as an extravagance almost bordering upon insanity. Such opinions, we think, may be traced to ignorance of the state of feeling among the inhabitants of Europe during the middle ages. Not bound as now in a sevenfold chain of cold conventionalities, men then felt vehemently, and acted with an impulse to which modern times afford no parallel. Is it, indeed, so very strange that in an age when men rushed with overmastering enthusiasm to fight for the Holy Land, that a sparkle of the same enthusiasm should lend itself to other objects? We can distinctly perceive its traces in the eager

devotion with which the young scholar pledged his whole life to the pursuit of knowledge, which led him to spend thirteen years, as John of Salisbury informs us, in merely initiatory studies, and to call it 'paradise;'—which sent a host of students to besiege the desolate habitation of Abelard, axe in hand, demanding leave to cut down the trees, and build a rude dwelling, that under it they might listen to his voice; that sent crowds in the following century on long and painful pilgrimage to listen to Peter Lombard, or to the metaphysical subtleties of St. Thomas Aquinas. Surely if the canon law and dialectics could awaken so much enthusiasm among the young and ardent, the bright eyes of the young poet's ladye-love might well awaken a yet deeper feeling. Thus, viewed in reference to the general enthusiasm of the period, chivalry with its most devoted '*hommage aux dames*,' is natural enough.

But however devoted the services of the knights of northern Europe might appear, they were left far behind by those of the south; and beyond even these, were the extravagances of the troubadours. Now we must remember that Petrarch was the nursling of these, and to the reader acquainted with their poems, the most far-fetched of Petrarch's *concetti* are natural, in comparison with their extravagant fancies, while their proffers of eternal devotion to their chosen ladies border upon profaneness. In the present day, were a writer gifted like Petrarch to arise, and to possess, as very likely he might, as devoted an attachment to his ladye-love, his constant dwelling on her perfections would be a fertile source of ridicule to those critics whose inverted vision dwells on defects and passes over beauties; but to the readers of Petrarch's days (and critics there were none) his homage to Laura awakened their sympathy and their love. Little more than a century before, a troubadour, Geoffry Rudel, had fallen in love with the portrait of an unknown beauty—he gazed on it, he dwelt on it for years, until his health sunk, and life was fast ebbing away. Just then he learnt that the original of the portrait was a noble damsel, the lady of Tripoly. Sick as he was, he immediately set sail to that port, and he was carried ashore just on the point of death. The noble lady, hearing his sad story, hastened to the shore, and took him by the hand. He opened his eyes, gazed on the beauty he had come so far to behold, thanked her, and expired. This tale, of which we have no reason to doubt the truth, made a deep impression on a susceptible age, and the mournful fate of the young troubadour and the fair lady of Tripoly became the subject of many a lay, sung and listened to with interest in the days of Petrarch. Could the homage of Petrarch, then, to the living, well-known Laura, seem so strange to them? And then the love which followed her to heaven appealed

strongly to the religious sympathies of a devout though superstitious age, and thus not only comparatively moral England, but licentious Italy, and profligate Provence, joined in admiring homage to that poet who first combined love and religion in close and harmonious union.

The high station which Petrarch, as a poet, has maintained for so long a period, while all his other works have passed into oblivion, is proof of his real merit. Although the character of Europe is so altered, he is still the great exemplar of modern amatory poetry, and his sonnets are the streams from whence every lofty and pure-minded young poet has drank inspiration. Who may estimate the amount of good which Europe at large has received from the influence of Petrarch on her literature? Who can tell the lofty thoughts, the noble aspirations, which have been awakened in the hearts of the young and susceptible by his exquisite numbers?

With Mr. Campbell's life of Petrarch we can scarcely express ourselves pleased. The information respecting Italy will be interesting to those who are wholly unacquainted with its history, but to others, it can only serve the purpose of enlarging the work. There is a sarcasm, too, about many of his remarks which detracts seriously from the interest we might otherwise feel; and the scoffing manner in which such solemn subjects as the duration of future punishment and the 'beatific vision,' are alluded to, are, to say the least, in very bad taste. Still there are passages replete with eloquence, when Mr. Campbell turns his back on politics and religion, and keeps to poetry alone. With the 'Hundred Sonnets' of Mrs. Wollaston we have been greatly pleased; the translation is astonishingly close, and trammelled as the writer has been by adhering to Petrarch's rigid versification, we are astonished still more at it. We cannot, however, but regret that she has done so, since by allowing herself a greater variety of rhyme, she would have succeeded, we think, in transfusing somewhat more of Petrarch's sweetness of diction into them. We thank Mrs. Wollaston heartily for what we are sure has been to her a labor of love, and fully sympathize in her desire 'to awaken in the present age a fervent 'admiration and respect for the man, who by his works has shed 'an unquenched and unquenchable lustre upon that which has 'passed away,' and who we sincerely believe to have exercised a most important and beneficial influence over the whole civilized world.

Art. V. *The Pictorial History of England, Illustrated, &c.* Vols. III. and IV. pp. 912 and 856. Knight. London.

THESE volumes include the history of our country from the death of Elizabeth to that of George the Second: the first contains the reigns of the Stuarts, and treats of a portion of our history which is still looked at by all classes with equal interest, though perhaps with somewhat different feelings.

In our notice of a former volume we confined our attention almost exclusively to the history of the condition and improvement of the people; because one chief use of history consists in the exemplification of the effects which government produces on the prospects, advancement, and happiness of mankind; and because we feel a disinclination to wade through scenes of war, and bloodshed, and bad faith, and persecution; and to linger amongst causes evil in themselves, though happily for man they have resulted, and doubtless will result, in good.

The history of the Stuarts forms, however, an exception to our rule. The disorders of their times were not occasioned by foreign wars for useless aggrandisement; nor by national resistance to the invasion of a foreign foe; but by an uncompromising assertion of the common rights of man, and of those great principles on which alone a nation should be governed. A glance, then, at the general features of the time, with an occasional illustration of character or motive, is what we intend to give.

The war of extermination, between the houses of York and Lancaster, had extirpated the greater number of the high nobility of England; and the firm and depressing policy of Henry the Seventh reduced the remainder to a state of comparative subjection. In the reign of Henry the Eighth the royal prerogative was triumphant—the hyperbole of Salmasius, that the people of England played with the heads of kings as though they were tennis balls, was almost literally true as applied to Henry and the heads of his nobility. In the reign of Elizabeth, though this expensive taste was more sparingly indulged, the *prestige* of royalty remained; the nobles were subservient, and the people, though they began to understand their rights, were equally afraid to assert them. The state of affairs as regarded domestic plots and disturbances, and the necessary direction and employment of the public mind, in repelling foreign aggression, and preserving the integrity of the kingdom, upon which all other things depended, prevented the people from inquiring too nicely into the state of their rights and privileges, which they were called upon to defend, and not

to scrutinize. Nevertheless the sense of right and the spirit of inquiry were alive, though not in active exercise; and it is highly probable that had not the person and government of Elizabeth been endeared to the nation by the risks which both encountered, the commencement of the great drama which was afterwards acted out, might have been considerably antedated.

When the sceptre descended to the hands of James the case was greatly altered; and, as in the instance of Elizabeth, the personal qualities and character of the sovereign would probably have longer deferred the crisis, so there can be no doubt that the principles and characters of James and Charles the First did greatly accelerate its approach. Perhaps of all men living, James the First was the least adapted for the times on which he fell. With his high pretensions, his claims to divine right and unlimited prerogative, coupled with an imbecility of mind and body which rendered them, in him, not dreadful but contemptible; governing not by rectitude and wisdom, but by insincerity and craft; while his dread of war, amounting to personal cowardice, and the consequently pacific state of the kingdom in his reign, afforded ample leisure to the awakening people to scrutinize his pretensions, and to appreciate and put forth their own.

The Puritans were particularly obnoxious to James; not only his principles, if his predilections may deserve so good a name, but his very tastes and habits must have led him to detest and fear them. We have already spoken of his monarchical doctrines, and he considered the Puritans to be the enemies of monarchy. He had become Arminian in his creed, and of course the state bishops had become so too: the Puritans were almost to a man Calvinistic. The Arminians of the day were the friends of arbitrary power; the Puritans were anything but this. James was a profane swearer and a drunkard, to say nothing of other vices, which with some show of justice have been imputed to him, and he naturally hated men whose opinions, aye, and whose lives as well, were a constant condemnation of his own. At the same time it may safely be conceded, that the treatment which James had met with from the dominant and intolerant church party in Scotland had probably tended to increase his predilection for the form of church government established in England, over which, by means of his acknowledged supremacy, and through the medium of its supple hierarchy, he could exercise an almost unlimited control. That he should make common cause with those who so gratefully repaid his favors, was natural enough; nor did he care how high they carried their pretensions, provided only they were subservient to his own. The visible and apostolic church

—that is, Laud and Bancroft—might excommunicate, and fine, and mutilate, provided that the power so acquired was held in trust for him. Whatever tended to enervate or dismay the minds of men was useful to the sovereign who sought to govern by virtue of inherent right instead of delegated power, by prerogative and not by law.

It may be, too, that to a certain extent he was a self-deceiver; it is certain that he prided himself on his abilities for government, and at least as much upon his orthodoxy: and that more than one calamity of the most revolting kind was the direct result of his spiritual complacency.

In 1611, he signalized both his orthodoxy, and, what in all probability he valued quite as highly, his polemical skill, in the controversy which he set on foot against Conrad Vorstius, the celebrated Dutch divine, who had published a work on the nature and attributes of the Divinity, in which the king discovered a great number of what he chose to call 'damnable here-'sies.' The Dutch declining at his request (made through his ambassador Winwood) to remove Vorstius from the professorship of divinity at Leyden, James transmitted to them an admonition in his own hand writing, in which he 'bade them 'remember that the King of England was defender of the faith, 'and that it would be in his competency, in union with other 'foreign churches, to extinguish and remand to hell those 'abominable heresies.' He told them that this wretched Vorstius deserved *to be burned alive*, as much as any heretic that had ever suffered. He left it to their Christian wisdom to burn him or not, but as to allowing him upon any defence or abnegation to teach and preach, it was a thing so abominable that 'he assured himself it would never enter into any of their 'thoughts.' To all this the Hollanders returned a very cool and evasive answer. Then James entered a public protest against the heresies of Vorstius, and informed the States that they must either give up their divinity professor, or forfeit the friendship of the King of England. Afterwards he published a work in French of his own composing, entitled a 'Declaration 'against Vorstius.' The result was, that the Gomarists (Calvinists) joining with him, Vorstius was deprived of his professorship, and expelled from Leyden. The Synod of Dort gave judgment against him, and he was sentenced to perpetual banishment. *Seven hundred families* who held his tenets shared his fate. After wandering for years in terror for his life, he and the other exiles were offered an asylum in the dominions of the Duke of Holstein, where he died in 1622. These were the triumphs in which James delighted. Not satisfied with this, however, he rekindled the fires of martyrdom in his own dominions, and was the last king of England who signed the writ

'de hæretico comburendo.' One Bartholomew Legate, who is described as an obstinate Arian heretic, was apprehended and examined by the king and some of the bishops, afterwards tried before the Consistory Court, condemned, and burned in Smithfield, March 18, 1612. On the 11th of April following, Edward Wightman, convicted of heresy, was burned at Litchfield—the poor creature was a lunatic, who fancied himself the Holy Spirit. 'Another victim was ready, but the lawyers began to 'question whether the proceedings were strictly legal, and the 'bishops to doubt' (not whether they were accordant with the spirit of Christianity but) 'whether they were *useful to their* '*Church!*'—Vol. iii. p. 48.

Henry the Eighth was at least impartial in his bigotry; if he hanged the Catholic, he also burned the Protestant who ventured to receive as truth what he denounced as falsehood. Not so James; in perfect consistency with his general character, he persecuted only in what he thought the safe direction. His clemency to the Catholics is supposed to have arisen from fear of provoking too far so powerful and unscrupulous a body, especially after he had experienced of what they were capable on the discovery of the powder plot. Whether he was still further inclined to please them on account of his Queen Anne of Denmark, who was a devoted and bigoted Catholic, must now be left to conjecture; that she had not much influence over him appears from a letter which she wrote to the Duke of Buckingham, requesting his interference with James in favor of Sir Walter Raleigh; which letter, as it is a curious composition, and does credit to her feelings, we shall insert.

'Anna R.

'My kind Dog,*

'If I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a triall of it at this time, in dealing sincerely and earnestly with the king, that Sir Walter Raleigh's life may not be called in question. If you do it so that ye success may answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinary kindly at your hands, and rest one that wisheth you well, and desires you to continue still, as you have been, a true servant to your master.

'To ye Marquiss of Buckingham.'

The application was unsuccessful, but the writer of the letter is not, therefore, the less to be honored for making it. The history of the latter days of that great but somewhat unscrupu-

* The reader is probably aware that Buckingham in his letters to the king subscribes himself 'Your slave and dog.'

lous man, Sir Walter Raleigh, is a disgrace to the character and government of James.

The principal objects of the king appear to have been to unite the kingdoms of England and Scotland; to put down the liberty of the subject; to suppress the Puritans; to conciliate the Catholics; to make Ireland protestant and Scotland episcopal; and to ally his family with Spain. In each and all of which he failed.

During his reign the Catholics were sometimes treated with rigor, sometimes with indulgence; they complained loudly, but after all they were better used than the Puritans. The latter were unceasingly and progressively oppressed. Even the judges had been induced to sanction the proceedings of the High Commission Court against them, declaring that the king had the right of making orders and constitutions for the clergy, and of depriving them if they disobeyed; and that to petition against such proceedings was high treason: and the Puritan ministers were not only deprived, but were moreover forbidden to worship in their own way; so that at the death of James, 'contempt, disgust, and the bitter feelings engendered by the 'persecutions they underwent, converted the Puritans generally, 'before the close of his reign, into zealots for a reformation in 'the state as well as in the church.'—Vol. iii. p. 497.

It was fortunate for the nation that the grand attempt upon its liberties was made by such a man as Charles the First; had his mind been as powerful and acute, and his moral strength as great, as his will was arbitrary and his conscience supple, it might have gone ill with us; but fortunately, he often feared to carry out his own designs, and, when he was engaged too far, he sought to retrace his course by tortuous and discreditable ways, or to explain away his intentions by prevarications and double meanings; or to disguise them by solemn assertions and appeals to heaven, of the utter falsehood of which not only he, but all about him, were perfectly aware. Cold, proud, obstinate, and insincere by nature; indebted to his education under his father for his notions of kingcraft and high prerogative, and, as appears to us, to the lessons of his friend and tutor Buckingham, for a boldness and rashness in action, which were not quite his own, and in which, therefore, he did not always persevere, though his natural obstinacy sometimes came to his assistance or covered his retreat: that these qualities when taken as a whole would make precisely the kind of man who would follow the course that was pursued by Charles the First, and much in the same manner, may perhaps in some degree be made apparent by the slight sketch of his proceedings which we are about to give.

It is not our wish to detract in any way from the estimable qualities of Charles; but we must just remark, that the

coldness of his disposition above alluded to, may account in some degree for the negative domestic virtues to which his eulogists attach so much importance. That he was faithful to his queen is not denied; that she did not repay his constancy we believe is equally certain. That he loved his children is not disputed; but it was for public not for private crimes that he was called to suffer: and if every man who is susceptible of the private charities of life might violate his duty to the public with impunity, there is many a highwayman and housebreaker who might live at ease and flourish.

The prepossessions of Charles were early manifested. In a letter written by him, when Prince of Wales, to Buckingham, he states his opinion that the discontent of parliament is a small matter compared with the reputation of the crown abroad; and that he considers the court as competent to 'command' what that assembly should speak or not speak.

The marriage contract between Charles and Henrietta Maria of France contained some secret articles to which the nation was not privy; one of these was that the queen should have the education of her children till they were thirteen years of age—a stipulation to which the country was probably indebted for the disguised Romanism of Charles, and the rampant popery of James.

The mistrust of the people in Charles the First took its rise from the artifices of Buckingham in the treaty of marriage with the Infanta of Spain; to all of which Charles was a consenting party. In fact, such was his education and disposition, that could he have procured the necessary means for carrying on his government without the assistance of his parliament, he never would have summoned it at all; at least not after he had dissolved the first; unless he had found or made them sufficiently supple to have voted him the requisite supplies without entering on the subject of reforms and grievances, in which case he might have preferred their assistance as a less odious way of supplying his necessities, or one at least of which the representatives of the people would have shared the odium with himself. As this could not be done, the Star Chamber and High Commission Court were relied on, together with ship money and other arbitrary and illegal imposts to wring an uncertain and fluctuating income from the nation; and it was not till these proceedings had irritated and alarmed the people in general, and excited the personal resistance of Hampden and some other patriotic individuals, that as a last resort another parliament was summoned.

It was during the golden age of prerogative, and when the court was dreaming that parliaments were laid aside for ever, and consequently that responsibility, both as a word and as a

thing, was obsolete, that Laud and Strafford proceeded to perpetrate that series of enormities which finally consigned them to the block.

Charles, like his father, favored popery more than Puritanism; and for the same reason, because it was the friend of arbitrary power. The Puritans, of course, hated it; yet not more than that illustrious band among the commons who were styled the Patriots, though probably for different reasons; the latter opposing it chiefly on political, the former on religious grounds, although the line between them can scarcely be drawn with such distinctness as to place the individuals of the two parties on one side or the other. In all probability there were many in both parties, and those perhaps the most enlightened too, who carried on the war against it on both accounts. We think the following remarks, as applying to the two parties, are much to the purpose.

'Now the circumstances which were peculiar to England—and among the very most important of these must be classed that already mentioned, of a portion of the aristocracy being amalgamated with the burgesses by sitting together in the same chamber—joined to those above specified, which were common to her with other European countries, had, about the commencement of this period of our history, added much boldness not only to the thoughts, but to the bearing of the Commons of England. For we may here remark, in passing, that for a long time after the English Commons had assumed considerable boldness of ideas and firmness of purpose, their demeanor was characterized by an extreme deference and timidity. The bearing, again, of the high aristocracy in the upper house was marked by a corresponding haughtiness. . . . There is one leading trait in the aspect of this age that we must notice before we quit this part of our subject. We have already alluded to the probable effect of putting the Bible into the hands of the body of the people. They were commanded to be, they professed to be, Christians. They diligently read, and much pondered on, the precepts of the Christian morality. In being ordered to be Christians, they were ordered to take these as their rule of life. They did so take them, to the best (that is to say) of their comprehension and knowledge of them. They then turned their eyes to those who were their worldly superiors—whose power and wealth made them be looked up to as the great ones of the earth. They looked, as far as they were permitted, into the palaces of their princes and the halls of their nobles; and they beheld many things there which were hard to reconcile with the commands of that book which, they believed, was no respecter of persons, but which was intended alike for the rich and the poor, for the prince in his palace and the peasant in his hut. They were convinced that a court which acted in a manner so contrary to the precepts of their cherished religion, and a church which was the tool of that court, must be bad, and ought to be put down. And they went about the work of putting them down with a mixture

of enthusiasm and coolness, of ability, energy, and courage, which has never yet been displayed in an equal degree by any body of men in any age and any country. Yet for all this, the revolution which we are about to trace must not be regarded merely as a religious one. It was also a political revolution, but accomplished in the midst of a religious people, in a religious age.'—Ib. pp. 499, 500.

We direct attention to the above remarks for the twofold purpose of showing, first, the causes which produced the men of what Clarendon, &c., call the 'grand rebellion;' and, secondly, the utter hopelessness of putting down such men as these by vaunts of high prerogative, or by cajolery and fraud.

The alternations of violence and chicanery by which the king endeavored to carry through his own designs, or to defeat the measures of his parliament, sufficiently mark the character of the man, and the kind of judicial blindness to which he was delivered. Never was the maxim of the heathen poet, 'Quem 'Deus vult perdere prius dementat,' more fully exemplified. It has been said, and with some degree of truth, that he suffered for the faults of others, and that the sins of his predecessors were visited on him. Yet it is equally true, that had he met the spirit of his times in a manly, ingenuous, and confiding temper, the turn and color of his fate would have been widely different. If, as it has been said, the wisdom of a king is shown by the selection of wise counsellors, it argues little in favor of Charles the First that he surrounded the throne with such men as Buckingham, Laud, and Strafford. The violent proceedings of the two latter, the one in political, the other in ecclesiastical affairs, disgusted and alarmed all classes. Ireland, it is true, was partially quieted for the time by the tyrannical government of Strafford; but Scotland, on the other hand, was driven into general insurrection by the intolerance of Laud; while the best men in England, seeing that civil and religious liberty were rapidly disappearing, were beginning to seek in the new world for the freedom which was denied to them in this; till, with a refinement of despotism worthy of the worst governments of the east, they were forbidden to leave the country lest they should escape their tyrants.

With the meeting of the Long Parliament the halcyon days of prerogative were ended, and the struggle between the king and the nation commenced in earnest. We must restrict ourselves to the citation of a few facts as exemplifying the faint outline of the character of Charles which we have endeavored to portray.

Not satisfied with assuming unlimited prerogative for himself, he determined that no one acting under his orders should be called to account for their misdeeds; and told the house that

none of his servants should be responsible to any but himself, and that the bold proceedings of the last parliament should never be submitted to again.

The judges had denied the right of Habeas Corpus to persons imprisoned by the king, so that he might seize and imprison any who displeased him for as long a term as he pleased. The flagrant case of Sir John Eliot had shown in what manner this power might be used, and of what Charles was capable. Not satisfied with committing Sir John to the Tower for words spoken in parliament, he detained him there, notwithstanding the inroad which his imprisonment in an unhealthy atmosphere was making on his constitution, till he died; and still unsatiated with this revenge, he had the barbarity to refuse the petition of Lady Eliot, begging that the body of Sir John might be buried with his ancestors in Cornwall; and as if to convey his refusal with every possible circumstance of offensive cruelty, he wrote on the petition with his own hand, 'Let the body of 'Sir John Eliot be buried in the church of the parish in which 'he died'—and it was so buried. The atrocities which he countenanced in Laud and Strafford need not be enumerated.

It was not, however, the active tyranny of Charles, nor the fact of his having governed while he could without law and contrary to justice, that rendered the breach between him and his subjects irremediable. After the deaths of Buckingham, Laud, and Strafford, who in all probability were answerable for the major part of his misdeeds during their lives, and also after he had learned by stern experience that there was a power able and willing to control his own, his former offences would have been forgotten, and he might have been reinstated in all his proper and legitimate authority, had not his own duplicity prevented. Of this the nation and parliament had had frequent proofs—but they had yet to learn that no reverses could bind the monarch to a candid and honorable course. When after a hard struggle with his parliament, he had agreed to pass the bill of rights, he endeavored meanly to evade its power by his manner of accepting it; and it was not till he saw that no subsidies would be granted unless the bill was fully passed, that he gave his assent in the binding form of words; and then caused 1500 copies of the bill to be printed and published, with his first evasive reply attached.

Not to multiply instances, at a subsequent period his conduct is thus described by the historian May.

'Many good men were sorry that the king's actions agreed no better with his word—that he openly professed before God, with horrid imprecations, that he endeavored nothing so much as the preservation of the protestant religion, and the rooting out of popery; yet, in the meantime, underhand, he promised the Irish rebels an abrogation of

the laws against them, which was contrary to his late expressed promises in these words, 'I will never abrogate the laws against papists.' And again he said, 'I abhor to think of bringing foreign soldiers into the kingdom;' and yet he solicited the Duke of Lorraine, the French, the Danes, and the very Irish for assistance.'

When the army offered him fair conditions he refused them, thinking to make better by allowing the factions to weaken one another; and *during the negotiations* he was detected in several intrigues with his partisans in the three kingdoms for the renewal of hostilities. There is reason to believe that a secret compact was at one time entered into between Charles and Cromwell, which was vitiated by the inveterate double dealing of the king.

Seeing, then, that no reliance was to be placed on Charles, that the faith of treaties, his word as 'a king and a gentleman' (his own favorite phrase), and even his most solemn asseverations, backed by appeals to heaven, were not in the least degree to be relied on, and that he would temporize, and turn, and wind, till he should have it in his power to be revenged on his opponents; all of which was known and proved from his papers and letters taken at the battle of Naseby, published by the parliament, and admitted to be authentic by Charles himself,* one of two courses only could be followed by the men whom he had cajoled and insulted, and would have immolated, and who had him in their power, viz., to sacrifice either themselves or him. That they believed the latter course would be for the benefit not only of themselves, but of the country, we see no room to doubt; that Cromwell *might* have had a view beyond them all perhaps is possible, for before this some golden visions and dim glimmerings of the royal prize which he afterwards achieved *might* have been floating in his distant prospect, though they had not yet assumed a distinct and definite reality.†

We would not be understood as asserting that every one of the proceedings of the parliament was just and proper; but it has been truly remarked,‡ that the temper of the Commons ought not to be judged of without reference to that of Charles —to his known and proved faithlessness and inveterate enmity to their liberties. Clarendon, indeed, in his specious narrative, has contrived to give the impression that the Commons were always in the wrong; and it is not a little amusing to hear him

* He admitted the genuineness of the published letters, but asserted, that others which the parliament had kept back would have given them a different meaning. Knowing our man, we doubt the truth of this assertion.

† We refer the reader to an argument on the death of Charles (in the Pictorial History, vol. iii. p. 514), which we intended to quote, but cannot.

‡ Vaughan's History.

in his account of Charles's manifestoes, setting forth how the king complained that the parliament was acting contrary to law, and how he was precluded from retaliating, because forsooth *he* would then be acting contrary to the laws himself. This man, who all his life had been governing, not only contrary to law, but absolutely without it, no sooner found that others were determined to exert a vigor beyond the law because it was the only way to crush his tyranny, than behold! he is all for law, and denounces those who break it. He had used a two-edged weapon, and it had cut himself.

Of the Lord Protector Cromwell, we feel some diffidence in speaking, not because we have not our opinion—right or wrong—but because to do justice to the subject, and to give the grounds of our conclusions, would require discussion, comparisons of evidence, and statements and deductions, which we have not space to make. Still we must not pass over the subject without a few remarks.

'There happened to Cromwell,' says M. Guizot, 'what perhaps never happened to any other man of his sort. He was sufficient for all the phases of the revolution; he was the man of the first and of the last times: at first the leader of the insurrection, the abettor of anarchy, the most violent revolutionist in England; afterwards the man of the anti-revolutionary reaction, the man of the re-establishent of order, of social re-organization: thus himself alone playing all the parts that, in the course of revolutions, the greatest actors divide amongst them.'—Vol. iii. p. 515.

Though his talents were neither unknown nor unappreciated in parliament, especially by his cousin Hampden (himself one of the most acute and high minded men of his time), it was not till he took upon him the duties of a military commander that his transcendent talents and capacity were developed to the world. As he rose in the army, the successes of the parliament were more decided; till, after the battles of Naseby and Worcester, the former of which annihilated the hopes of Charles the First, and the latter those of his son, he stood forth as the only man by whom the destinies of the kingdom could be decided. Nor was it in all probability till after the defeat of Charles the Second at Worcester, that the first distinct visions of sovereign power flitted before the view of Cromwell. That up to this period he was actuated by the consideration of the public good, we see but little cause to doubt; if afterwards his motives were of a more mixed description, at least they were not wholly selfish, and when they became so, if indeed they ever did, the difficulties of his position, and the impossibility of a secure retreat, should be allowed their proper influence in forming an estimate of the man.

After the death of Charles the First, there were four parties who were struggling for the sovereign power—the Royalists, the Presbyterians, the Republicans, and the Army. The storm had ceased, but the tumult of the waves had not subsided, and the genius of Cromwell broke out in strong relief on the darkness of the scene. In neither of these powers could the supreme government be safely lodged. Cromwell had to choose between them, and he contended that the safety of the country depended on preventing the complete success of either party. We do not say that he did right in seizing the supreme power himself, we only ask what man in his position would have done otherwise?

The manner in which he exercised his power has been the source of much controversy and animadversion. That many of his proceedings were arbitrary, and of such a kind as would not have been submitted to in the reign of Charles the First, we may not deny. Still, we believe that his intentions and his will were good, had he been permitted to govern as he wished; but the difficulties that surrounded him were such that he was forced to be a tyrant—or something like it—in self-defence. It may be that he should not have placed himself in such circumstances, but it would have required an almost superhuman virtue to have done otherwise; and even his enemies admit, that the nature of his public rule was such, that England was never so much respected as when he swayed her sceptre.

He made several attempts to rule the kingdom according to the constitutional method by parliaments; but though the members were al selected by himself, such was the state of parties, and such the impracticable materials of which they were composed, that he found it impossible to carry on the government by such means.

His first parliament, commonly called Barebone's, has been the object of unceasing ridicule among writers of a certain class: it was not, however, the contemptible body which they represent it to have been. It was observed by one of them, that 'If 'all had not very bulky estates, yet they had free estates, and 'were not of broken fortunes, or such as owed great sums of 'money, and stood in need of privilege and protection, as for-'merly.'* Of how many Houses of Commons since their time could as much as this be said? They were bold and firm men too, and acted independently both of Cromwell himself and of his Council of State.

It is much to be regretted that Cromwell did not afford to others that perfect toleration which he contended for himself;

* Whitelock, and 'Exact Relation,' &c.

to the Catholics he forbad the exercise of their worship, and deprived them of the elective franchise. He proscribed, also, prelacy and the liturgy; but the laws against them were never rigidly enforced; nor was it on account of his intolerance of their religion that the episcopalian body were treated thus, but because of their political disaffection. In fact, the protector was much before his age; and though not so tolerant as *we* perhaps might have wished, he was in truth much more so than the great majority of the wisest and best men of the times in which he lived.*

The strong sense and perspicacity of Cromwell led him to the adoption of many important reforms in the jurisprudence of this country; many were instituted in the laws of Ireland also. From the commencement of the civil wars the use of torture was abolished in England; which had formerly been inflicted not by law but by prerogative.

'If the victory obtained by the parliament over the king in the seventeenth century, had done nothing more than doom the rack, and the gyves, and the manacles to go to rest and rust, and torment no more for ever—converting those once terrible engines of cruelty into the curiosities of a museum—it would have well repaid all the blood and confusion it cost. Nor let us be sure that the practice of torture would have speedily fallen into disuse among us at any rate, in the ordinary undisturbed advance of political amelioration, or general civilization, humanity, and knowledge. Torture ceased in England in 1641; but, even with the aid of that example, it was not abolished in Scotland till 1708; nor in France till 1789; nor in Russia till 1801; nor in Bavaria and Wurtemburg till 1806; nor in the kingdom of Hanover till 1822; nor in the Grand Duchy of Baden till 1831!'—Ib. p. 520. *Jardine's Lectures*, pp. 3, 4.

The law books also were ordered to be written, and law proceedings conducted, in the English language.

If Cromwell was unpopular it is scarcely to be wondered at; there were natural causes enough to make him so. With the royalists he was a usurper; and all the other influential factions must have hated him because by accepting that station to which they severally aspired, he kept them from it. To that section of the nation which belonged to none of these parties—if such there were—the arbitrary proceedings which the necessities of his position made inevitable, must have rendered him obnoxious. Of all this he was aware, and to these anxieties was added his not unreasonable dread of assassination. Yet though many of his unscrupulous opponents advised this course, and some pursued it, it is not a little re-

* Vaughan: Price's History of Nonconformity, &c.

markable that no attempt was ever actually made upon his life. The projected design of Colonel Sexby approached the most nearly to its execution; and there is little room for doubting that this plot was known to, and approved by, both Charles the Second and the immaculate Clarendon. The proof of this is to be found in the papers of Clarendon himself.*

It was fortunate, perhaps, for Cromwell that he left this world when he did. His popularity, from the causes before mentioned, appears to have been declining—his health was failing—his pecuniary resources were exhausted—the army was unpaid, and he feared them—the citizens of London had refused to lend him money—death had been busy in his family—and his assassination had been recommended even in print.† He died a king, and greater than a king except in name; what he might have been had his life been longer spared, it is impossible to say and useless to surmise.

We cannot now enter on an investigation of the charges which have been brought against the memory of this great man. It is sufficient to remark in reference to the alleged concealment which he practised, that it has never been the custom, as far as we are aware, for any statesman who had a great and difficult measure to carry, to placard his intention on his street door, or publish it by sound of trumpet. The Consul Marcellus—the great opponent of Hannibal—carried his notions on this point so far as to say, that if he thought the very shirt on his back was privy to his intentions, he would take it off and burn it. The vituperators of Cromwell and worshippers of the 'king and martyr,' would do well to recollect, that the dissimulation of the lord protector was as nothing compared with that of their royal idol, whose life was one long lie.

The reign of Charles the Second is one of great interest in the history of civil and religious liberty, especially of the latter. Not that the king himself was particularly attached to any form or kind of religion; nor perhaps would he have persecuted any if Clarendon and the bishops had left him to himself. The amount of his religion appears to have been a mere opinion —that there could be but one true church; and that the church of Rome must be that one, for no other reason apparently than this—that she put forth the most decided claim to that distinc-

* Lingard, vol. vii. 4to. p. 243. With regard to Clarendon we are happy to have Dr. Lingard's authority in support of our own opinion. 'Clarendon,' says Dr. Lingard, 'is so frequently inaccurate (he might have used a stronger term), that it is not safe to give credit to any charge on his authority alone.' —vol. vii. p. 259, note.

† In the pamphlet of 'Killing no Murder.'

tion. It probably suited him better than any other, from the easy terms which it requires from its votaries—its royal votaries at least—and the ease and expedition with which at any time it could pardon all his sins—of which he certainly had his share.

Though the character of Charles has often been too favorably drawn, it appears to us that there was much in the sufferings and associations of his earlier life that may account for his vices and his follies, though it does not excuse them. Nature appears to have made him with a good head, but with that kind of heart which would have required great and constant care and watchfulness—and that too under favorable circumstances—to have made it what it should have been. Unfortunately for him and for the nation, that discipline was never exercised. An exile in a foreign land, yet the ostensible head of a party; claiming to be a rightful sovereign, and obliged to keep the world in mind of his pretensions by the formation of a little court around him, though without the means of supporting himself: involved in the petty intrigues of the men about him, who strove for the barren and nominal honors of his court; as poor as the poorest of his followers, and therefore but little above their level; satisfied if the wants of the day were provided for, and leaving to-morrow to shift for itself; immersed in profligacy, partly from inclination, partly from the example of the dissolute cavaliers around him, partly perhaps as a resource from thought; and a victim to that recklessness which a constant course of anxiety and disappointment entails upon the best of us: add to all this, the hereditary faithlessness of his nature, and we have a tolerably perfect preparation for such a character as Charles turned out to be. He would have dreamt out his life in a sort of Turkish paradise, except when roused by his necessities or crossed in his amours.

The course of persecutions which disgraced this reign is more to be attributed, as we have said before, to the persons about the king than to the king himself. The dreadful proceedings in Scotland consequent upon the resistance of the people to the introduction of episcopacy, and the sufferings and persecutions of the nonconformists in England, were alike the work of the high Church party. Sheldon, the primate, and Clarendon were the most active members of the council against the nonconformists; Lord Southampton, the most enlightened and upright man among them, was opposed to many of their measures, but not to all.

We need not attempt to inform our readers on the subject of the acts which were passed for abridging—we might say annihilating—the civil and religious liberty of the nonconformists; such as the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, the Five Mile, the Test Act. All persons holding any

office were required to take an oath of passive obedience and non-resistance; and to swear that they would endeavor to make no change whatever in Church or state. In addition to all this, the parliament while at Oxford with the king, attempted to pass a bill for imposing the oath of non-resistance on the nation at large.

It is supposed that the Act of Uniformity was the more rigidly enforced in order that the number of sufferers might be so great as at length to demand a toleration sufficiently general to include the Catholics. Charles himself appears to have been averse from many of these extreme measures, and to have 'complained that the intolerance of the prelates had been the ruin 'of his father, and that in spite of all experience they were resolved on pursuing the same courses.' He was right: priests never learn, and never forget. A scheme was proposed and agitated, for the comprehension of Dissenters in the Established Church; but owing to the opposition of the parliament it was abandoned. Pepys has a very quaint entry in his Diary, referring to the operation of the Conventicle Act: 'August, 1664. 'I saw several poor creatures carried by, by constables, for 'being at a conventicle. They go like lambs without any 'resistance. I would to God they would either conform, *or be* '*more wise, and not be catched.*'

An Indulgence was at length granted to all nonconformists, but the object, as above alluded to, was supposed to be the relief of the Roman Catholics, and not that of the Dissenters. We think there is something like a corroboration of the opinion that the Dissenters would have had no relief for their own sakes, in the fact that the Test Act, which was professedly aimed at the papists, was so worded as to include the Protestant nonconformists also; and that when this was complained of the latter were promised redress; and what was called a relief bill was introduced into parliament on their behalf; the passing of which bill was by the management of the court put off till the house was prorogued, when it fell to the ground, and was never brought forward again; and the Test Act in its full beauty continued in operation till the year 1828. The chancellor told the parliament 'that King Charles,' whose time was notoriously spent with mistresses and profligates in theatres and midnight revels, was, 'like another Constantine,' perpetually employing himself in conferences with learned men for the settlement of the 'languishing Church.'—vol. iii. p. 678. Whatever the Church might think of him, the sufferings of the nonconformists continued to increase during the whole of his reign.

It appears to be perfectly plain that although Charles would not have gone to the lengths of persecution which the state clergy desired, he was nevertheless solicitous to establish a

system of arbitrary government both in Church and state. In addition to what we have already shown of the proceedings in religion, the bill for triennial parliaments was abolished; and by a series of bullying and cajolery, the corporation of London, and in consequence of their example, most of the considerable places in the kingdom, had been induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king to be remodelled at his pleasure. Clarendon would have us believe that they did this of their own accord.

A conference had been held by Charles, the Duke of York, and Lords Clifford, Arlington, and Arundel of Wardour—Catholics—to deliberate on the best means of advancing popery in England; and it was evidently the desire of Charles, as manifested in the latter part of his reign, to endeavor, like his father, to govern without parliaments, by the aid probably of his good friend and brother the King of France.

Dr. Lingard asserts that during the reign of Charles, the wealth and comfort of the people increased, and that he never forfeited the love of his subjects. It is possible that the state of the people might have improved, and greatly, compared with what it had been during the civil wars; but we are inclined to think that it was from natural causes, and not so much in consequence of the government of Charles as in spite of it. How he could be said to have retained the affection of his subjects, is to us a mystery. The whole kingdom of Scotland, from one end to the other, execrated his name. The nonconformists in England, though they still remained good subjects, could scarcely be supposed to look with affection on the man who allowed them to be persecuted even to the death—for many died in prison. The state clergy might admire him, for he allowed them to plunder and persecute to their hearts' content; and it is possible that the Roman Catholics regarded him with some complacency, as they might have believed that if he denied them toleration, it was against his will; and also might have known, what till the last day of his life the nation did not know, that he was a concealed papist himself.

King James began his reign with abundance of fair promises —which he kept about a week. Lord Preston, who had been for some years ambassador in France, was set up by the court as a sort of manager in the Commons, and his lordship told them, among other things, 'that if his parliament would but 'repose entire confidence in him (James), England would again 'hold the balance, and his majesty would be indeed the arbiter 'of Europe; and the courtiers said everywhere that James was 'a prince that had never broken his word.' They forgot to add, that he had never yet had an opportunity: however, he did not keep them long waiting. After making high professions, and

promising powerfully to uphold the Church of England, on the very first Sunday after his brother's funeral he attended mass publicly in his own chapel, the doors of which he caused to be set wide open. On this occasion he went in state, the Duke of Norfolk carrying the sword of state as hereditary Earl Marshal of England. The duke stopped when he came to the threshold of the chapel. 'Your father, my lord,' said the king, 'would 'have gone farther.' 'Your majesty's father,' replied the duke, 'would not have gone so far.' His next step was to appropriate the supplies, without waiting for the meeting of parliament, on which the barristers of the Middle Temple, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, presented fulsome addresses to his majesty, thanking him for taking the care of the customs, &c., into his own hands; but, as Dalrymple justly observes, these 'compliments by public bodies to the sovereign for the 'breach of the laws, only served to remind the nation that the 'laws had been broken.'—Pict. Hist.

Then followed in rapid succession the forcing of papists into the Charter House and the universities, and the king's contentions with those bodies on that account; for though these latter had fully subscribed to the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance as long as they applied to others, they never intended that they should be enforced against themselves. After this the bishops had *their* turn; they also, imagining that this prince, who had never broken his word, would uphold them as he had promised in all their pride and power, had subscribed to the same slavish doctrines. They were disappointed in their calculations on the king's sincerity, and he was as much disappointed in relying upon theirs. James published a declaration for liberty of conscience, and commanded the bishops to cause it to be read in the churches. The declaration was no doubt intended especially for the relief of the Roman Catholics, though put forth ostensibly for the good of all. The bishops determined to resist the mandate of the king (it was of course illegal), and for this they have been lauded as the champions of civil and religious liberty, while they were in fact the champions of nothing but the ascendency of their own sect. Six of them only, with Sancroft, the primate, would stand forward on the occasion; and it is worthy of remark that two of these, Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Turner, Bishop of Ely, had been the most furious in contending for the principle of passive obedience and non-resistance. In men who came with clean hands to the discussion of the question, their reasons for disobedience might have been respected; it was not, they said, 'from any want of tenderness to Dissenters that they refused 'obedience to the king's commands:' this was false. 'It was 'because the declaration was founded on a dispensing power

'which had been often declared illegal in parliament.' So it had, but their consciences must have told them that *this* was *not* their reason. These very men had given publicity to declarations put forth by Charles the Second, which were equally illegal, when they were for the interest of their Church; and they objected to the declaration of James, not on account of its illegality, but because it bestowed on others the rights which they would have arrogated to themselves alone. In this they acted as state priests have always done, whose religion is expediency, and whose god is interest.

The reign of James was now drawing to a close. It was not his breach of promises, however solemn; it was not the atrocious cruelties that were perpetrated in his name, and indeed with his consent; nor even his arrogating to himself an authority which, according to the constitution of the country, was vested in the great assemblies of the nation in conjunction with the king; it was his determination to re-establish popery with all its mingled fooleries and horrors, that roused the nation as a man against him.

The parliament had recommended that the laws against Dissenters should be more strictly enforced; James, however, was too much occupied in his plans for raising the Catholics, to trouble himself about depressing others, except relatively and by consequence. He preferred, therefore, to make use of the act of indulgence as the first step towards both these ends. The numbers and importance of the nonconformists were made visible as soon as the full liberty of worship was established; and so formidable did they appear, that Archbishop Sancroft thought it necessary to address his clergy, and require them 'to have a 'very tender regard to *their brethren* (tempora mutantur) the 'Protestant Dissenters; to visit them at their houses, and to 'receive them kindly at their own'—in short, to flatter them in every possible way for the purposes of the Church. The Rev. Jeremiah White, who had been chaplain to Cromwell, and distinguished himself by making love to the Protector's daughter, who, however, preferred Lord Faulconberg, had written a minute account of the sufferings of the nonconformists. Oldmixon says that his list contained the names of 60,000 persons who had been prosecuted on religious accounts from the restoration to the revolution, of whom five thousand died in prison. White himself told Lord Dorset that King James had offered him 1000 guineas for the manuscript, but that he would not give it up, nor allow it to be seen, 'it being well understood 'that so horrible an exposure would leave an indelible blot on 'the Church of England, and facilitate its downfall.' The nonconformists generally, instead of upholding James, who would have granted them any immunities in return for their support,

joined with that Protestant establishment which had persecuted them to the death while it had the power, and welcomed the Prince of Orange to the throne. Had they allowed their wrongs and feelings to get the better of their principles, and arrayed their power on the side of James, the so-called Protestant establishment, which now carries itself so high and vaunts so loudly, would have been at best but a tolerated sect—if indeed it had been tolerated at all.

In the character of James there are few or no redeeming traits. Cold, hard hearted, obstinate, and bigoted, even above the level of the Stuarts; we might be led to suppose that his cruelty must have been the result of calculating pride, rather than of passion or of impulse; and his debauchery a matter of taste and not of inclination, and therefore by so much the more incapable of palliation. He appears to have been guilty of two grand mistakes, one as regarded himself, the other as respected the nation. With talents neither high in kind nor uncommon in degree, he flattered himself that he was eminently qualified for the task of government, and more dexterous in the management of parties than his brother; and his pride, and obstinacy, and bigotry, aided perhaps by the knowledge of the course of events in the reign of Charles, induced him to conclude that the nation would submit to any thing which he chose to inflict upon it. On the first point, though he deceived himself, he failed to deceive others. As regards the second, his bigotry had perhaps the small merit of being sincere;* but he calculated too much on the continuance of that hurricane of loyalty which, setting in with the restoration, had bowed the stubborn necks of Englishmen to the dust before the throne; they were now recovering their erect position, and were no longer to be trampled on.

We had intended to say something on the progress of nonconformity to the reign of Queen Anne, when the crowning atrocity against it was perpetrated by the passing of a bill forbidding Dissenters to educate their own children, and which the death of the queen alone prevented from becoming law. It was also our intention to say a few words on the present position of Dissenters, who are again to be called on to assist in putting down themselves, by means of an enormous grant for the extension of the Established Church—a Church already distinguished in the history of the world, for doing the minimum of good with the maximum of means; and laying presumptuous

* One of the courtiers of Louis the Fourteenth, on seeing James one morning—after his flight to France—coming out of his chapel, observed, 'There goes an honest gentleman, who has given three kingdoms for a mass.'

claims to *infallibility*, at a moment when, by a coincidence which would be ludicrous if it were not lamentable, it cannot agree upon the meaning of its own articles, nor regulate its own discipline and practice;—but our space forbids.

We see no reason to retract or qualify the favorable opinion, which we have elsewhere expressed of the work before us.

Art. VI. *The Life and Opinions of the Rev. William Milne, D.D., Missionary to China, Illustrated by Biographical Annals of Asiatic Missions, from Primitive to Protestant Times; intended as a Guide to Missionary Spirit.* By ROBERT PHILIP. London: Snow.

'IN every work regard the writer's end;' and we suppose it was intended by the author of this canon that reviewers should regulate their judgment accordingly,—that if the object of the writer be praiseworthy, the defective execution of his work ought to be passed over with slight censure, if not with impunity. Or perhaps it was designed to correct an error which critics are very apt to fall into—that of assigning to an author a purpose he did not contemplate, and then blaming him for not making it the prominent subject of his book. Certainly no literary production ought to be criticized without a special reference to its object; and praise or censure should be awarded as the author has succeeded or failed in its attainment. The end must not be permitted to sanctify the means. If a noble object be pursued in a feeble manner; if the thoughts are not worthy of the theme, or if the owl attempt to soar to the eyrie of the eagle, the failure ought not to be excused—in some cases it would deserve reprehension, in others ridicule. Men ought to know their powers, and how and on what to employ them, before they presume to offer themselves as public instructors. If the writer be equal to his 'end,' whatever it may be, he is entitled to commendation; but if his 'end' and his performance can only be contrasted—the one distinguished for its grandeur, the other remarkable for its meanness—he has forced himself upon the attention of the world only to excite its derision and contempt.

There are many intermediate degrees, however, between the extreme contrast which we have imagined; in which there are cases where the author and his end are worthy of each other; and though they who aim the highest do not always realize their great intention, yet they approach it. It is not every one that can enter into the heaven of heavens, and draw empyrean air;

yet there are a few who can gaze upon it in the distance, and reflect some of its glory as it streams upon them from the inaccessible heights.

If we cannot place the author of the work before us in the first class of writers—if we are of opinion that with greater labor he could have produced a far more valuable book, more homogeneous as to the arrangement and cohesion of the parts, and therefore more symmetrical as a whole—we cheerfully concede to him the merit of proposing and aiming at the noblest end that the intellectual powers of man can be employed to accomplish, and of executing the task in a manner creditable to his talents, and not unworthy of the good name previously acquired by his numerous productions. His design throughout is to exhibit the moral dignity of the missionary enterprise as displayed in the character of the first Protestant missionaries to China; and as that vast and multitudinous empire opens the widest and most important field for its perfect development, operation, and expansion. In carrying forward this grand object in the narratives, the inquiries, and discussions of which the work consists, Mr. Philip now and then flashes upon us with an original thought; sometimes, indeed, he is too flippant and oracular to please either our literary or moral taste, and occasionally the egotism that does not sneak into notice, but boldly challenges admiration, is truly amusing. Still his earnestness, his devout sincerity, win upon the heart; whatever are the faults of the writer, warmed by his missionary ardor for the moment we forget them all.

Dr. Milne and his devoted wife—devoted in every sense which can confer honor upon the woman and the Christian—are the principal subjects of the volume. Milne was taken from the sheep-cote; not the genius of his native land, but the divine spirit of Christianity, cast her mantle over him, and the humble shepherd-boy by a series of providential events, was at length admitted as a student into the missionary seminary at Gosport, under the care of the Rev. Dr. Bogue; a name the letters of which we cannot trace without shedding the tear of affection and gratitude over his memory. He was an apostolic man. He was the preceptor and the father of his pupils; and then he was no changeling—if once your friend, it was your own fault if he was not your friend for life. Dr. Bogue was not long in discovering the rare combination of talents and virtues in his pupil from the far north, and he at once marked him out as the coadjutor of Morrison in conducting the Chinese mission. Of Morrison we need not speak in this place; he was a man of iron nerves—of indomitable perseverance. He delighted in labor, and the rich monuments of his unrivalled

industry which he has left in his works, will immortalize him as soon as the millennium begins to dawn upon the nations.

Of his associate Dr. Morrison remarks, 'His decision of 'character rendered him an eminently devoted missionary. 'Considering the disadvantages he labored under from the 'want of an early literary education, what he effected was '*astonishing.*'

At the missionary college Milne was indefatigable in his application to the studies more particularly adapted to his future destination; and at the same time he kept alive in his heart the ardor of missionary zeal. His piety was felt by all who conversed with him; thus he addressed a few lines to a German lady who went out to Mr. Albrecht's station in Africa in the year 1810: 'Seek thy happiness in God, and the burning sands 'will smile around thee, keep thine eye fixed on the glory set 'before thee, and thy mind will be lively in thy work, and in- 'crease in self-denial, and thus rise superior to difficulties. 'Think often on the incarnation, atonement, intercession, and 'reign of Christ; this will make thy faith strong, thy holiness 'abound, and the heathen very dear to thee.'

On the 4th of September, 1812, Mr. and Mrs. Milne sailed from Portsmouth to the Cape of Good Hope; on the 4th of June, 1813, they arrived safely at Macao, and were most cordially welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Morrison. The study of the Chinese character, as he had opportunities of viewing it, as well as the study of the language, occupied his time during the voyage, and thus prepared him for pursuing the same objects with greater facility on his arrival; and Dr. Morrison said of him to the Bible Society, when he sent home an account of his death, 'Few have made such rapid progress 'in a comprehension of the *opinions* of the Chinese, which he 'studied assiduously, for the purpose of conveying the truths of 'the gospel to their understandings and hearts.'

His 'Questions relative to the Religion and Manners of the 'Chinese,' show the inquisitive and discriminating power of his mind even at that early period; his 'Estimates of Chinese 'Character,' after several years close observation of the people, is an invaluable document, and deserves the serious perusal of all who contemplate the advancement of the religion of Christ in that singular country. While acquiring the Chinese language, which he mastered in a good degree so as to enable him to think in it and to translate several books of the Scriptures into it, he says somewhat quaintly, but it reveals a trait of his character, and shows the man, 'To acquire the Chinese is a work 'for men with *bodies* of brass, *lungs* of steel, *heads* of oak, *hands* 'of spring-steel, *eyes* of eagles, *hearts* of apostles, *memories* of

'angels, and *lives* of Methuselah! Still I make a little pro-
'gress. I hope if not to be master, yet to gain as much as will
'suit the purposes of a missionary. Every sentence gained I
'value at the rate of a *dollar;* so that should I gain 10,000, I
'shall not consider myself poor.' MS. 1814.

The Portuguese Romish priests could not endure the near residence of a Protestant missionary at Macao. Dr. Morrison it was not in their power to remove, he was not only a missionary, but he was also a functionary of the East India Company. But Mr. Milne was compelled to depart almost as soon as he arrived. The governor deeming it 'prudent to listen to the 'voice of the church.' Of this interruption of his studies poor Milne naturally enough complains, but in the spirit of Christian meekness. 'I accordingly left Macao on the 29th of July '(Mrs. Milne being allowed to remain with our friends), and 'went in a small boat to Canton, where I remained the ensuing 'season; enjoying that hospitality among the *heathen* which 'had been denied in a Christian colony! Not having been 'long from my native country, and having generally met with 'kindness in the colonies which we passed on our way out, I 'no doubt felt more at being driven from Macao, than a person 'who had seen more of strange countries, and passed through 'more of the varieties of life would have done.' We must refer to the narrative itself for an account of Mr. Milne's visit to Java. His principal object in this was, 'as the New Testament 'and several tracts were finished, to find some convenient place 'where they might be printed, and that he might go through 'the chief Chinese settlements in the Malay Archipelago, and 'circulate them as widely as possible.'

The 'Joint Labors of Dr. Morrison and Mr. Milne in China' merit a distinct notice much longer than it is convenient for us to afford them. These consisted chiefly of translations, though Dr. Morrison, during his colleague's absence, published a small tract containing a general outline of the Old Testament history. A duodecimo edition of the New Testament was projected and proceeded with, and the Chinese Dictionary was considerably advanced. During the time Mr. Milne remained at Canton, he composed a treatise on the life of Christ in Chinese, which was printed there in February, 1815. It was now that he entered upon the Malacca mission, and as Dr. Morrison's engagements with his Chinese Dictionary did not admit of his undivided attention to translation, it was 'resolved that Mr. Milne should 'engage in translating some parts of the Old Testament, thus 'uniting the labors of both till the whole version be completed.' The reader is surprised with the variety of Mr. Milne's engagements while residing at Malacca, and wonders how he contrived under so many discouragements to achieve so much.

'Two new tracts,' Mr. Milne modestly states, without any reference to himself as their author, 'were written and printed 'in Chinese this year; one called 'The Strait Gate,' the other '''The Sin of Lying.''' A translation of the Book of Deuteronomy, undertaken at Mr. Morrison's suggestion, was completed at Malacca in July. Year after year we find this good man indefatigable in his work, as if he knew that his labors were soon to close. In the spring of 1817, we read of his adding to his pursuits the superintendence of a quarterly periodical published at Malacca under the title of 'The Indo-Chinese Gleaner,' 'containing various intelligence from China and the neighbor-'ing countries; miscellaneous notices relative to the history, 'philosophy, and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations; ac-'counts of the progress of christian missions in India; and of 'the state of christianity in general.'

In the same year Mr. Milne departed for a season to China, partly to recruit his own health, and to rejoin his afflicted wife, who had gone there a little before, but chiefly to carry on the laborious task of translation. Previous to his visit to China he had published a translation of the Book of Joshua, and while there he translated the Book of Judges. An exposition of the Lord's Prayer, begun by weekly lectures at a small temple at Macao, was filled up and finished there; and a tract on the 'Folly of Idolatry' written, both of which have been since printed. Various opportunities offered for the distribution of tracts, and of the holy Scriptures, on the borders of that country, for whose numerous inhabitants they are chiefly intended; but in doing anything there the utmost caution and reserve were necessary. When we remember that all this occupied little more than the space of four months, who does not regard with admiration the man who in his simplicity adds to the account, 'Very 'little else of a missionary nature was done, the object of the 'visit being *health*, and not labor?'

Mr. and Mrs. Milne returned to Malacca with invigorated strength, in the February of the next year; the former having imposed upon himself a new task, that of uniting with his other employments (enough to 'fill an angel's hands') the translation of the historical books from Ruth forward to the Book of Psalms; intending with his colleague, on the completion of the whole Scriptures, to meet again at the close of the year to revise and publish them in what should then appear to be the most convenient form. In the March of the following year, 1819, Mr. Milne was called to sustain the heaviest affliction of his life,—this was the death of Mrs. Milne, under peculiarly affecting circumstances. In both the Christian triumphed. She died as she had lived, in humble hope of eternal salvation through the merit of Him to whom she had consecrated herself

in early youth; he bowed to the stroke without murmuring; though his heart bled, he acknowledged and adored the hand that smote him. His own memoir of this excellent woman is deeply interesting, and to it we refer our readers; but the following short letters we cannot withhold. They are both addressed to Dr. Morrison.

'Malacca, June 25, 1819.

'Dear Robert,

'I feel myself exceedingly solitary at times. O that I could live more in the enjoyment of divine consolations. Last night I was at Rachel's grave, over which the grass begins to grow. I will send you a lock of her hair, and some token of remembrance both for yourself and Mary. Grace and peace be with you.

'Yours faithfully,

'R. Morrison, D.D. 'W. M.'

'Macao, September 19, 1819.

'Dear Robert,

'I am at a great loss how to do about my dear Amelia. I doubt not but she will be sent for next year either to Bengal, London, or Aberdeen. She is so affectionate a child that I hardly think I should be able to part with her. She often says, looking at my head, 'Papa is now old—I must stop and take care of papa. I papa now, I no mamma—I love papa—William, and Robert, and Farquhar too—no Mamma—stop, I grow large, and I then their mamma.' You will excuse a fond father, Robert, for thus relating sayings of a beloved child. 'Ever yours,

'R. Morrison, D.D. 'W. M.'

As a trait of character, and as a proof of the noble missionary spirit by which Mrs. Milne was actuated, the following is not uninteresting. She used to say to her husband, and a more affectionate couple never lived, 'However dearly I love your 'company, I should be sorry to keep you from your duty. I 'cannot render you much assistance; but I will try not to 'hinder you. I should be grieved to think that you spent an 'hour with me, while I am in health, which should be spent in 'your studies and labors.' 'In her private papers she par-'ticularly took notice of two very important eras in the Chinese 'mission: first, the completion of the *New Testament* in Chi-'nese; second, the baptism of the *first* Chinese convert. To 'have seen these *two* things she thought an ample reward for 'having left her relations and country, and come all the way to 'China. She viewed them as pledges of great future good, and 'as affording the strongest encouragement to continued diligence 'and perseverance in the work of the gospel.'

The death of Mrs. Milne preyed severely on the health of her husband, who had already undermined his constitution by execssive labors. We see his spirit in the short epistle which

follows, and the touching allusion to the restlessness of disease and sorrow under which he was gradually sinking to the grave.

'Dear Robert,

'"PULL TOGETHER,"—yes, with all our hearts, and hands, and strength. Let us be decided on that. Let us not be over sanguine—let us not give up plans that have been long matured, to please any individual. Let us concentrate our exertions—let our plans be formed on the broad scale. The Lord make us humble, and enable us to display due respect to our fellow servants. It is now midnight, I cannot sleep now-a-days, often till two o'clock in the morning.

'Ever yours,

'R. Morrison, D.D. 'W. M.'

Mr. Philip's narrative carries us on to the year 1822. Dr. Milne died on the 2nd of June. On the 20th of March we find him writing thus:—

'This is the third anniversary of my dear Rachel's death. I have done but little in my work since last anniversary, and now it seems doubtful whether I be spared to labor more.—It seems my duty on this occasion, and daily, to pray with submissive earnestness, that I may not be cut off in the midst of my days,—but that God may 'spare me a little till I recover strength before I go hence and be no more.'

'1. Until my soul be better prepared for the heavenly world, and have more clear and satisfactory evidence of being in Christ.

'2. Until I complete, or put in a more favorable train, some Chinese works, either now on hand or contemplated, for the benefit of the church of Christ among the heathen.

'3. Until my children be made better acquainted with the holy Scriptures, and disposed of for their education.

'Fully sensible that I deserve not so high a privilege as to be heard on these things, I have this day tried, with a humble and submissive heart, to solicit these blessings as free gifts from the Father of mercies and guide of all my ways.'

The remaining portions of the work discover, on the part of their author, a great deal of patient research, much discrimination—and, on some points, considerable ingenuity. The Lamaism of Asia we may particularly distinguish—and a voice from the tombs of Morrison and Milne to the schools of the prophets, is written with great power. It is, indeed, disfigured with some of the writer's peculiarities of style, which we do not admire.

Before we part with Mr. Philip, we have a duty to perform to the dead as well as to the living. We refer to what he says of the late Robert Hall in his seventeenth chapter, entitled 'Jewish winesses in China.'

After stating, that among the dissenters and methodists the seed of Abraham are almost forgotten except in prayer, and

adding, 'If we were hardly right when we did something t
'gain the Jews,' we are fearfully wrong now that we d
nothing! Mr. Philip remarks—

'Robert Hall felt this dilemma so painfully, that he plunged into
speculation about the possibility of their salvation, apart from th
belief of the Gospel. A paper of his on this subject was published i
the 'Baptist Magazine' some years before he died; and its extrava-
gance excited suspicions, not of his orthodoxy, but of his mental com-
posure at the time.

'There was no mystery in it to those who, like myself, had uneasy consciences on the subject. His conscience was not at ease whilst he was doing nothing to gain the Jews; and, as he saw no way of doing anything at the time, he tried to relieve himself from self-condemnation by applying to their case the words of Paul,—without the *work* of Paul—'as concerning the Gospel, they are enemies for your sakes; but as touching the election, they are beloved for the Father's sake.' Rom. ii. 28. This is, I believe, the real secret of that strange speculation, although his biographers overlooked both.'

Now, from the beginning to the end this is altogether a misrepresentation; Mr. Hall's speculation was not about the possibility of the salvation of the Jews apart from a belief of the gospel. The paper is entitled 'Spiritual Condition and Prospect of the Jews.'—After stating their condition as peculiar, and having shown in what respects it is so, Mr. Hall adds—'Their disbelief of the Gospel is supposed, *without any exception*, to render them liable to the penalties of eternal death. 'I have sometimes been tempted to doubt this; and the design 'of my addressing you on the present occasion, is briefly to 'state the grounds on which my doubts are founded, not with 'a view to provoke controversy, *but solely to elicit the inquiry of* '*superior* minds.' This article appeared not in the Baptist Magazine, but in the Christian Repository, published many years since, and edited by Dr. Cox. It was written from a motive totally different from the one assigned to it by Mr. Philip—it was not to relieve a burthened conscience, nor did it expose the illustrious writer to the cruel imputation of having lapsed into insanity;—the piece, whatever Mr. Philip may think, is more easily censured than answered.

Our taste, we are persuaded, will not be questioned, if we assure Mr. Philip that we value the concluding page of this 'strange speculation' of Mr. Hall above many sheets of more modern writing, and we fear not a reflection on our orthodoxy or mental composure, if we conclude our remarks by introducing it to our readers.

'The chief practical use to be derived from the hypothesis, which I have ventured to suggest, is to inspire us with an increased tenderness and respect for the seed of Abraham, as containing, notwithstand-

ing its occupying a distinct fold, a portion of the true church of God. If we can be induced to hope that he has still a people among them, we shall be ready to look upon them with something like fraternal affection, and to embrace every opportunity of reprobating and removing the cruel privations and restrictions imposed by Christian nations, who, absurdly imagining that they do an acceptable service to God by their persecution and depression, are, in reality, treasuring up wrath, by aggravating the affliction of those whom he has smitten.'

'A large arrear of guilt has been contracted by the nations of christendom on this account; and in this age of liberality, when such mighty efforts are made to procure the removal of political disabilities on the score of religion, it is surely high time their attention was turned to the relief of the oppressed and persecuted children of Abraham. Their political emancipation, and restoration to the equal rights of citizenship, might be reasonably expected to soften their prejudices, and dispose them to a more favorable hearing of the Christian cause; nor could anything be more becoming the character and pretensions of the Jewish Society, than to take the lead in that noble enterprise. As the basis of all social virtue is laid in justice, so by none should its obligations be deemed more sacred than by those who make loud professions of Christian zeal and exalted charity.'*

Art. VII. *Der Hochselige König Friedrich Wilhelm III.; ein Biographisches Denkmal. (The late King Frederic William III.; a Biographical Memoir.)* 1 vol. 8vo. Berlin: Heyman. 1840.

THE accession of a new monarch to the throne of Prussia has given rise to many speculations among political parties in this country with regard to the future prospects of that kingdom, and the line of policy likely to be adopted by the government in the management of its external and internal affairs. Some pretend to see symptoms of an approaching revolution, while others predict with an assurance little short of prophecy, an amicable compromise between the monarch and his subjects, on purely constitutional principles. These political philosophers, however, never consider that of all the states of Germany, Prussia has long since undergone her necessary political revolution. It was the late king himself who effected it, being wise and prudent enough to put himself at its head as soon as it made its appearance. Both in France and Prussia, the cause, effect, and end of the revolution were the same, though the crisis was brought about in each country in a different way.

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* Hall's Works, vol. iv. p. 473.

In France, poverty and the great misery of the lower classes on the one hand, and the most extravagant privileges of the higher classes on the other, had led to those frightful convulsions which changed the whole aspect of her internal affairs, greatly promoted by the success which attended the French arms abroad; while in Prussia the same pernicious influences gave rise to an unhappy war with a foreign foe, which brought about the necessary reforms in the domestic economy of the state. Prussia has had her 20ths of June and 10ths of August, in the memorable days of the battles of Jena and Auerstaedt; she has had her *Mirabeaus* and *Carnots* in men like *Stein* and *Gneisenau*, and her noble and aristocratic emigrants in her *Kleists*, *Ingersleben*, &c.

We have only to cast a scrutinizing look at the alterations and reforms which have taken place in the fundamental laws of Prussia from the peace of Tilsit to the downfall of Napoleon, to be convinced that the so dreaded or anticipated revolution in the north of Germany is long since past. By the edict of the 9th of October, 1807, the right of possessing landed property was extended from the nobility to all classes of society, releasing at the same time the peasantry from the feudal bondage which had continued in full force ever since its introduction in the middle ages. By the ordinances of the 3rd and 6th August, of the same year, corporal punishment was abolished among the military, and promotion in service made independent of birth and family, establishing personal merit and character as the sole principle in military advancement. By a cabinet order of the 19th of November, 1808, municipal rights were conceded to the various communities of the towns and cities, and by a regulation under date of October 30, 1810, the monasteries were abolished, and the old privileges withdrawn from the corporations of the various trades and branches of industry, by which competition and emulation the useful arts were encouraged. In May 1812, the Jews were emancipated, and placed on an equal footing with the other citizens of the realm.

Thus the reforms and ameliorations which France owes to her civil conflict, Prussia is indebted for to her misfortunes in external wars, and to the lesson the monarch was wise enough to derive from them. What is now wanting to ensure the welfare of the nation is, to stamp those humane cabinet-orders with the character of *state-laws*, to render their existence permanent. *V. Raumer* justly observes in his work 'on the State 'of the Proper Authorities in Prussia,' that 'it is high time to 'have it clearly understood that among a nation possessing 'neither diets nor representatives, and whose government is 'strictly despotic, true talent for administration on the one 'hand, and a due sense of salutary obedience on the other, are

'altogether out of the question, since there is no power estab-
'lished by law, authorized to interfere with the tyrannical
'measures of an arbitrary monarchy. The benevolent disposi-
'tion of a few individuals at the head of government is no guar-
'antee for the lasting welfare of a nation, unless those noble
'sentiments are rendered immutable by their conversion into as
'many state-laws.'

The municipal rights, granted to the towns of Prussia in 1808, are the true basis and bulwark of her national prosperity, civilization, and even liberty, despite her despotic constitution. It is, therefore, of paramount importance to have those rights fully analyzed, and more especially so, since the revision they underwent in 1831, has furnished a party in Prussia with a pretext for charging her government with a tendency towards a retrograde movement.

Before we enter more fully into the justice or injustice of this accusation, it will be necessary to have a clear understanding as to the definition of the terms progress and regress in civil liberty. The honest and impartial among all parties must acknowledge that any measure calculated to promote national welfare is a step in advance, and *vice versa*, any enactment or law tending to injure it, is tantamount to a retrograde pace in civilization; all they differ in is, as to the *object* that constitutes *national welfare*, and the *means* by which it may be obtained. We, for our part, seek the welfare of a country in the harmony between her material and intellectual resources, in addition to the free and independent development of those national elements which form the source of civilization. True civilization ought never to be partial, or exclusively directed towards the development of only a few branches of humanity. A nation eminently distinguished for literature, generosity, or wealth alone, may be placed by this partial progress in civilization in a far worse condition than when knowledge, sentiments, and riches bore amongst them a more harmonious and proportioned character, not to mention that *partial* civilization never can or will obtain a firm and durable hold on the mind of the people. Look for instance at the wealth of the ancient nations, which, having been the result alone of skill in war and conquest, was far in advance of the other departments of civilized life, and in consequence soon passed into the hands of poorer tribes after having enervated and corrupted its possessors. Carthage, with her universal commerce, disappeared before the power of predatory Rome, which again in her turn, having revelled for a time in booty from three parts of the globe, vanished under the swords and clubs of the half-naked savages of the north.

The care of a well organized government must, therefore, be directed not only towards the furtherance of the free develop-

ment of the national powers of civilization, but likewise towards the possible harmony amongst them, not to allow one element to outstrip all others in the developing process, precocity being injurious to the well being of a nation as it is to the health of an individual. It thus requires great tact, vigilance, and circumspection on the part of a government to ascertain the true standard of the proportional scale in the elements of civilization, in order to know whether a certain power or resource of a state is at a certain time to be checked or promoted in its development, according to the proportion in which it actually stands with the other powers of the state. All those who have read with attention the Prussian code of law of 1807, must admit that the Prussian government has never for a moment lost sight of the principles which we have laid down.

Of all the laws which enabled Prussia to recruit her exhausted powers and energies at the beginning of the present century, those concerning *municipal rights*, of 1808, occupy the most prominent place. Until that period, the communities of Prussia did not form distinct sections of the population, competent and authorized to provide by legislation for the local well-being of their fellow-citizens, but were considered as mere agents of the nation *en masse*, to whom the higher authorities very conveniently addressed themselves whenever taxes and contributions were to be levied upon the nation in general. The communities had, in short, not the least freedom to act for themselves, even in matters purely local, but were passive instruments in the hands of government, which extended her immediate administration even over the most trifling affairs of a village, by means of proper *commissarii loci* installed by it. The municipalities durst not open a new well, or repair a public building, without special license from the magistrates. They were, in a word, not allowed to regulate their own affairs; and the instances were not few where the surplus of money found in the municipal treasury of one place was applied by government for the use of another, or where some pieces of ground belonging to the circle of one town were conceded by government to another, without in the least consulting the interest, feelings, and rights of the citizens themselves.

From this state of passive obedience, the communities passed, in 1808, to a condition of the utmost degree of self-control, unparalleled in the history of monarchical constitutions. The transition from absolute slavery to absolute independence did not take place gradually, but was effected all at once, without the least reservation; a measure which in ordinary times might have been, if not fraught with fatal consequences, at least deemed imprudent. But the Prussian government, roused and

enlightened by bitter experience in her fatal wars with France, plainly saw in her disasters only the necessary result of her having hitherto neglected to comply with the exigencies of the spirit of the age, in identifying loving and brave subjects with free and independent citizens. The Prussian government, therefore, resolved, and set out in all earnest to overtake, as it were, the new spirit by forced marches.

Six years had hardly elapsed in the strenuous attempts at, and sedulous operations in, the improvement and reform in Prussia's domestic institutions, when her subjects appeared on the stage of civilized life, altogether metamorphosed beings, enforcing respect and admiration from the other nations, not only for the refined state of their civil and intellectual institutions, but also for their loyal and brave devotion to the cause of their monarch, which they henceforth identified with that of their country.

Despite, however, the excellency of the general outlines of the plan and system of the great reform, they bear in many of their details the impress of hurry and precipitation, sufficient time not having been allowed to pass in the operation, to render the system salutary in point of practice. To remedy the defect, a revision of those laws founded on *experience* was effected in 1831, after the lapse of more than twenty-three years.

The disaffected party in Prussia, however, see in that revision a tendency on the part of government to curtail the granted liberties of 1808, which they consider so perfect as to exclude the possibility of improvement. They, too, argue from experience, and prove by incontestable facts that immense benefits accrued to the nation, by the operation of those municipal rights from 1808 to 1831. Many communities, they say, have thereby been enabled to cancel the heavy debts which hung upon their towns from the time of the late wars, while the credit of others is so well established, as to reduce the creditors to the alternative either of being satisfied with small interests or to have the capital paid. Nor were the communities hereby less qualified to extend national education to all classes, on a scale which plainly shows the ample means they possessed in a pecuniary point of view. In many places, they add, the municipal authorities had, by the statutes of 1808, been entrusted with the management of state affairs, while in no country in the world has there ever reigned more tranquillity, order, and security of person and property than in the Prussian dominions, ever since the municipal laws of 1808 have been in force. Such being the case, what necessity was there, they conclude, for revising *perfect* laws, if government had not an after-thought, a design to circumscribe the national liberties resulting from them?

To put the reader in a condition to judge impartially of the respective merits and demerits of the municipal statutes as established in 1808, and as revised in 1831, we shall record here, as briefly as possible, the essential points in which they differ. As a prefatory remark, however, we must not forget to mention, that the revised laws of 1831 were only intended for those places where the statutes of 1808 had not been introduced, such as in the towns of the newly acquired provinces of Saxony, Lower Lusatia, and some of Westphalia and the Duchy of Rosen, while all the other places of the Prussian dominions—those of the Rhenish provinces not excepted—are to this day in the enjoyment of the municipal rights of 1808. Nor ought we to omit, that both the statutes of 1808 and 1831 are founded on the same principles, and bear, in their general outlines, the same characteristic features. Every town, according to them both, is to elect from the midst of her community members constituting the town-council, in whom again is vested the right to elect the magistracy of the place. Government, though it has reserved for itself the right of sanctioning the election of the latter, is, notwithstanding, never allowed to interfere in the election itself. The magistrates, as the executive authority, have the management of the community-treasury, and are entrusted with the local administration of the place, extending even to all matters that come within the jurisdiction of the police. In all transactions that affect the community-treasury, the magistrates usually only execute the suggestions and resolutions of the town-council; while, in police matters, military levies, state taxes, &c., they act as agents of government, and are consequently solely guided by her mandates. In all measures in which the two colleges—town-council and magistracy—concur, they hardly ever require the sanction of government.

After these preliminary remarks, we shall enter into the details of those points in which the two statutes are at variance and see whether we can discover in them any attempt, on the part of government, at narrowing the compass of national liberty.

1. *Classification of towns.* The statutes of 1808 divide the various towns of the kingdom into three classes, according to the number of their inhabitants; *small ones* containing less than 3500; *middle ones* containing less than 10,000, and *large ones* containing upwards of 10,000 inhabitants. This division, not only presents difficulties in a practical point of view, since the birth of one single male child on the eve of election, may, in many instances, change the whole aspect of the municipal administration, and cause the number of the town-council to be all of a sudden increased from twenty-four to thirty-six

members, but is even incorrect in a moral consideration, since the importance of a place, and the necessity of increasing the *personnel* of its administration, depend less on the extent of its population than that of its trade, commerce, opulence, and public institutions; the revised statutes of 1831 have, therefore, left it altogether to the option of the communities themselves, who are the best judges of the necessary arrangements in their respective places, to fix the number of the members of the town-council from nine to sixty, according to circumstances, while the minimum of the members of the magistracy is limited to three, beside the burgomaster (mayor).

2. *The rights of a citizen.* Those rights consist, according to the statutes of 1808, in the permission to carry on trade in a place, and to own houses or landed property within its circle. But the acquisition of the *title of a citizen* is, by the old statutes, connected with so many formalities which the young beginner has to undergo, in addition to expenses frequently amounting to about five pounds (thirty dollars), far beyond the spare time and pecuniary means of a poor laborer, whose sole object is, perhaps, the purchase of a little kitchen garden in the outskirts of a small place, for the maintenance of his large family. By the revised statutes, however, of 1831, young beginners of the poorer classes are under no obligation to acquire the title of citizen in order to earn their bread, or own landed property, except in cases where their easy pecuniary circumstances are well established.

3. *The rights of vote and election.* The poor are, in nearly all countries, excluded from those rights. But by the statutes of 1808, the Prussian government has granted them to any citizen possessing some landed property, no matter of what value, or enjoying an annual income, or earning in the smaller towns, 150 dollars (£25); or in the larger, 200 dollars (£34); sums barely sufficient to maintain, sparingly, the family of a poor laborer. This stretch of suffrage has given rise to many unpleasant scenes, by bringing into office, especially in the smaller towns, where the poorer classes form the majority of the population, men altogether unfit, from their low education and station in life, to fill honorably the important post of managing the public treasury and affairs. The revised law of 1831 has, therefore, fixed the value of the landed property of the electors to at least 300 dollars (£50), and the yearly income or earning of the non-possessors of immovable property, to the minimum of 200 dollars (£34); leaving it free to the communities to increase, according to circumstances, the amount of the former to 2000 dollars (£334), and of the latter to 600 dollars (£100). It moreover establishes, that none can be elected who do not possess landed property to at least 1000 dollars (£166);

allowing at the same time the communities to advance the scale to any amount they may think proper.

4. *Relations between the Town Council and Magistracy.* By the old law, the College of Magistrates formed but the executive power of the town-council, being guided, in all that related to the domestic economy of the place, solely by the prescriptions of the latter, without ever daring to deviate from the letter of these prescriptions, whether right or wrong. But the revised law secures the independence of both colleges, and renders an appeal to government necessary, in cases of disagreement, when an agent is delegated by the latter to the spot to decide on the question at issue.

5. *The Magistrates, their pay and time of service.* By the law of 1808, the term of service of the magistrates and their head, the burgomaster, was limited to six years, at the expiration of which period a new election took place, when those of the members who were not re-elected, resumed their previous occupation and station in practical life, without receiving any compensation whatever for the loss of time, and neglect of their private affairs in the service of the community. The consequence was, that but few individuals, competent for office, were found willing to forego their personal interest for the management of public affairs, and no alternative was frequently left to the electors, but to appoint to the important post persons ill calculated to fill, ably and honorably, the place. To remedy the evil, the revised law of 1831 fixes the term of service of the magistrates for twelve years, after which time they are allowed to retire on a pension of half-pay.

6. We now arrive at the last essential point of difference between the two statutes, a point which has drawn upon government the animadversion of opposite ultra parties. We allude to the peculiar prerogatives enjoyed by the nobility in former times, who consider all and each of these rights as a *noli me tangere,* and insist on their perpetual continuance, whether compatible with the spirit of the age or not, while the ultra republican party consider the nobility as an outlawed body, unworthy of enjoying equally with themselves the civil rights to which every citizen is entitled. Before 1808 the nobility possessed, in many of the small towns which belong to their domains, various very important rights in the civil and judicial administration of those places. It was the lord of the manor who appointed the town wardens and magistrates of the place, and without his special consent no transactions which affected the community, either directly or indirectly, could be entered into. The lord constituted in short the arbitrary ruler of the community. By the introduction, however,

of the municipal laws in 1808, not only the jurisdiction, but even the moral influence of the nobility ceased, a circumstance which carried with it immense injury to their pecuniary interests; their private property in the towns being lowered in value by decrees and resolutions apparently originating in public motives, but really springing from a spirit of retaliation and malice. To prevent injustice being done to the nobility, the revised law of 1831 protects their rights and influence in the small towns belonging to their domains, by requiring their sanction in all such municipal transactions as claim also the consent of government.

Every impartial reader will thus see the true tendency of the Prussian government. Indeed, there is neither *fear* nor *need* of a revolution in the Prussian dominions so long as there are millions of citizens, well drilled in the use of arms, to counterbalance a comparatively small standing army, taken *from* the midst of them, and continually returning home *to* them; so long as government has made it her first care and duty to promulgate knowledge and a spirit of thinking, even among the lowest of her subjects; in a word, so long as government seeks her own security in the moral and civil refinement of society, and the king follows out these principles in accordance with the exigencies of the age, and does not approve of the adage of the Jesuit-General Ricci: *sint ut sunt, aut non sint!*

Art. VIII. *My Life.* By an Ex-Dissenter. London: James Fraser. 1841.

IN almost every page this Ex-Dissenter furnishes convincing evidence of his personal ignorance of all the religious bodies he attempts to describe, and of the incorrectness of the information he has gathered from others. There is a great show of an intimate acquaintance with the principal leaders of the nonconformists of the last and present generation; and the writer would fain have it believed that the motives by which Dissenters are actuated, and the conduct they are pursuing, are fairly exhibited in what he calls his Life, by one who has been brought up in their communion, and who has at length abandoned their principles in disgust. His readers of the Episcopal Church may be misled by this gross and false assumption; they may imagine that they are perusing a veritable story—and that simple facts, such as the writer himself witnessed, are

brought forward for the purpose of exhibiting the Dissenters of the nineteenth century in their true character. But there is not a Dissenter of any denomination, whether minister or layman, who has taken up the book, and for a few moments dipped into its pages, that has not detected the imposture, and who is not able to convict the anonymous biographer of a mean and disingenuous attempt to make a miserably constructed fable the vehicle of the basest slander, not only against individuals, but against large communities of his fellow subjects and fellow christians;—if, indeed, in courtesy, we may venture to call him a christian, who, being an author by profession, enlists his pen on any side of any question that he may be hired to maintain, —who writes libels for pay, and secures himself from merited infamy by writing without a name.

A few of our readers may remember the Velvet Cushion, the controversy which it produced, and the number of editions it rapidly passed through. Its reverend author was well known. His object in writing this historical fiction he openly avowed; the beauty of the story and the unaffected, unexaggerated piety with which it was invested, gained easy credence to its statements, and as if by magic, multitudes of thoughtless and romantic people were captivated into the persuasion that Charles the First was a martyr, and the Church of England the only true church upon earth. One of the writers who replied to the Velvet Cushion, affixed to it the appropriate name of Legend; and happily defined a legend to be 'a story invented and told 'for the benefit of the Church.' 'Your legend,' he proceeded to observe, 'was in great request in the days of popery;' and then, after a few caustic remarks, he thus exposes the author and the object of the Velvet Cushion. 'It was reserved as a 'novelty of the nineteenth century, for a clergyman of the 'Church of England to construct a tale which goes over the 'ground of history, from the last age of popery to the present 'day, misstating and discoloring almost all its facts, with the 'certain effect of keeping alive intolerance against the Catholics 'and of exposing to derision and obloquy the various classes of 'modern Dissenters. This tale I call a legend, for its author 'expressly avows that he wrote it in the character of an 'open '' and ardent champion of the Establishment,' which he deno-'minates 'his mother.''

That Fraser, and those with whom he is associated in obtaining, at any price, atrocious libels against the Dissenters, and in support of the Established Church, had this legend in view when the tempting thought of 'My Life, by an 'Ex-Dissenter' offered itself to their cupidity and intolerance, is evident from a sentence in an editorial puff of the work which was published in the Globe of February 17th. 'Since

'the Velvet Cushion' of the Vicar of Harrow, no book has 'appeared of this class of publications, so likely to attract 'attention and lead to controversy, as 'My Life;' and we 'look to its appearance with much interest, not to say anxiety.' But the Vicar of Harrow was not of their council,—nor do we believe that there is a clergyman, who is anything better than a mere hireling scribe, who would lend himself to such a deception as that attempted to be imposed upon the public by this Ex-Dissenter. Mr. Cunningham put forth his fiction for just so much as it was worth, and no reader was misled, except by the ingenious sophistries of the writer, derived from the distorted facts and fables he had strangely blended in the narrative. But the narrative itself claimed to be no more than a modern novel, while its moral and religious purpose was not concealed; it was not possible to misapprehend the nature of the tale. When, however, great and grave questions are to be discussed, we think the combatants should take their ground in the province of reason, and at the furthest distance from the airy regions of fiction and romance; we did not at the time approve of the unfair species of warfare resorted to by the Vicar of Harrow, when as the champion of the Church he substituted fiction for fact, and imagination for argument. But had he proceeded to impersonate a lie, had he ventured to publish an autobiography which was the pure invention of his brain, and to have palmed it upon the world as his own proper history, and a faithful narrative of the changes which time and circumstances had produced in his mind and principles, breathing a remorseless and malignant rancor against his so-called former associates and fellow-worshippers, and affecting the phrases and feelings of a devotion beyond even the rapturous effusions of the seraphic doctors of the Romish church;—had the Velvet Cushion been marked by these characters of atheistic impiety, its author would have been execrated, and the work itself would have fallen into immediate and deserved contempt; that is, both would have experienced the fate of 'My Life, by 'an Ex-Dissenter.' There is a trickery practised by this literary hack about town, which is soon seen through by the attentive and unprejudiced reader, and which, when it is discovered, excites the most unqualified disgust; for instance, when the author appears to be quoting from some document or extant work of the Dissenters—though occupying several pages in the form of resolutions said to have passed at a public meeting, the whole turns out to be a mere fabrication invented for the purpose of detraction and falsehood.

To us, however, the most nauseous portions of the work are those where the writer endeavors to imitate the devotional and pathetic style of the Velvet Cushion. In the scene which is

intended to be very effective, the interview between the dying rector, Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Rawston, the dissenting hero of the story, we did not expect to be startled with a palpable plagarism from a dissenting work, namely, a Review of the Life of Rowland Hill, in Ward's Miscellany. It is a passage which the writer of the review took down from the lips of Mr. Hill as he delivered it in the desk at Surrey Chapel many years since, when he accidentally dropped in to hear him on a Friday morning. Thus it is that truth may be made to lend her voice to the propagation of falsehood. Till we read this, we had some idea that Mr. Seymour and Mr. Rawston were real persons, and that the Ex-Dissenter might have faithfully portrayed a real scene.

'Mr. Rawston,' continued the excellent Mr. Seymour, *who* '*appeared less oppressed, and rose in his bed as he spoke,* 'a mere 'professor of religion is like a butterfly—all surface; if the 'breath of heaven breathe upon it, it is driven hither and 'thither. But the christian is like the dove, a strong-pinioned 'bird; she may meet the thunder-storm in her course, but she 'will tack about and tack about, and give even the winds to 'know that she has a nest—a home; that her heart is there, 'and that she must gain it.' This is verbatim from Mr. Hill. The Ex-Dissenter has altered it for the worse. That is, he has added a few unnecessary words. Perhaps he extracted the passage in haste, and was afraid of being detected in the felonious act.

One capital artifice of this disingenuous writer is, to describe dissent as associated with all that is plebeian, coarse, and vulgar, while the Church is the church of the aristocracy, the refined, the wealthy, and the great. This may be all true, but as an argument, considering the nature of christianity, it betrays on the part of its author more zeal than knowledge—more worldliness than piety. Besides, it is a two-edged sword, which the Dissenter can use with much greater effect than the Churchman. As the Ex-Dissenter has given his account of the circumstances connected with the ordination of a Dissenting pastor, we have no objection to place in juxta-position with it the proceedings at the consecration of Bishop Howley, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, to the see of London.

'The true dissenting placard' is a simple announcement, which, with the exception of the fictitious names, contains nothing ludicrous, and nothing more than the occasion seemed to require. We leave our readers to form their own opinion of the latter, which was published in all the newspapers of the day.

'On Thursday next, June 14,
THE REV. WILLIAM HAWTHORNE
will be ordained
to the office of Pastor of the
INDEPENDENT CHURCH AND CONGREGATION
assembling at the
INDEPENDENT CHAPEL AT ———
When
The Rev. MR. JUGG, of Wimborne, will ask the usual
Questions and give the Charge,
The Rev. MR. SNIBB, of London, will offer
up the Ordination Prayer,
The Rev. MR. TWIGG, of Salisbury, will preach
to the Church; and many other
Ministers will be present to
assist in laying on hands;
and in the Evening,
The Rev. DR. BOLD, of Liverpool, will
Preach to the Church and Congregation.

Service to begin in the Morning at eleven, and in the Evening at half past six.

N.B. *There will be an excellent ordinary at the* 'GOLDEN EAGLE,' *at one o'clock, and a Tea Party in the Vestry and Chapel Ground at five o'clock.* Tickets to the Dinner, *three shillings and sixpence*, and to the Tea, *eighteen pence*, or *four shillings and sixpence to both.*'

'There is something,' says the author of 'THE BOOK OF THE 'DENOMINATIONS,' 'very affecting in the following account of 'the consecration of the Bishop of London, Dr. Howley, now 'Archbishop of Canterbury, Oct. 3, 1813, when viewed in con- 'nexion with the awful communication of the Holy Spirit, which 'was at that time, and under those circumstances, vouchsafed 'to him.'

'Yesterday Dr. Howley was consecrated Bishop of London, at Lambeth Palace, by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. Her majesty having signified her intention of being present at the ceremony, arrived at the Palace at twelve o'clock, accompanied by the Princesses Augusta and Mary. They were received at the entrance of the Grand Hall by his Grace and Mrs. Manners Sutton, who conducted them through the grand chamber and grand lobby to the principal dining room, where they remained a short time, and proceeded through an elegant suite of apartments to the gallery over the Chapel, which was fitted up in a very elegant manner for the occasion. The procession moved from the guard-chamber, a little before one o'clock, to the Chapel, in the following order,

Porters with staves,
Livery servants of Doctors and Bishops, two and two,
Archbishop's livery servants, two and two,
Servants of Doctors and Bishops out of livery, two and two,

Gardener and Chapel Clerk,
Clerk of the Kitchen and Butler,
Proctor and Registrar,
Librarian and Receiver,
Preacher and Council,
Chaplains,
The Bishop elect and Sir William Scott,
Vicar-General,
The three Bishops attending, viz.,
of Gloucester, Salisbury, and Oxford,
Secretary and Gentleman Usher,
The Apparitor,
The Archbishop,
His Grace's Trainbearer,

'The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Goddard, late Master of Winchester.

'After the sermon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended by his two chaplains, proceeded to the *altar*, to perform the ceremony of consecration, communion service, administer the sacrament, &c. Mr. Jenner, the Registrar of the Province, *read the mandate from the Prince Regent, in the name of the king, for the consecration.* Dr. Howley retired to an ante-room, and put on his *rochet*, having been previous to that time only in doctor's robes. He was then introduced by the Bishops of Oxford and Gloucester to the archbishop at the altar, *where he went through several ceremonies*, and then retired to the ante-room again, where he was invested with the full bishop's robes by Mr. Webb, the king's robe maker. He was then introduced again to the altar, and a number of questions put to him by the archbishop, which he readily answered. The imposition of hands by the archbishop and the other bishops concluded the ceremony. The sacrament was then administered to him by the archbishop, and of which the other bishops present partook.

'The procession returned from the chapel in the following order,

Porter with staff,
Secretary and Gentleman Usher,
Apparitor,
Archbishop, and the new Bishop at his right hand,
Train Bearers,
The senior Bishop,
The other Bishops and Vicar-General,
Archbishop's Chaplains,
Preacher and Council,
Librarian,
Proctor and Registrar,
Clerk of the Kitchen and Butler,
Gardener and Chapel Clerk,
Servants of Doctors and Bishops out of livery,
Archbishop's livery servants,
Livery servants of Doctors and Bishops.

'A most superb collation was prepared in the principal drawing-

room, consisting of all the delicacies of the season, of which her majesty and the princesses partook.'

We have seldom, in the discharge of our official duties, been called upon to pass judgment upon a work *in every view* so unworthy of a christian and a gentleman, and so utterly contemptible as a literary production, as 'My Life, by an Ex-'Dissenter.' The church that can welcome such an auxiliary must be in the sad plight of Samaria, when so strait was the siege with which she was besieged by her enemies, that 'an 'ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the 'fourth part of a kab of doves' dung for five pieces of silver.'—2 Kings vi. 25.

Art. IX. 1. *Report of the Committee on Import Duties; ordered to be printed August* 1840, *and to be reprinted February*, 1841.

2. *Speeches of Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Viscount Palmerston, Lord Stanley, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Right Hon. Henry Labouchere, on Sugar Duties, May*, 1841.

3. *Speech of Charles Hindley Esq., M.P. for Ashton-under-Lyne, on Taxation and the Corn Laws, in the House of Commons, Tuesday, June* 15, 1841.

THE long predicted crisis has arrived. The season of compromise and inaction has passed; and the time is come when election must be made—decidedly and promptly made—between advancement and retrogression, between intelligence and bigotry, between the rights of conscience allied with rational freedom, and TORYISM. There is no alternative; there can no longer be any halting; we must choose the right hand or the left. If Lord John Russell will not lead on the forces of the Reform cause, Sir Robert Peel will carry the war into the liberal camp, and drive him from his position. The day of dallying has gone, we trust, for ever; for, next to an actual coalition of parties for the division of the spoils of office, there is nothing so lamentable as the compromise of principle in order to conciliate a party whose rapacity is only stimulated by concession.

While we write the tocsin rings through the land; Tories and Reformers are set in array; and in many places the struggle has already commenced. This then is the time for those who desire the advancement of civilization and the establishment of civil and religious liberty on an immoveable basis, to *act*. The Sovereign appeals to the nation, and it is now the part of the people to do their duty. Now or never!—for if the country do not respond

to the call,—if the constituencies allow the auspicious mome to pass by unimproved, it is probable that within the life-ti of the present generation, no such opportunity will return. W say, Now or never; because if the people do not shake off t fatal lethargy that, for so long a time, has benumbed them, t Tories will strengthen themselves in official power, and at t end of seven years will be able to defy them.

And who is there that is ignorant of the designs of t Tories? Who doubts their anxiety *to undo all the good that h been done during the last ten years?* The Quarterly Review a Blackwood's Magazine tell us plainly that the Reform Bill h been *a failure;* the Tories never conceal their hatred to dem cratic control, and the principle of responsibility. It is, ther fore, justly to be inferred, that if the Tories had the opportunit they would gladly take from the people the power conferred them by the Reform Act, and would render that act null a void. Perhaps they would not venture openly to repeal th great charter; but they would undermine and neutralize Lord Stanley's registration bill of last year, was a direct attac upon the Reform Bill. Its object was to contract the franchis and render the electoral body manageable in the hands of t aristocracy; and yet its progress was arrested by a bare m jority in the House of Commons, and the Tory majority in t House of Peers hailed 'the scorpion' with delight. Every effo to relieve the electors of England from annual vexation a expense has been resisted, and we may add defeated, by S Robert Peel and his followers; all which facts clearly pro *that the Tories still cordially detest the Reform Act, and woul if at all practicable, destroy it in detail.*

And who is there who supposes that the Tories have becom reconciled to religious liberty? Who is there that can belie for a moment that they have forgotten or repudiated their lo of sectarian ascendancy and intolerance? Do we not see dail the fiercest denunciations launched against Dissenters? Do n influential and leading Tory publications mock their claims a ridicule their grievances? Has not the doctrine of 'apostolic 'succession' gained admittance to a thousand pulpits,—whic doctrine strips all ministers beyond the pale of the sta church (save the Roman Catholic priesthood), of the cha acter of true pastors, and leaves their people to the 'uncov 'nanted mercies' of the Most High? Church-rates are n yet abolished; ecclesiastical courts still flourish, although con demned by a resolution of the House of Commons,—and instea of CHURCH REFORM, Sir Robert Inglis meets us with a cry CHURCH EXTENSION! And to these considerations add the fa that in almost every city and borough in the kingdom is to b found an association of men pledged to achieve, if possibl

the repeal of the Catholic Emancipation act; those enlightened Protestants supposing liberty of conscience to be incompatible with the safe existence of that religion which is based on the right of private judgment and religious freedom!

It is impossible, then, for those who are sincerely attached to the progress of human improvement, and the native rights of man,—all of which are comprehended when we say attached to civil and religious liberty—to contemplate the return of the Tories to office without alarm and indignation; and it becomes our duty to press upon our readers the immeasurable importance of standing up vigorously and manfully at the crisis, through which we are now passing, in defence of truth, justice, and freedom.

The events which have led to the present state of things are in themselves most momentous. Forced by the irresistible justice of the case, and the peculiar exigencies of the nation, her majesty's ministers have brought forward measures broad, comprehensive, and valuable, embracing the total revision of our tariff, and the destruction of the great monopolies that have oppressed the population of the united kingdom; and have boldly unfurled the banner of 'FREE TRADE.' Those measures have endured a temporary defeat in the House of Commons, for the monopolists and class interests have combined against them; but we mis-interpret the symptoms of popular feeling throughout the country, and greatly overrate the energy of truth when opposed to injustice, if the result of the elections will not be an indisputable decision in favor of free trade.

The evidence taken before the Committee on the IMPORT DUTIES, has produced a revolution in public opinion respecting our commercial policy. It has broken down with irresistible force prejudices and popular errors in every direction; and when the facts stated in it are sufficiently discussed and brought home to the conviction of the people, monopolists of all classes will be compelled to give way, and the restrictions which cripple and mar our commerce must for ever be abolished. It is proved that ON ARTICLES OF FOOD ALONE *the amount taken from the consumers exceeds the amount of all the other taxes which are levied by the government;* and that the sacrifices of the community are not confined to the loss of revenue, but that they are accompanied by injurious effects upon wages and capital; the operation of our tariff diminishing greatly the productive powers of the country, and limiting our active trading relations. It is demonstrated irrefutably that while the people thus suffer from this enormous monopoly-tax (by which expression we mean the indirect tax laid on the consumers at large for the benefit of favored classes), the revenue is defrauded by the same

process. '*They do not,*' observes the report of the commi
'*make the receipt of revenue the main consideration, but a*
'*that primary object of fiscal regulations to be thwarted b*
'*attempt to protect a great variety of particular interests at*
'*expense of the revenue and of the commercial intercourse*
'*other countries.*' These facts alone are well calculate
arouse the attention of the electors of the united kingdon
this most important, though perhaps at first sight, repulsive
uninteresting subject, and plainly point out the expedienc
those financial measures on which the Queen now appeals to
subjects. To enter formally into an analysis of the pa
mentary paper referred to would lead us too far from our pre
purpose,—but we cannot pass on without fastening atten
upon one remarkable fact illustrative of the injustice and
tiality of the existing import duties. The total amoun
customs revenue received in the united kingdom in the year
ing January, 1840, was £22,962,610. The customs duties
levied on nearly 1700 articles; but on *the articles of the*
necessity to the community, nearly the whole of this burde
raised; £22,018,284 being raised upon SIXTEEN articles o
the whole seventeen hundred. The matter is thus demonstr
in the evidence of Mr. M'Gregor, one of the secretaries of
Board of Trade :—

'The following were the duties levied on ten articles in the
ending January 5, 1840 :—

1.	Sugars and molasses	£4,826,917
2.	Tea	3,658,763
3.	Spirits	2,615,413
4.	Wine	1,849,308
5.	Tobacco	3,495,686
6.	Coffee and cocoa	794,818
7.	Fruits of all kinds	462,002
8.	Timber and dye-woods	1,668,584
9.	Corn, grain, meal, and rice	1,131,075
10.	Provisions (including bacon, hams, butter, eggs, &c.)	368,560
		£20,871,126

'On the following six articles, the duties levied in the year end
January 5, 1840, were as follows :—

1.	Seeds of all kinds	£145,712
2.	Oils of all kinds	69,964
3.	Spices of all kinds	98,261
4.	Hides and skins	94,987
5.	Tallow	181,999
6.	Wool (cotton and sheep's)	556,225
		£1,147,148

Brought over	£1,147,148
' Which added to the duties levied on the ten articles in the preceding list, namely, . . .	20,871,126
Gives a grand total on sixteen unmanufactured articles of	22,018,274
Balance received on 1136 minor articles . .	944,326
Total net revenue	£22,962,600

A revision of our tariff under any circumstances became inevitable; and if there were no other reasons but the injustice and absurdity of these duties, the people would be justified in lifting up their voice in favor of a change. When, then, her majesty's ministers found that there was an actual *deficiency* in the revenue, was it not plainly their duty to turn their attention to our tariff, and investigate the nature of that taxation which, *while it yields nothing to the Exchequer, presses heavily upon the people?* Would they not have deserved the most pointed censure if they had dared to impose FRESH TAXES on the country, without listening to the warnings of the committee, that *revenue is sacrificed* in order to support class interests, that *the people at large are oppressed* to support class interests, and that *our commerce with foreign countries is sacrificed* at the same shrine of monopoly? It was determined boldly, and we think wisely, to grapple with the monopolies, and by diminishing an excess of protective duties, to give the public the means of purchasing at a moderate rate the comforts and necessaries of life, and at the same time to obtain an increase of revenue which should enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to fill up the deficiency existing without having recourse to fresh taxes either on food or property.

The Tories resist this plan: and now the conflict begins. They tell us to raise *a loan:* but the people understand that expedient too well; and have no desire to increase the national debt, swelled out already to such fearful dimensions by the profligate and scandalous loan-jobbing of Tory times. They say, Lay on *fresh taxes,* so that it is not on property: but will the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland bear fresh taxes? We think not; because fresh taxes would be unnecessary, unjust, and cruel. The Tories ask, Do we hope to raise revenue by *lowering* the customs' duties? They affect to ridicule the project; but it is perfectly obvious that high duties on articles of general consumption are impolitic as regards the revenue. High prices *check* consumption, and low prices *encourage* it. When such articles are dear, they are placed beyond the reach of the great mass of the community; but when the necessaries and comforts of life are to be purchased at a moderate price,

millions become buyers, consumption is increased, and if subject to duties, the revenue is directly benefited to a vast extent. We need only refer to the case of coffee. In the year 1807 the duty was 1s. 7d. per pound, and the quantity imported was 1,170,16 pounds, while the revenue was only £161,245. In the year 1812, the duty was reduced to 7d. per pound, and the quantity of coffee consumed rose to upwards of 8,000,000 pounds. In the year 1831, the duty was reduced to 6d., and the consumption rose to 21,842,200 pounds. In the year 1840, the consumption was 28,000,723 pounds, and the revenue was £922,000!

Here is a complete vindication of the principle that advantage to the revenue and advantage to the community may and will go hand in hand.

The Tories, however, quickly change their ground; they deny that the question ought to be one of *revenue* at all; and take their stand against free-trade on the grounds that 'protection,' as they term monopoly, if not a thing quite just in principle, is essential to the interests of the country. They tell us that we must *encourage* British interests; by which they mean that unjust advantages should be given to favored classes, to the prejudice of the whole community. Some of the Tories, indeed, profess that they are not influenced in their opposition to the government measures by an attachment to the monopolists but are actuated by 'certain prudential considerations.' Others are wedded, they say, to free-trade *in the abstract*; but never can be induced to apply their principles practically! One of the principal writers against free-trade in corn says, that 'free 'trade, abstractedly, is *admitted to be a correct principle on every 'side.*'* Sir Robert Peel, in supporting the sugar monopoly said, 'I do not ask you to continue this exclusion for the pur- 'pose of supporting or maintaining the interests of any indi- 'vidual West India proprietor. I admit,' he added, 'that your 'liberality has been so great that if mere personal and peculiar 'interests were alone concerned, *you might have a right to call 'upon them to sacrifice those personal interests to consideration 'of public advantage.*' Sir Robert Peel durst not defend the monopoly by asserting that monopolies are *just*. No.; he is compelled to admit that monopolies are in principle wrong, and therefore, as usual, has recourse to 'prudential considerations' to defend that which on principle is indefensible. In the course of the same speech he protested that he was in favor of free trade, *on general principles;* slippery words, that leave him a

* An Address to the Farmers of England on Foreign Corn. By a Merchant. Painter, Strand, 1841.

liberty to deny the application of those principles to any specific case; but still sufficiently explicit and definite to convince the electors of the united kingdom that the principle of free-trade is a righteous principle; that it is based on truth and justice, and that the ablest of the people's enemies, while endeavoring to defend their crooked and selfish policy, are constrained to concede the fact. False then in principle, MONOPOLY is bad in practice: it is the prolific parent of many evils; it checks the intercourse between the families of the earth; it is a positive wrong to millions who consume the necessaries and comforts of life; it contracts, cripples, defeats, blocks up, and excludes from foreign markets, our manufactures, on which the greatness of the British isles depend; and further, it injures the revenue; thus doubly weakening the resources of the nation and overburdening the working population.

> 'If God's free bounty bids this globe produce
> More than enough for all his creatures' use,
> Shall man monopolize the free supply?
> See brutes full fed, while fellow-mortals die?
> Forbid it, Heaven! Let earth's prolific field
> For man and beast alike abundance yield.
> Free as the winds, and chainless as the sea,
> Should intercourse between all nations be—
> Wherever land is found, or oceans roll,
> Or man exists, from Indus to the Pole,
> Then would unfettered industry be paid
> In the rich wealth its own free hands had made;
> Then would mankind fulfil Heaven's first decree,
> And earth with 'fruitfulness' replenished be;
> Then would war's blood-red banner soon be furled,
> And 'peace' triumphant reign throughout the world;
> While freighted fleets would traverse every sea,
> And commerce wing her way unchecked and free—
> Island be linked to island—main to main—
> Binding all nature fast in love's harmonious chain.'

FREE TRADE then must be the rallying cry at the elections; —free trade in corn, free trade in timber, free trade in every necessary of life. But we are challenged as to the definition of the term 'free trade.' We are told that the ministerial measures do not carry out the principle strictly; and that if we were to have actual free trade we should have no *import duties at all.* Lord Stanley, making himself merry upon the subject during the debate upon the sugar question, said, 'Again I say, 'the noble lord may be right; again I say, the necessities of 'the revenue may compel him to take that course; but when 'he talks of upholding the principles of free trade, which he is 'to carry out with a simplicity and purity that are to be the

'wonder of all succeeding times, and an example to all future 'governments—I say the continuance by him of such heavy 'import duties, on articles of such general consumption and of 'such prime necessity, is in utter contradiction to his pre- 'tensions, and must deprive him of that character of the cham- 'pion of free trade, which he, and others for him, have been so 'anxious to assume.' Thus the ministerial financial measures have been opposed, at one time, because they do embrace the principle of free trade, and at another, because they do not. In the midst of the confusion which the Tories thus endeavor to create, for the purpose of diverting public attention from the merits of the real question at issue, this is certain;—*the ministerial measures make an important advance toward free trade,* if they do not carry out the principle to its utmost limits. There is no denying this; and, as a legitimate inference, if free trade be a good thing, those measures deserve the support of the country. But free trade does not mean that there should be no import duties. It means that there should be NO MONOPOLIES; that there should be NO PROHIBITION of purchasing at the cheapest, and selling at the dearest, markets; that there should be no import duties EXCEPT FOR THE PURPOSES OF REVENUE; that those duties should not be unfairly thrown upon the articles of prime consumption—on the necessaries or comforts of life; it means that we should reciprocate with the nations of the earth, and exchange British manufactures for foreign productions. This is our notion of free trade. Lord Palmerston, in the best speech, among the very many able and statesman-like speeches, recently delivered in the House of Commons, conclusively replied to the objection adverted to.—

'The question, as I have already stated,' observed the noble lord, 'is, between monopoly and free trade. The noble lord, the member for North Lancashire (Lord Stanley), and the right honorable baronet who spoke to-night, have given us their view of the meaning of free trade, and have taunted us with an intention or a desire to abolish altogether all duties on foreign produce, and to leave importation into this country utterly free from any charge at all. That is not my notion of free trade. That, at least, is not the free trade that I would establish. *We must have a revenue derived from some source or other, and, in my opinion, there is no more legitimate or proper mode of deriving a revenue, than by laying a duty on the importation of foreign produce.* BUT THEN I SAY, LET THOSE DUTIES BE LAID ON FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF REVENUE. Do not lay them on for the purpose of enabling a comparatively few men to carry on a losing trade at the expense of the rest of the community. I know that in an artificial state of society, such as that in which we live, it is impossible at once, and without some delay, to apply principles of this kind; because, suddenly adopted, they would derange a considerable branch of human

transactions, and might possibly lead to the ruin of thousands of individuals. That is not our wish or our intention. The object at which we aim is to go on with the principles of free trade, as quickly and as straight forwardly as circumstances will admit. Protection, in the sense in which it is used by those who oppose the proposition now made by the government, is, in truth, nothing more than a tax laid upon the industry, the intelligence, and the activity of the mass of the community, in order to support the indolence and exclusiveness of a small portion.'

Having thus settled, as we think satisfactorily, the general principles on which ministers profess to base the great questions which now agitate the country, and almost exclusively occupy the attention of electors, let us see how far their measure deserves the approbation and support of those who value the best interests of the community.

And here we may just advert, in passing, to the anti-slavery ground, which has been assumed by the Tories in their opposition to the ministerial budget. We say *assumed*, and we use the word deliberately;—no similar instance of unblushing hypocrisy having occurred in modern times. In listening to the speeches of Lord Sandon and his supporters, we might have imagined that their political life had been signalized by high-minded devotedness to the great interests of humanity. The zeal now avowed is apparently so energetic and unselfish, that it might naturally be supposed, by one ignorant of the past, that his lordship's eloquence had been frequently heard in the British Parliament, denouncing the servitude in which, till recently, our colonial fellow-subjects were held; and that the votes of his allies, so freely offered in his support, have frequently been recorded on behalf of the violated rights of the sons of Africa. The very reverse, however, of all this has been the case. From the first moment that Mr. Wilberforce introduced the subject of the slave-trade into St. Stephen's, down to the hour when party tactics might be served by the motion of the noble lord, the Tories have been the sworn opponents of every measure which contemplated the manumission of the negro, or the increase of his social comforts. The debates of successive parliaments bear ample witness to this fact, and bitter was the disappointment which the unswerving opposition of this party inflicted on the philanthropic men, who sought to free their country from the crime of perpetuating so foul a system. And yet these gentlemen, with unparalleled hardihood, can now present themselves to the British people as the friends of the negro's rights. Out upon such hypocrisy, which insults the intellect while it seeks to mislead the sympathies of the nation! Next to religious hypocrisy, that of benevolence is most disgusting, and of this the party in opposition has fur-

nished an exhibition which no men, ancient or modern, hav surpassed.*

The case was very different with the Committee of the Britis and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The gentlemen composin that Committee are for the most part too well known to requir any vindication of their integrity. They are above suspicion whatever hireling scribes or heated partizans may allege. O all the benevolent organizations of the present day, none has bee characterized by a more inflexible and single-hearted devotion t its object than this committee. Appointed for the single pur pose of promoting the extinction of the slave trade and slavery it was natural that they should regard with apprehension th influence which the sugar branch of the ministerial propositio would have on the class whose interests they were appointed t watch over. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the ulti mate tendencies of a free trade in sugar, no reflecting man ca doubt that the immediate effect of throwing our markets open t the slave-owners of Brazil and Cuba will be to give a temporar stimulus at least to their nefarious traffic, and would conse quently increase their importation of human victims from Africa Believing that the immediate effect of the ministerial measur would be an extension of the slave-trade and an increase of th number of slaves, the committee only acted consistently wit their vocation, in calling the attention of Government to the fac and in urging such a modification of the measure as should ob viate the evils anticipated. They had nothing to do with th question of free trade or monopolies. Their sole duty was t watch over the interests of humanity, and perceiving that th immediate influence of the proposed measure would be injuriou to these, they spoke out as it became honest men to do. I would have been a noble stand, one full of promise to the worl if the Government had been induced, while adopting the prin ciples of free trade, to mark with its most effective prohibitio those forms of human wickedness against which the Britis people have passed solemn judgment, and over which our Go vernment possesses omnipotent though indirect power. For suc a step, however, the nation is not as yet prepared, and we mus

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* "Nothing had given him so much disgust as the arguments of gentleme in parliament against a modification of the protection on sugar, on th ground of humanity—gentlemen, while they were putting forth these argu ments, were taking their muscovado, and sweetening their own cups wi it. They were exerting every nerve to confine the people to their coloni whity-brown or dirty-brown, while they were sipping their beautiful whi Brazilian sugars, at half the price. He did not agree in the opinion, that free trade would encourage slavery: on the contrary, he said, GIVE HIM FRE LABOR AND FREE TRADE, AND HE WOULD HAVE FREEMEN ALL OVER THE WORLD."— *Speech of Mr. George Thompson.*

therefore be content to effect the utmost which the present state of feeling permits.

As between the sugar monopolists and the British people, the question at issue does not admit of rational doubt. The interests of the few should give way, and that to a much further extent than the ministerial proposition goes, to those of the many. And were this the only aspect under which the subject could be viewed, we should feel no hesitation respecting the ground to be taken. As politicians simply the Government was right; but there is a higher and more sacred ground on which the matter may be viewed. The people of this country have already expended millions, and thousands of our seamen and soldiers have been sacrificed in order to put down the slave-trade and slavery. Consistency, therefore, would demand that they should forego for some time longer pecuniary advantage to which, in itself considered, they are righteously entitled, but which they cannot obtain without injuring somewhat the cause of humanity to which they have so solemnly and at so costly a price pledged themselves. We must protest against that false philosophy which invests the principles of political science with all the sacredness of religious truths. Sound and valuable as we esteem them, they are yet subordinate to moral considerations, and must be held in abeyance when they threaten to interfere with the latter. It would have been to us matter of unfeigned gratification if the nation had been ripe for the adoption of these views. But as this is not the case, and we are reduced to the alternative of receiving the ministerial measure as a whole, or of perpetuating a system which threatens the destruction of our commerce and the starvation of our people, we adopt the former, as involving least evil of the two. We have no fear of the issue. The dreaded evil will be but temporary, while the expansive power of the principles to be recognized will be productive of progressive good through the whole circle of British influence.

The most important of the ministerial propositions is that affecting the duties on the importation of FOREIGN CORN. It is proposed to grapple with what Lord Melbourne has called the master grievance of the country—the corn monopoly, that taxes the *bread* of the working millions;—a thing which Earl Winchilsea himself, in his zeal for the corn laws, denounces as the greatest of crimes. The purpose and object of the corn laws is to keep up *high prices* in England and make *bread dear*. This object, which 'in the abstract' is certainly a very iniquitous one, is openly avowed and even warmly defended. It inflicts a positive loss * upon the consumers of Great Britain and Ireland of

* The writer of a tract, adapted for circulation at the present crisis, entitled, 'The Many sacrificed to the Few by the Food Monopoly,' calculates

£21,000,000 annually, and is attended with the threefold evil consequences—injustice and suffering to the mass of the community, loss to the revenue, derangement and curtailment of our commercial operations with foreign nations. The ministers propose to destroy the *prohibitive* duty on foreign corn, and to admit foreign corn into our ports, on payment of a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter; thus giving the British community an opportunity of purchasing the necessaries of life on moderate terms, and at the same time opening great highways for the passage of British manufactures, hitherto blocked up. This proposal is met by two objections, both of which cannot be true, but each of which may be, and we think is, untrue. First it is said that if foreign corn be admitted on payment of a duty of eight shillings a quarter, the agriculturists will be ruined, as it will be impossible to compete with the cheap corn of the continent with so paltry a protection, and that the land of England will go out of cultivation. The second assertion is, that after all, the diminution in the price of bread will be very small; that the working people will never *feel* the benefit of the reduction.

We know that the farmers are at any time frightened out of their senses by the cry of '*ruin*;' but setting aside the fact, so boldly and manfully proclaimed in the House of Peers by Earl Fitzwilliam, that the corn question is 'a landlord's question' altogether, it is capable of distinct proof that the admission of foreign corn into this country would not ruin the agriculturists; would throw no land, really fit for the plough, out of cultivation, and would not bring down the price of corn below 50s. or 54s. per quarter. Mr. M'Culloch, in a very interesting and satisfactory publication on the corn laws, which has just proceeded from his pen, says, 'It is impossible to purchase in any 'foreign port any considerable quantity of wheat, of the average 'quality of that produced in Britain, for less than 35s. per 'quarter; and adding to this 10s. for the expense of importa-'tion, 8s. for duty, and 3s. for profit, it is clear that such wheat 'cannot be sold in England under 56s. a quarter; which is only '11½ less than the average price of English wheat during the 'ten years ending with 1840! If' adds Mr. M'Culloch, 'the

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the enhancement of prices of the existing system to amount to the following startling sums every year:—

Grain of all kinds	£21,860,928
Meat	10,583,333
Butter and cheese	4,246,666
Timber	7,600,000
Tallow	500,000
Total	£44,790,927

'agriculturists be not satisfied with an arrangement of this sort, 'it is difficult to divine what would satisfy them.' Prices would, in our opinion, range from 50s. to 56s. per quarter; and yet the monopolists are *not* satisfied, but are moving heaven and earth, using all means fair and foul to rouse the county constituencies in defence of their monopolies, raising a cry of 'ruin to the 'farmers!' Let it not be lost sight of either, that the *average* of the present fluctuating scale amounts to but 5s. 9d. per quarter. Sir Robert Peel, in his speech on the corn laws, in 1840, boasted that 'under the existing system the duty charged only 'amounted to 5s. 5d. per quarter—the amount of duty on the 'staff of life, as it was termed, he repeated did not exceed that 'sum of 5s. 5d.'

But here the Tories turn round upon us and say, Then if this be true, bread can be very little cheaper—the working classes will not be the better for the change, while the agriculturists will be the worse for it. But let us remind them that the price of corn could then never run up to 70s. per quarter, as it now can. The fixed duty, even at the high amount named by the government, would ensure moderate and steady prices, and afford a guarantee against high prices such as are now common. This would be a great advantage to the community; and at the same time, a fixed duty would enable foreigners to speculate with some degree of certainty in our markets: at present, by the operation of the sliding scale, all is uncertainty and distrust.*

The corn-law advocates have in truth placed themselves on the horns of a dilemma. If foreign corn cannot be brought into England at a very low price, we have an argument in favor of the safety of the government measure as far as regards agriculturists: on the other hand, if corn *can* be brought in at a very low price, the fact proves the injustice of the monopoly, and exhibits more glaringly the enormous extent of that tax upon bread, which while it yields nothing to the exchequer, presses heavily upon the people.

The electors of the United Kingdom have now an opportunity of striking a death-blow at those MONOPOLIES which have hitherto been maintained by and for the exclusive advantage of

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* Among the reasons which have influenced the American Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool to assist in advocating a revision of the import duties, is the following; the sliding scale of duty on wheat and flour places countries so distant as the United States *on an unequal footing with those less remote;* because, whenever grain is admissible at a low duty, the demand is so rapidly supplied from the continent of Europe, that the duty is generally at a prohibitory rate before supplies from the United States can reach this country.

an aristocracy, which would if possible, concentrate in its own body all the wealth, power, and political influence of the whole country. The government measure is worthy the acceptance of the nation, and we urge upon the people, promptly, manfully, and energetically, to rise up in its defence. The dearest interests of the nation are at stake; the existence of the commerce of England depends upon the issue. Who then will hang back or remain inactive at this crisis? Who will not lend a hand in planting and keeping up the flag of free-trade? Who will not render his aid in extending and securing from decline our commerce,—in alleviating the heartrending miseries of the working classes,—and in preventing the infliction of fresh burdens upon a people already staggering under the pressure of taxation? In every part of the kingdom the financial measures, on which the queen now asks the opinion of the people, have been received with an enthusiasm which must convince ministers that there is but one road to public confidence and popularity, and that is a straight forward and bold declaration of great principles of progression, and unwavering adherence to CIVIL, to RELIGIOUS, and to COMMERCIAL FREEDOM.

We regard the measure on which the British people are now required to give judgment as a practical application of the principles of the Reform Bill,—a carrying out in its legitimate direction of the ameliorating spirit of which that noble Act—for noble it was notwithstanding its imperfections—was the forerunner and pledge. The whole system of our taxation has been founded on a principle of favoritism—the favoritism of the wealthy few as contrasted with the middle and lower classes. It needs revision in all its parts, and we take the ministerial budget not simply for what it is in itself, but more especially for what it promises. Let the principles involved in this measure be once recognized, and the way to other financial reforms will be laid open. An interested oligarchy may well make battle on the present proposition, for they know their craft to be in danger. They struggle as for life, and will move all their forces in the hope of successfully resisting the ministers, who have at length roused themselves from their lethargy, thrown aside the sympathies of their class, and nobly identified themselves with the nations which they govern. Mr. Hindley, in his thoroughly English speech, which we have placed at the head of this article, and which we are glad to see printed in a cheap form, has successfully exposed the inequitable division of the public burdens among the several classes of the community.

'It is well known to the house, that in the year 1833, the late Mr. Cobbet exposed to the house and the country the injustice occasioned by the existing stamp duties. That injustice was admitted by the

then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who promised it should be remedied. Has this been done? Has any attention whatever been paid to it? No. Eight years have elapsed, and the injustice continues to the present moment. That the house may judge of the amount of this injustice, permit me to call its attention to some particulars of the various stamp duties. The rate of duty upon a conveyance of property of ten pounds value, is ten per cent.; while it is only one per cent. on a conveyance of property of two thousand pounds value! The rate of duty on mortgages is ten pounds per cent. upon the raising of ten pounds; whilst it is only six shillings per cent. on a loan of two thousand pounds, and sixpence per cent. only upon a mortgage of one hundred thousand pounds! And the low amount of stamp duty upon large mortgages, as compared with that upon large conveyances, cannot but excite a suspicion that this has been purposely done by the landed gentlemen, who rarely *sell* their property, but who, from family engagements and other causes, have frequently to raise money upon it. The stamp duty on bills of a low amount, say twenty pounds, is ten shillings per cent.; on ten thousand pounds, it is threepence-halfpenny per cent.! and three-fourths of the amount of stamp duty on bills, is raised from bills averaging seventy-five pounds. Can anything, Sir, show more clearly the unequal pressure borne, in this particular, by small tradesmen? The same remark replies to the stamp duty on receipts, which is five shillings per cent. upon ten pounds, and five farthings per cent. on ten thousand pounds! It appears, therefore, that the man who sells ten pounds' worth of property, pays, on the conveyance, ten times as much in proportion as the man who sells one hundred thousand; that the man who borrows on mortgage ten pounds, pays four hundred times as much in proportion as the man who borrows one hundred thousand pounds; and that the man who gives his bill or receipt for ten pounds, pays four hundred and eighty times as much in proportion as he who gives his bill or receipt for one hundred thousand pounds! These are but specimens of similar unjust disproportions in stamp duties on annuities, insurances, probates, auctions, &c., &c.'

—*Hindley*, pp. 5, 6.

The same system presses with greater severity upon the poorest class, of which the following striking illustration is afforded by the honorable member for Ashton.

'In order to give a practical illustration of this injustice, I have furnished myself with a statement which I requested a highly respectable grocer in this city to prepare, of the various articles he is in the habit of supplying to rich and poor families, with the prices of those articles, and the rates of duty on each. I confess that I read the statement with much surprise, in which I think the house will participate; but, after a careful examination, I cannot discover that its truth can be invalidated. He writes, 'A poor woman, a widow, earning her living by washing for families at their own abodes, and having two young children to support, generally purchases, weekly, the following articles, and this is about the usual proportion which poor persons of that class consume in a week:

	d.		s.	d.
2 oz. of tea, at 4s. per lb. .	6	—duty out of which is		3¼
1 lb. of sugar	6	do		2¼
2 oz. of coffee, 1s. 8d. per lb.	2½	do		1
1 oz. of pepper, occasionally,	1	do		⅜
1 lb. of raisins	4	do		1⅝
Total	1 7½		0	8¾

Being at the rate of 44 per cent., or 5½d. out of every 1s. The same kind of articles supplied to persons of the higher classes would be as follows:

	s.	d.		s	d.
1 lb. of tea	8	0	—duty out of which is	2	2¼
1 lb. of the best sugar	1	2	do.		3
1 lb. of coffee . . .	2	6	do.		8
1 lb. of Muscatel raisins	1	6	do.		1⅝
1 lb. of white pepper.	3	0	do.		6
Total	16	2		3	8⅞

Being about 23 per cent., or 2¾d. in every 1s.!' So that the house will perceive, that when the poor woman places her shilling upon the counter of the grocer, she receives back 6½d. worth of goods, and the government take the remaining 5½d. When the rich man pays his shilling to the same grocer for the same description of articles, he receives 9¼d. in goods, which is almost half as much again as the poor woman receives, the state being content with 2¾d. out of his shilling, though it had just before taken 5½d. out of hers! And the evil does not end here, for the grocer is obliged to have a profit on the extra capital which the duty requires him to employ. This disproportion in taxation is a state of things not to be endured; and, until a change be made, there can be no safety for the state. It is all very well to talk about chartism, or any other symptom of discontent with the present state of things, but they are the inevitable consequences of the wrongs inflicted upon the masses. Let justice be done to the lower orders, and there will be nothing to fear.'—Ib pp. 6—8.

While such a system continues discontent cannot but prevail, and he is no friend to his country, whatever professions he may make, who stands in the way of the great popular concession which is now proffered by the ministers of the crown. An interested senate has decided by a majority of one against the concession; but we trust the people of this great empire will be sufficiently alive to their own welfare to pronounce at the hustings a different judgment. Let their exertions be but equal to the value of the boon that is proffered them, and their triumph will be complete. A selfish faction will be compelled to respect their claims, and the future greatness and commercial

prosperity of our country will bear witness to the fidelity with which they have discharged their electoral trust.

We are most anxious that the DISSENTERS of the United Kingdom should act a part worthy of themselves at the present great crisis. Much depends upon their exertions at the elections; and earnestly we invoke them to make a bold and decided stand against the restoration of Toryism. They must fight not only for free trade and the progress of reform, but for the maintenance of their civil and religious liberty. Intolerance yet swells in the heart of many a bigot; and if the Tories prevail we shall find the power of the state-priesthood strengthened by the establishment of sectarian education, which will place patronage at their disposal, and afford fresh means of vexing nonconformists; we shall see the church establishment *extended by votes of money from the public purse*; church-rates will be exacted with fresh energy; and ecclesiastical courts will be put into vigorous operation. If dissenters wanted any new indication of the spirit that actuates the Tories, they need only look to the conduct of the majority in the House of Lords, the very last week of the session which has just terminated. On the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, they rejected the Charity-trusts bill, in order to withhold power from *dissenters*, who are or may be members of municipal corporations. On the other hand, if dissenters are faithful to their high trust, and act worthy of the crisis which has arrived, the cause of religious liberty will be speeded on its course, and the way be prepared for its complete and final triumph. But few of our numbers will confederate with the enemy. The history of Toryism is the history of bigotry and persecution. The sufferings and death of our puritan and nonconformist forefathers bear witness against it; and he must be recreant to our principles or sadly ignorant of our history, who gives to the Tories the benefit of his support. A Tory dissenter is one of the most anomalous creatures in existence, and is happily as rare as he is strange and unnatural. But whilst we have no fear of Toryism gaining ground from the active concurrence of dissenters, we are not quite so sure that it will not be aided by the indifference and lethargy which have for some time past been spreading amongst them. An impression extensively prevails that Lord Melbourne's cabinet is tired of the advocacy of their cause, and is desirous of disengaging itself from an alliance which is supposed to have given rise to the embittered hostility of the church to the present advisers of her Majesty. We shall not now stop to inquire whether this impression be correct or not. It is enough to remark, that to whatever extent such a feeling may exist among the members of the government, it must prove as injurious to them as to us. We have this satisfaction at least, that our aid is as essential to them as theirs can be to us.

The numbers, intelligence, popular feeling, and activity of the dissenting body constitute them no mean or ineffective section of the liberal constituency of the country. Lord Melbourne and his colleagues are well aware of this, however they may trifle with us in their days of fancied security. Were the present an ecclesiastical struggle, we should have much to say on this point; for we have our opinions, and those strong ones too, on the manner in which dissenting questions have been cushioned by those who were formerly zealous on their behalf. But the question at issue is political rather than ecclesiastical; it affects us as Englishmen and not as Dissenters, and we trust there is too much high-mindedness and true patriotism amongst us to permit us in the day of our country's extremity to remember our personal wrongs. Our first duty is to resist the enemy who is battling at our gates. He must be driven back at whatever cost, and when his forces are scattered, we will then assert in terms more emphatic than ever, our distinctive and scriptural claims.

Let us not be misunderstood here. We are far from intending that Dissenters should be silent at the present crisis on matters that respect themselves. They should speak out, and speak out boldly, that the candidates for whom they vote may know their sentiments, and be prepared to co-operate in the vindication of their rights. On the church-rate question we should be disposed to take even more decided ground than this, and to refuse our vote to any candidate, whatever might be his pretensions, who would not pledge himself to support any well considered measure for the extinction of this obnoxious and inequitable impost. It has been with much pleasure that we have perused the correspondence of the Rev. Mr. Giles, of Leeds, with Lord Morpeth, and we hope the example thus set has been extensively followed through the kingdom. The churches of the West Riding have done themselves honor by the course they have adopted, and have been singularly happy in the gentlemanly and christian-like style in which their representative has given utterance to their views. We had hoped that the Dissenters of London would have acted similarly in the case of Lord John Russell, but strange rumors have reached us, which we are unwilling to credit, yet are unable to deny. Can it be as is alleged, that the ministers of the Three Denominations refused a conference with the deputies, because they understood that the object of such conference was a united representation to his lordship on the subject of church-rates. If this report be unfounded it should be instantly contradicted, but if it be true, which we fain hope it is not, then the Dissenters of Great Britain have just ground for most serious complaints against the ministers of London.

Commodore Napier has set the example of placing on his co-

lors the motto, 'Abolition of Church-rates.' We trust that the same motto will be exhibited in every city and borough in the country. Now is the time for dissenters to *speak out,* and to speak *with effect;* for if a decided effort be made at the present crisis, church-rates must be speedily and for ever abolished.

Let us then, unite in one combined and mighty movement on behalf of the great principles to which we have drawn attention. If apathetic now, we shall endure signal defeat, the result of which will be felt in years to come. But if we are earnest and united, the victory must BE OURS, and that victory will be decisive.

Since writing the above we have received a small tract by the Rev. William Brock, of Norwich, to which we are solicitous to direct the prompt and most serious attention of our readers. It is entitled *The Duty of Professing Christians in Relation to the Elective Franchise,* and contains the substance of a lecture delivered in Norwich, on the 10th of June last. The subject discussed is of grave and universal importance, and the manner in which it is treated is highly creditable to the author, and eminently adapted to subserve the interests of public morals. We trust that the example set by Mr. Brock will be followed by many of his brethren, for surely, if there ever was an occasion when it became the teachers of religion to counsel and warn their people, that occasion is now present. The corruption and bribery which have prevailed so fearfully at many recent elections, threaten the most alarming consequences to the moral principles, as well as to the political integrity, of the nation. The evil is widely spreading, and can only be effectually arrested by the sanitary influence of the religion of the Bible being brought to bear against it. We entreat our ministers to be alive to this enormous evil, and by timely and dignified expostulation, to guard their flocks from its intrusion. Let no fear of censure, no dread of misrepresentation, no morbid shrinking from what verges on the political, induce them to withhold their contributions to the cause of public morals and christian rectitude. We thank Mr. Brock for his timely service, and cordially recommend his lecture for extensive distribution at the present moment.

Brief Notices.

The Scientific and Literary Treasury; a New and Popular Encyclopædia of the Belles Lettres. By Samuel Maunder, author of 'The Treasury of Knowledge,' 'Biographical Treasury,' &c. London: Longman and Co.

Mr. Maunder has carried his most useful labors into another wide and popular department of literature; and with the same success which crowned his previous efforts. We doubt not that he will meet with the same encouragement. Though the title affixes a definite character to the work, it not only includes the belles lettres, but so much of the kindred sciences from which they either derive or impart assistance, as is necessary for their elucidation. Those who know Mr. Maunder as an able instructor, and who have studied his former volumes, must cordially welcome the present. It has been several months on our study table as a book of reference; we have consulted it on every subject the exact knowledge of which we wished to revive, or concerning which we required immediate information, and we have been more than satisfied. His modest avowal in the preface he has fully sustained. 'My great object,' he says, 'has been to produce a book that should meet the wants and wishes of a very large and most respectable class of readers, whose opportunities of studying the ponderous tomes of science are as unfrequent as their aspirations after knowledge are ardent.' Again, in conclusion, he tells us, and we can avouch for the truth of the assertion, 'Although I have studiously avoided the introduction of any matter foreign to the immediate subject under consideration, I have not been unmindful of the connexion that exists between the natural and the moral world, nor have I neglected any suitable opportunity of enforcing sound principles in ethics, and that willing obedience to the laws, without which science is acquired in vain, and learning often proves a curse.' In every lounging room, and on every library table, Mr. Maunder's Scientific and Literary Treasury may be placed with the certainty of well employing a leisure half hour in the one case—and of saving a great deal of circuitous labor in the other.

The Hope of the World, and other Poems. By Charles Mackay. London: Bentley.

In the noblest acceptation of the term, the world has had few poets. Yet of the secondary and descending classes, poets have abounded, and they have been true poets. For they have refined and exalted sentiment—they have kindled glowing emotions in the soul, and have peopled the regions of imagination with realities all their own. The Minstrel, the Marmion, and the Lady of the Lake of Scott, are inhabitants of these regions as truly as the Midsummer Night fairies, and the Ariel and Caliban of Shakspere; and so are the sylphs and

gnomes of Pope, and the undying creations of the modern drama—the Ion of Talfourd and the Hunchback of Sheridan Knowles. There are poets who range far below these, who possess talent rather than genius, and in reading whose productions, we are sometimes induced to wish that they had written better or not so well. Millman and Barry Cornwall rank just above these. Dale and Croly, perhaps, are fair specimens of the class. The author of the present volume takes his place somewhere among them. He has just sufficient power to command respectful attention, without that degree of superiority which can lay any claim to admiration. He reminds us of Pope, Campbell, and Rogers, and not always to his own disadvantage.

The principal poem in this collection, 'Christianity the Hope of the World,' breathes noble moral and religious sentiments; but it is deficient in scope and power. The marble is perfectly chiselled, and looks like life, but it wants the Promethean fire. We should like to impart to our readers the impression which the entire volume after perusal left upon our minds. In the first place, we read the work through at a sitting; we were conscious of only pleasurable excitement from the commencement to the close, but it was of the quiet kind. There was beauty, but it did not captivate; pathos, but we did not weep; and an occasional approach to sublimity, but the spirit within us was neither stirred to its depth, nor carried for a moment beyond this diurnal sphere—we scarcely ever lost sight of this working-day world. Yet there are passages, and entire pieces, which we shall read over again; though probably there is not one that we shall ever be tempted to quote. We wish to be just, for we only know the author through his book; and we can add with truth that there are several moderns who have obtained celebrity without a tithe of his merit.

Anti-Popery; or Popery Unreasonable, Unscriptural, and Novel. By John Rogers. A new edition altered and amended. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

This work is strangely attractive. Though it contains so much that sets all criticism at defiance, we were compelled to read it through in the first edition; and we scarcely think it improved in the second. It has, to be sure, some unity of design, and there are not so many digressions from the main object. The argument is strengthened by being condensed; but it is not the wild, savage, Hercules kind of thing it was. In the first edition the title-page was enough to frighten the pope and all his cardinals: it reminded us of the lines:

> 'And last of all an admiral came,
> A terrible man with a terrible name;
> A name which, you all must know very well,
> Nobody can speak and nobody can spell.'

Whatever may be said of the title, the book itself was no joke; and for the sake of the public we hail the appearance of, to them, a more

readable and useful work. We have already expressed our opinion of this remarkable performance, which we now strongly recommend in its present form, as a work that relates to popery, the whole of popery, and nothing but popery; and which, to use the author's own figure, has not left popery 'an intellectual or scriptural leg to stand upon.'

Agrippa: or the Nominal Christian invited to Consideration and Decision. By John Jefferson, Abney Chapel, Stoke Newington. London: Snow.

We have only one objection to this little volume, and that is to its title. We dislike the affectation of naming books after this fashion—Mammon, Jethro, and Bacchus, carry no idea to the reader of the nature of the work which each is employed to designate. Agrippa is exceptionable on another account—Agrippa was not a nominal Christian, nor a Christian in any sense of the term. He is therefore totally out of place in Mr. Jefferson's title-page. The Agrippa of Scripture, as exhibited in the Acts of the Apostles, would form a fine subject of itself, and we wonder that some eloquent pen has not been employed to delineate his character, and especially to press home the evidences and the claims of Christianity upon many sceptics and unbelievers, who, like Agrippa, are often almost persuaded to be Christians. The topics discussed in Mr. Jefferson's hortatory treatise are both pertinent and seasonable in this day of so much religious profession, and, as we fear, of so little productive religion. It is calculated to be useful, and we hope that its wide circulation will ensure its success.

Pulpit Recollections; or Miscellaneous Sermons, preached in the Parish Church of Stoke upon Trent, Staffordshire. By the Rev. Sir William Dunbar, Bart., S. C. L., late Curate of the above Parish. London: Smith, Elder and Co.

These are plain practical discourses. As compositions they are of the average merit of such things. Volumes of sermons, though the press teems with them, add little to our stock of theology, and it is in very rare instances that they enrich our literature. They may be useful as memorials of pastoral zeal and affection among the congregations to whom they were addressed from the pulpit, but beyond the circle of friendship they are seldom circulated with any beneficial effect.

In a volume of modern sermons by a clergyman, it is refreshing to meet with a paragraph like the following—and we are pleased to observe, that the same spirit breathes through the work,—'There is a system of opinions reviving, which goes far in attempting to alienate from communion with Christ's family the conscientious nonconformist to the National Church; to such opinions I cannot, nor I trust can you assent, whatever may be the relative advantages and superior claims to veneration we may judge our form of government and mode of worship to have above other modes of worship and discipline; the

circumstance of others not thinking as we may think on such points, ought not to banish them from the privileged association, nor occasion their being denied the appellation of fellow, or brother christians; for an entire coincidence of opinion on these points is not essential to holding 'the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience.' That there are some particulars in which we cannot co-operate with them is certain; but that there are others in which we can unite, hand and heart, is equally true.

'We maintain that it is important to examine the acknowledged difference of opinion on the subject of church government, and of a ministry duly ordained; and we approve of an adherence to that which conviction dictates; still, whether the result of that examination be an agreement or a continued difference in opinion, assuredly brotherly love among those who hold the faith of Christ crucified as the sole foundation of the sinner's hope, ought not upon any pretence to be invaded. With open or insidious perverters of the truth we can hold no communion in the character of christians; yet I speak not of these, but of such as take the holy Scriptures, and the holy Scriptures alone, as their guide and direction.—pp. 16, 17. We add with pleasure, that these sermons are purely evangelical; and judging from these Pulpit Recollections, we doubt not that Sir William Dunbar is a most acceptable and useful preacher.

An Introduction to the Evidences of the Divine Origin of the Christian Religion, in Question and Answer, for the use of Schools and Young Persons. London: Nisbet and Co.

Such a work as the present has long been felt as a desideratum by parents and the official instructors of youth; and it must prove highly acceptable to those who are engaged in the business of education. We think with the author, that 'beyond every other study, that of the evidences of the divine origin of Christianity is of most importance to the young;'—and we congratulate him on having furnished a work, which, by a copious selection of the main arguments, by a plain and concise manner of stating them, and by a simple arrangement, preserves a middle course between the diffuse comprehensiveness of some of the popular treatises, and the limited range of discussion in others. The catechetical mode which he has adopted, though, in some respects objectionable, may perhaps render his treatise more convenient for use in those schools where the system of mutual instruction is followed.

The Principles of Nonconformity, a Lecture, delivered at Abingdon, Berks, Sept. 16, 1840, *at the Ordination of the Rev. E. S. Pryce, A.B.* By J. P. Mursell. Published by request. London: Ward and Co.

We can readily enter into the feelings of those at whose request this admirable Lecture has been published. It is every way worthy of the high reputation of the author, and of the momentous theme which it discusses. Containing an able exposition and defence of the great

principles of nonconformity, it rightfully asserts the supremacy of Scripture, and the spirituality of that organization which infinite Wisdom has devised for the preservation and extension of religious truth. We respectfully suggest to the author the reprinting of his Lecture, in a form more favorable to extensive circulation than its present price will permit: a useful service would thus be rendered to a large class of readers, who must otherwise be deprived of any share in the benefit of his labors.

A Sketch for a Pronaos, as it were, to the Temple of Wisdom. Cork: George Ridings.

We do not know, *as it were*, what the author of these rambling pages, on all sorts of subjects strangely jumbled together, would be at. The chapters into which the book is divided have no connexion, nor has each chapter any definite object, at least that we can discern. This sketcher is neither artist nor architect, for his sketch is without proportion, order, or object—it is only 'as it were;' it may be a porch, a hawk, a buzzard—anything or nothing; it certainly has no relation to the 'Temple of Wisdom.' The author's head is, *as it were*, stuffed with all incongruous things. Geology—its coal formations—sin-stricken man—and England's glory, are all oddly combined in the following paragraph, which we quote as a specimen of the 362 pages through which, we suspect, none but the author, the compositor, and the reviewer, has ever passed—or ever will pass. 'Just here at this *ne plus ultra* point it is, that holy writ steps in, arrayed with all its own sublimity,—yet simplicity, telling us of things past man's finding out, and from which statement we may argue down through the past touching things seen, but relative to which we have no written statement. St. Paul countenances something of this kind of argument, where he says, 'The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made.'*

'It is pride, the chief besetting sin of man, that will not let him acknowledge a period of time previous to his existence upon earth, saying, forsooth, that the world was created for him, who is 'but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow'† to angelic contemplation. Which would afford most pleasure, the primeval state of this earth, teeming with a happy population of animal life, revelling in the bliss of existence, sporting amid a world clothed in the luxuriant vegetation of a tropical clime, or a world like ours, at present a scene of vice and misery consequent upon sin?

'During these halcyon days, the Lord, ever kind and good, had a providential look out and care for the present wants of sin-stricken man, gathering up in the then forming strata (of our now coal measures) the surplus vegetation of those days, providing for our comfort, on whom the ends of the earth are come, thus contributing to favored England's glory, and O may her queen be a nursing mother to those

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* Rom. i. 20. † Job viii. 9.

societies established for the promotion of the gospel, and which constitute her of earth the salt; it is these that cause her fame, rather than her coal; with Daniels in her council, she might defy the world; for none but the enemies of the Lord should be found in array against her; like as when the tribes of Israel went up at stated times to worship at Jerusalem, no enemy dared look upon her defenceless border: 'The terror of God was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.' Again, we have the promise, 'If thou wilt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I speak, then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary to thine adversaries.'' Of the author's piety we entertain no doubt, but of his ability to form a style, to construct an argument, or to do any one thing to justify his attempting to write for the instruction of the public, he has furnished no evidence in this '*Pronaos, as it were,* to the Temple of Wisdom.'

Doctrinal Discourses. By John Bunyan. London: Ward and Co.

The name of the author will be a sufficient recommendation of this volume, which belongs to Ward's Library of Standard Divinity, and is got up in the same handsome and cheap form as the other works belonging to that useful series.

Historic Illustrations of the Bible, principally after the Old Masters. Division III. London: Fisher and Co.

We have already introduced the former parts of this work to our readers, and the favorable terms in which they were noticed are equally applicable to the *Division* now before us. It contains twelve engravings from paintings by some of the most eminent artists, which are executed in a style well adapted to their several subjects .Such a work cannot fail to be extensively popular.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Toryism versus English Liberty; an Argument from History (reprinted from the Eclectic Review for June 1841.)

The English Hexapla, exhibiting the Six Important English Translations of the New Testament Scriptures:—Wiclif, Tyndale, Cranmer, Genevan, Anglo-Rhemish, Authorized. The original Greek Text after Scholz, with the various readings of the Textus Receptus, and principal Constantinopolitan and Alexandrine MSS., and a complete Collation of Scholz's Text with Griesbach's Edition of 1805, preceded by an Historical Account of the English Translations. Quarto.

What to Observe, or the Traveller's Remembrancer. By J. R. Jackson.

Plain Sermons on the Church Ministry and Sacraments. By the Rev. Cyril Hutchinson, M.A., Student of Christ Church. 12mo.

Letters from Italy to a Younger Sister. By Catharine Taylor. 2 vols. Octavo.

The Moral Influence, Dangers, and Duties of Great Cities. By John Todd.

Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees. By Mrs. Ellis.

A Collection of English Sonnets. By R. F. Housman, Esq.

Sketches in Erris and Tyrawly. By the author of Sketches in Ireland.

A History of British Birds. By William Yarrell. Parts 22 to 25.

The Mother with her Family, being Scriptural Exercises and Prayers for Children every Sabbath Evening. By the Rev. T. Timpson: with Counsels to Mothers, by Hannah More.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere.—Troilus and Cressida.

Chorazin, or an Appeal to the Child of Many Prayers on Questions concerning the Great Salvation. By David Everard Ford, author of Decapolis.

Remarks on the Opposition to the Poor Law Amendment Bill. By a Guardian.

Christian Activity demanded by the Signs of the Times; a Sermon by James Matheson, D.D.

The Spiritual Destitution of the Country, and the best Means of remedying it. By W. Lindsay Alexander, M.A.

Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge. Part 15.

The Journal of Civilization. Part 1.

The Lady's Closet Library. The Hannahs, or Maternal Influence on Sons. By Robert Philip.

What have I to do with Missions? By the Rev. T. Timpson.

Memoir of Rev. Robert Findlater, late of Inverness. By the Rev. W. Findlater.

A Course of Lectures to Young Men. By Ministers of various Denominations in Glasgow and its Vicinity.

The Modern Judea, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, compared with Ancient Prophecy, with Notes and Engravings. By the Rev. James Aitken Wylie.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. General Editor, W. T. Brande, F.R.S., L. and E. Part 5.

Philosophic Nuts. By Edward Johnson, Esq. No. 6.

The Early Life and Conversion of William Hone, of Homewood Farm, Ripley, Surrey, Hammersmith, and Clerkenwell. A Narrative written by Himself. Edited by his Son, William Hone, author of the Every Day Book, &c.

Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Bexley, on the Collision between the Civil and the Church Courts in Scotland, from Alexander Keith, D.D.

A Practical Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. By Thomas Manton, D.D. (Ward's Library, reprinted from edition of 1684.)

Romanism and Anglo-Catholicism: Lectures. By Joseph Sortain, A.B.

The Christian's Family Library—The History of the Hebrew Nation from its first Origin to the Present Time. By the Rev. J. W. Brooks.

The Eucharist not an Ordinance of the Christian Church; being an attempt to prove that eating Bread and drinking Wine in Commemoration of Jesus Christ is not obligatory upon Christians. By Joseph Goodman.

History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c. By J. Merle D'Aubigné. Vol. 3.

Sermons. By the Rev. John Harding, M.A., Rector of St. Ann's, Blackfriars.

Services at the Ordination of the Rev. Andrew Reed, B.A., of Norwich.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part 14.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Part 5.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1841.

Art. I. *The Old Ministry: being a Lecture delivered in London, May* 19, 1839. By N. SYDNEY SMITH BEMAN, D.D., United States of America. London: John Snow.

PREACHING is of God. He is pleased by it to save them that believe. It is impossible, therefore, to overrate its importance; and he is no friend to the church or the world who impairs its sanctity or diminishes the respect in which it is held.

We have often been astonished that ministers should ever depreciate or disparage it, and this for reasons of religion and benevolence, and not those of pride and profit. But who that has attended a few only of those most solemn services which accompany the ordination of ministers among Protestant Dissenters, has not heard it not only classed among, as if of simply equal importance with, but actually placed below, other ministerial functions? We have often been astonished and distressed at exhortations to the youthful preacher to remember that preaching is not the most important part of his office, and that he may do more good out of, than in, the pulpit. Surely this is to be wise above what is written in this particular case, and to teach a principle of dangerous application in all cases, namely, that what the Bible says nothing about in relation to any office may be more important than that about which it says all it has to say. For our own part, we have as little sympathy with those who put pastoral visitation in the place of preaching as with those who put the sacraments. Both dishonor and damage a divine institution, the one class by an abuse of scrip-

tural observances, the other by the substitution of a human tradition.

But it is not by extolling the ordinance of preaching that it can be kept up in the respect and esteem of men, and if it could be *so* done, it would not be desirable to do it. Paul told Titus and Timothy not to let any man despise them. The injunction proves that they had it in their own power to avoid or obtain the contempt of men. They could lose or get ministerial power. It was not the necessary attendant of their office, but the natural product of a becoming conduct. It was not to be won by dignified utterances of a divine mission, but practical evidences of a divine life. It was not to be produced by what they said had been done unto them by another, but by what men saw was done by themselves. And so may it be said to any minister, with more particularity, 'Let no man despise thy 'preaching.' Let it be such that no man can despise it. Do not seek to sustain its credit by declarations of its being a divine ordinance, or it may be answered, 'We know that God 'has ordained preaching, but not your preaching; he has 'ordained the foolishness of preaching, but not the preaching 'of foolishness.' It is evident that preaching must depend more than ever upon its intellectual and spiritual merits. The superstitious reverence with which ministers were wont to be regarded has nearly passed away, at least among Dissenters, and it is well if some of the proper reverence has not vanished with it. Popery and Puseyism may invest the priesthood with a slavish awe, because they arm them with official saving power; but Dissenters allow no influence to ministers but that of truth, truth announced in faithful words, truth embodied in holy actions. The pastor is held to have no commission which his works do not evidence; his right is in his soul, not in his succession; the proof that God has sent him is his doing of God's will; his authority to preach is revealed by his preaching well. They who disclaim the power of regenerating by water, must have the power of renewing by the Holy Ghost; they who say they have no corporeal Christ to furnish to men's bodies, must have a spiritual Christ to supply to men's souls.

No minister, put by God into the ministry, labors altogether in vain. To suppose that any did, would be to suppose that either God acted without having a design, or without gaining it. But it is not for us, or for any, to say how much success must attend the labors of those whom God employs to watch for souls in the office of the ministry. We do know, however, that men whose pretensions are equally valid, may be efficient in various degrees, and that it is competent for us to inquire into the reasons why greater efficiency in any case, or in all cases, does not characterize their ministrations, and if possible, to secure it.

Now we think that few can doubt two things, first, that the modern ministry is not so useful as the primitive ministry was; and, secondly, that the causes of this are *with us*, and are *criminal*. We quite agree with Dr. Beman in the sermon which we have placed at the head of this article, that 'the dif-' ference in question is not to be attributed to anything pecu-' liarly favorable to the reception of the gospel in the spirit and ' genius of primitive times—to the gift of inspiration—to the ' power of miracles—to the mere sovereignty of God;' or to any thing else which would prove us innocent, and give us peace upon this subject. We are convinced that the modern ministry has, upon the whole, a great advantage over the primitive, and ought to be more successful; and design to point out in this paper what appear to us some of the principal causes of its inferior practical power.

If the question is asked, Why is not the ministry more successful?—we must say, first of all, because the church is not more holy. Any explanation of the fact which goes not beyond the ministry must be defective if not false. The ministry cannot be separated from the general community of professors. Ministers are the expositors and advocates of a system, of which christians are the practical illustrations and evidences. It is a moral system—moral in its great ends—moral in its chief arguments—moral in its prime influences. To this system each christian bears a relation of great intimacy and importance, the relation of a subject and a sign. He is before the world as its fulfilment and exemplification. He is a living manifestation of its power and its purity. Men have a right to consider him as a specimen of the results of christian faith and feeling. The whole body of saints is what each individual saint is, an exhibition of the gospel. Upon the moral use and effect of religious character the language of the Bible is strong and striking—' The fruit of the righteous is a tree of life.'—' Let your light ' so shine before men that they may see your good works and ' glorify your Father which is in heaven.'—' Blameless and ' harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a ' crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights ' in the world, holding forth the word of life.'—' Abstain from ' fleshly lusts, which war against the soul, having your conver-' sation honest among the Gentiles: that whereas they speak ' against you as evil doers, they may by your good works, ' which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.' —' Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of ' all men: forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the ' epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but ' with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but ' in fleshly tables of the heart.' Now if these representations

possess any meaning and force, the prosperity of the truth must in no small measure depend on the goodness of the church. If the practical witnesses of the gospel are false, the verbal witnesses cannot be forcible. If saints give to the world an unlovely and immoral exemplification of christianity, it is too much to hope that the ministry will succeed in its conversion. Every inconsistent christian does something to weaken the ministry in his locality, every inconsistent church cripples the energies of its pastor, and the general inconsistency of christians exerts a paralyzing influence upon the whole ministration of the truth. If we look abroad upon the wide face of christendom, and behold the character that prevails among those that name the name of Christ, may we not discover one reason why preaching is so powerless? How imperfect, and in many respects erroneous, is the exhibition of the gospel given by it! Amid much that is good and pure, there is much that dishonors Christ. The *unity* of christianity is illustrated by the existence of a thousand sects, many of them as divided in themselves as they are from others, and often conducting their contests in a spirit and a speech as low as their claims are high. The *greatness and generosity* of christianity is illustrated by an incessant battling about words sometimes, and sometimes about nothing; by the almost universal prevalence of the spirit of Judaism; by the constant crucifixion of whatever is great and good in the spiritualities of the gospel for the sake of the precise and orthodox shape of a doctrine, or the exact and circumstantial mode and order of a rite. The *benevolence* of christianity is illustrated by the cruelty and vengeance which nations called christian have dealt out to nearly all that have come within their reach; by the harsh and vulgar exactions of state churches from conscientious dissidents; by the calumnies and misrepresentations with which theological literature and religious intercourse abound; and by the comparative negligence with which christians seek the salvation of a thousand millions of souls which they profess to believe are immortal, and in danger of immortal death. The *justice* of christianity is illustrated by the extensive operation of principles of political expediency, to the neglect of those of immutable right, in the church; by the acquiescence of saints in the wretched practices of commercial immorality; and by the extent to which power is made to triumph over conscience, from the grand barbarities of religious establishments down to the undue influences of wealth and station in congregational communities and private life. The *trust and confidence* of christianity is illustrated by christians showing just as much anxiety after the present world as sinners, having as nice an appreciation of, and as full a relish for, money; by the exorbitant covetousness of churchmen in the

name of religion every where; by the tenacity with which religious monopolies are held, and the ill grace with which they are relinquished; and by the general want of whatever betokens the habitual and vivid realizations of eternity. It is useless to deny, it is impossible to conceal all this. We may make light of it, but it exists and works, it prejudices, and disgusts, and hardens the wicked. Men may preach religion, but if christians do not practise it, it will be of small avail. The claims of christianity are inseparable from the character of its professors. If the one is bad, the other will be neglected. Multitudes have no notion of the gospel but what they get from the lives and tempers of saints; many more, who read the Bible for themselves are greatly influenced for good or evil by those lives and tempers, while the adversaries of God are eager to detect and zealous to employ whatever they see wrong in those who proclaim themselves right. Looking at the general state and conduct of the church, we are not amazed that the ministry is comparatively so fruitless; we rather wonder that it is not more so. Our surprise is at its power, not its weakness.

The church is responsible in another way for the non-success of the ministry. It is by the Spirit of God that men are converted. There may be a tendency in the truth and means employed to effect their conversion, but while proper and suitable as instruments, they are but instruments. 'Who then is Paul, 'and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as 'the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos 'watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he 'that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God 'that giveth the increase.' To obtain the exercise of this divine agency the prayers of the church are appointed. To those prayers the greatest importance is attached in the Bible, and well it may be, if they have any effect in procuring so immense a blessing. Now, is there reason to believe that the church prays enough for the success of the ministry? We think not, and this conclusion we arrive at from noticing the estimation in which meetings which contemplate this end exclusively are held —the motives which appear to operate most powerfully in attaching christians to different ministries—and the style of remark that obtains in respect of their excellencies and defects. There is too much cause to fear that the greater part of christians do not regard the ministry aright even in reference to themselves, as an instrument of sanctification, as designed not to please but to profit, and to profit by putting away their sin, and that they do not estimate its excellence by its tendency to do all this. We confess we know scarcely a worse feature of the present day than the prevalence of wrong conceptions of the ministry, and of wrong reasons both for the approval and dis-

approval of those who minister. It is the appearance or the voice, the mind or the manner of God's servants that attracts to different sanctuaries the multitudes who say they mean to be saved. We would not disparage or depreciate these things, but surely the ministry was designed for the same end as the Bible, to make us holy; and they who pursue and appreciate holiness should value this, its end, above all other things, its accidents and circumstances. One thing is sure, that they who do not cannot pray aright that God would bless the ministry to their real good. The man who listens to the preacher as a mere orator or reasoner, and commends or condemns him in that capacity, has not by secret supplication sought that the word preached might profit him, working in him effectually all the good pleasure of a holy God. And if there is so great an error as to the ministry in the practice of christians in reference to their own good, it is not possible there can be a less in reference to the good of others. Saints should be in the sanctuary fellow-helpers of the truth. They should be engaged there as really as the minister in saving souls alive. Their function is more still and quiet than is his, but not less important. If there is truth in God's word, they have power to obtain the Holy Spirit, without whose grace no address, however wise, and faithful, and energetic, will turn any sinner from the error of his ways; and if they do not accompany the ministerial message with fervent intercession, they must share the guilt of its non-success. Ministers are too commonly considered as the only parties to whom is committed the great work of regenerating the ungodly, but in truth, when engaged with this view in the most solemn and sacred labors connected with their office, they depend upon the priestly fidelity and zeal of their flocks. If every flock poured out their hearts in intense entreaties for the power of the Holy Ghost to enforce the words which his servant delivers in his name, we cannot question that spiritual results of no common order would prove that the inwrought fervent prayers of righteous men avail as much now as they did of old. Nor is it the direct effect of prayer for the Spirit that is alone important. The knowledge that a holy people is wrestling with God for his success would give to a good man almost unearthly energy. With what hope, and therefore power, would he reveal and urge the truth, if assured that the objects of his tender solicitude were being presented before God with all the faith and feeling of the believers in his congregation? And, further, if christians prayed aright that sinners might be converted by the ministry, they would not, by frivolous remarks, much less by unkind and false ones, destroy at home the impression made in the house of God. To such remarks must be ascribed, and will be in the great day of doom, the extinction

of many an anxiety, of many a fear, and many a wish, that might, if fostered and fed, have been matured into a thorough and everlasting godliness. It is for a lamentation, that they who are saved themselves, and saved in order that they may save others, should so often aid the purposes of the evil spirit that seeketh whom he may destroy, by quenching the incipient processes of holy feeling. They can never have prayed with sincerity and ardor for the salvation of those by the preaching of the cross, before whom they speak of that preaching with disapproval or contempt. They could not thus hazard the good for which they had with fear and trembling supplicated the Most High.

But if christians are responsible for the non-success of preaching, so also are ministers, and the first requirement from them is that of a deeper and more uniform consecration to religion. It is the peculiarity of ministers of Christ that their success depends, not only on the utterance of the truth, but on its action on their souls and exhibition in their lives. It must come, not only through their mouths, but from their hearts. Heathen priests may be machines, Jewish priests might be little more, but christian ministers must give out God's will, not only as a vocal sound, but as a real, warm, energetic thing: God employs sanctified humanity to sanctify humanity. Hence it is necessary, according to the New Testament, that bishops, the only officials in the christian church that have to do directly with men's souls, should be pure and faithful. God might, doubtless, if he chose, fulfil all his purposes of salvation without employing good men, yea, without employing any men at all, as instruments, and even without the Bible as a revelation; but he has pleased to give us a book, and to ordain that holy men shall expound and apply its contents, and their holiness is inseparable from their success. The effect of deep, manifest, and earnest piety in preachers, is irresistible. It affects everything; style, manner, voice, expression; no part or feature of their ministrations is unimpressed and unimproved by it. It is felt, and felt by all. No eloquence, however graceful or powerful; no reasoning, however clear and strong; no assumed gravity or affected pathos can equal, in spiritual effect, the entire absorption of the preacher in his momentous themes. The man who appears before his flock with all the evidences of a supreme zeal for the God he serves and the men he addresses, to whose mind the invisible and eternal are plainly present and powerful, who 'pleads with men for God as one who pleads 'with God for men,' can scarcely fail of being impressive. Nor is it in the pulpit alone that such strong and tender godliness aids the ministerial vocation. It secures a uniformity of conduct, without which no ministry can have much power. The

intercourse of a pastor with his people may help or hinder, to a vast extent, his official labors. If in private he displays a light and secular spirit; if there is an absence on his part of earnest efforts to save souls whenever opportunity is presented; if he gives reason for the suspicion that his solicitude to do good is professional; if his religious labors are confined to the sanctuary and the sabbath, let him not calculate on much success in his high vocation. It is of no avail to say, that the statements made in public are equally true and equally important, whatever the conduct and the carriage of those who make them. It may be so, but they are not equally impressive. The fact is, that such conduct and carriage do influence the treatment which those statements receive. We cannot doubt that many an energetic and powerful discourse has been deprived of its force by the levity and worldliness of him who has delivered it. Painful instances have come under our notice of disgust and scepticism taking the place of serious thought and fear, because the preacher in the parlour did not deport himself according to his sayings in the pulpit. But where there is no striking violation of the solemnity and sacredness of the ministry, there may be the want of that tenderness, and zeal, and high-toned piety in social life, the place of which no talents, learning, or morality, can supply. The full power of the ministry, as a means of salvation, can never be proved by any man who does not show the full power of godliness in his own heart. The preacher of righteousness possesses an influence apart from his office, a personal influence; this, from his superiority to others in many respects, is greater than that of others; and this influence can only be exerted by his conduct. His moral character decides its direction and results. In proportion to his sanctity will be its excellence. Men come prepared to respect the monitions of him who evidently credits his own testimony, and forms his whole course according to its nature. Now this is what is wanted, more holiness on the part of ministers, and by holiness we mean the realization and practical expression of all the great truths of christianity. It is well enough to boast of a 'regenerated ministry,' but this is not enough—'giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be 'not blamed: but in all things approving ourselves as the 'ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessi-'ties, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in 'labors, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, 'by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost; by love 'unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the 'armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left.' When ministers are more entirely 'men of God,' consecrated in all things to his glory, pursuing it without ceasing in their

labors, and revealing it in their spiritual goodness, then will their words be clothed with an unwonted efficacy. 'He shall 'sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and he shall purify the 'sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they 'may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. Then 'shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto 'the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in former years.'

But although we attach great importance to the causes of ministerial inefficiency, to which we have now referred, there are, we conceive, yet others in the mode of conducting the ministry itself which are by no means to be despised. We cannot but think that the general style of preaching might be most advantageously altered. And first of all we imagine it might be more *christian*. It is not natural religion that ministers have to preach, but glad tidings of a richer, fuller joy, and clearer tone. It is not Judaism that they have to preach, but an economy of truth and grace. The gospel, not nature or law, is the theme of their ministrations. We say then that there should be *more christianity* in their preaching. Christ should not be *a* topic or *the* topic of it. He should not be placed *among* or *above* all other subjects. He should be the alpha and omega, the first and the last, 'all and in all.' The facts and truths of his history and office should be prominently presented; but this is not all, every fact and truth should be presented through him. It is our great privilege to have the truth 'as it is in Jesus;' he is the coloured glass which God has made the medium through which we are to behold all things. Christ is 'the logos made flesh,' the divine reason revealed in human nature, the wisdom of God embodied in the form of a man and a servant. Whatever God has taught may now be contemplated in his Son, and thus contemplated it acquires a new complexion, and is invested with a new force. There is no truth in the whole range of morals and religion which does not derive peculiar power and glory from its connexion with Christ. Not only is life and immortality brought to light and illustrated by him, but all other things of deepest interest to men. The being, character, and government of God; the state, obligations, and prospects of humanity; these, as associated with the incarnation, death, and exaltation of the Son of God, are clearer and more impressive than as otherwise considered. It is the minister's duty to treat them as christian truths—not as a heathen, however wise, or a Jew, however religious, would treat them—so that while their natural grounds and legal bearings are plainly and fully stated, they may appear in all the purity and the power which they derive from their position and connexion in the gospel of the grace of God. We think there is room for improvement here, not that

ministers can be charged with not preaching Christ, but they preach him as a truth, not as 'the truth;' he is a portion of their message, not the life and spirit of the whole economy of their religion. In some sermons he may be most faithfully presented in some aspect on human purity and hope, divine grace and glory; and in others he may be introduced with effect, so as to make them 'evangelical,' but this is not all that is meant by 'preaching Christ.' He should be the substratum of every discourse, not by the incessant repetition of his name, for Christ may be fully preached when his name is scarcely mentioned, and not preached at all when it is sounded every moment, but by every discourse being made to imply, require, and commend him. Let every possible truth be taught; let there be no bondage or restraint upon the mind of the preacher; let the pulpit be more comprehensive than ever, far more than it is now, in its range; let men learn whatever God has taught; but let every subject be cast into the mould of christian doctrine; let the wisdom of God be seen in the christianity of its revelation; let the logos be made flesh.

We doubt much whether the prevailing style of preaching is sufficiently *practical*. It should be *altogether* so. The hold should never be resigned upon the conscience and sympathy of each individual. Every truth should appear, not as matter of mere speculation, but of intense, immediate, and unspeakable importance—while it is described as an object, it should be wielded as a weapon. It is not enough that its nature is understood and its evidence appreciated; it has a spiritual function to discharge—it is seed to germinate, a mould to fashion, a sword to pierce. Nor is it necessary, in order to the discharge of this function, that there should be no instruction, or argument, or illustration; on the contrary, all these things are necessary to it, for only what is known, and believed, and understood, can be brought to bear with spiritual force upon the mind. No man brings to his ministrations an erudition too profound, or logic too severe, or imagination too rich, but many, we fear, do not bring to them a determination strong and settled enough to make every statement, if possible, be felt as of individual and present importance. It is possible, while the speech is general, for the impression to be particular, for each individual to be separated from his fellows in all the convictions and feelings of a godly solicitude, and to 'mourn apart' in the midst of the 'great congregation.' And this is what is wanted. Instead of practical sermons occasionally or frequently, every sermon should be practical; instead of practical passages in every sermon, every passage should be practical. The whole strain and manner of the address should irresistibly convey the conviction, that nothing is said which is not said to all, and which all

would not do well to attend to and receive. All the declarations of Scripture are practical. There is nothing revealed which is not so, and is not revealed to be so. The most abstruse and difficult subjects are treated in the Bible with an exclusive reference to religious effect. The mode of God's existence, his purposes, the mediation of Christ, the operations of the Holy Spirit, justification, these, and all other doctrines, are discovered just so far as their discovery is necessary or adapted to our sanctification. But for this we should have been told nothing of them, as we are told nothing of ten thousand other things, between the knowledge of which and our renewal and holiness there is no conceivable connexion. They are always handled not as bare facts, but as living, energetic principles, having much to do with life and godliness. Ministers should treat them as the sacred writers have treated them—should point out their bearings, and the bearings of all other religious truths, upon the duties and responsibilities of men. The greatest evil of the congregations to whom the gospel is preached, is not ignorance but indifference. They have the truth, but imprison it in unrighteousness; it is in their intellects as a matter of perception and vague credence, but not in their passions as a transforming power. It is to them a clear image, but not a mighty force. They need to be aroused and excited—they want not quiet discussion so much as pointed, continuous, energetic appeal. They should not be allowed to retain the truth easily, and with composure, while they live in sin. It should be forced upon them so, and so constantly, that either they must yield to it or reject it—become infidels or saints. Their faith should be quickened into action or destroyed—be made to work or vanish. The preaching must be grossly defective which allows sinners to live, sabbath after sabbath, without great disturbance and distress, unless they are given up to a reprobate mind. Is the general style of preaching of this kind? We fear not, even among those who are clear and scriptural in their theological conceptions, and, on the whole, able and faithful ministers of Christ. We say nothing of those who profess and preach a partial and perverted divinity; who make a few topics, and those least understood by them or any, the matter of their constant ministrations; who dwell more on the purposes of eternity past than the obligations of time present; who preach more against good works than against bad ones; who proclaim the agency of God to the exclusion of, and in opposition to, the agency of man; who make contempt of human knowledge a sign of divine illumination; with whom bigotry is a part of orthodoxy, and corruption a sign of regeneration; who never tell sinners or saints to do any thing, without at the same time cautiously reminding

them, that they can do nothing. We refer not to such preachers.—There are others wiser and better, who declare the whole counsel of God, and yet do not give to each and every part a sufficiently straight direction and pungent power. Congregations depart from the sanctuary without realizing their connexion with every separate announcement as a connexion spiritual, unchangeable, everlasting. Their ministers have not compelled them to realize it, and therefore they have not done it. For it must not be left to men to discover and to make the appropriate application of the truths delivered. They who are most in need of the application are least disposed to do so. The sinfulness to be purged away presents the impediment to the self-inspection and moral discipline which it requires. The preacher should seek to insert all his sentiments into the mind of every hearer; to plant them in its most deep and secret parts, so that their rejection must involve expulsion and not neglect, the positive exercise of an evil force and not the manifestation of mere carelessness.

In order that preaching may be effectual on a large scale, *variety* should characterize it. It should be conformed to the capacities and qualities of the hearers. It is quite a mistake, and a mischievous one, to suppose that congregations are only to be divided into the two classes of saints and sinners, and addressed as such. Scarcely any two individuals in any congregation are intellectually and morally alike. This diversity imposes the necessity of a diversity of treatment. A general statement of the truth will not suffice, respect must be had to the differences among the souls in whom it is designed to be deposited. The utterance of truth is one thing, the reception of it another. Even as to the understanding of what is said, but much more as to the impression of it, the circumstances, opinions, and whole mental state and character of the hearers, are as important as the utterances of the preacher. What is true as stated may be error as received. The words employed may be most appropriate and accurate simply considered as an expression of the sentiment or fact intended to be presented, and yet may do any thing but convey a right conception of the sentiment or fact. The object as described by the speaker may be very different from the object as seen by the hearer. Now men differ in respect of their moral powers as much as in respect of their intellectual faculties and habits of thought, some possessing more of one passion and others more of another. It is, therefore, not at all likely, if indeed possible, that the same methods of appeal should be equally effectual in all cases. What may be powerfully impressive in some, may be altogether destitute of force in others. We remember well the fact and necessity of divine influence while we write—we have not the

least doubt that no man is converted without it—but divine influence is exerted in accordance with the constitution of the mind and the tendency of the means employed to renew it. Whatever is the instrumentality by the use of which the end is attained, there is an adaptation in it to that end. Assured of this, we say that one particular mode of address is not likely to excite and sanctify minds of various orders. The preaching that appeals to self-interest is not likely to succeed where the higher powers exist in the greatest strength; and the preaching that appeals to the higher powers is not likely to succeed where self-interest is the strongest. We should like, could it be done, to obtain an analysis of the minds converted by different kinds of preaching, and have little doubt that it would fulfil the expectations formed by a previous acquaintance with the ministrations employed. The publication of the gospel must become more various to become more successful. This requires, on the part of ministers, a knowledge of the philosophy of the mind, keen and close habits of observation, and careful watchfulness against the prevailing tendency of their own minds, lest it should lead to a mode of exhibiting truth only adapted to minds like their own. It may be that they cannot altogether check it, nor should they. Different men will always excel, and were meant by God to excel, in different moral exhibitions of the truth; one is marked by his touching and tender expositions of its grace, another by his stern and strong revelations of its justice, a third by his persuasive display of its advantages—but still while each maintains his distinct and peculiar excellence, each should strive to emulate the excellencies of others by fostering and cultivating the dispositions in which he is naturally inferior to them. The most effectual method of preventing the evil of which we speak would be a return to the primitive custom of a plurality of pastors in each church. The truth conceived in different minds, and deriving its hue and force from different passions, would be more adapted to the edification and impression of a congregation presenting many and great moral and mental varieties than the truth incessantly delivered to them by the same individual. But while the present system lasts, it is solemnly incumbent on ministers to consult the manifold diversities of their people. It cannot be done without care and trouble, skill and wisdom, delicacy and tenderness. The difficulty would not be small of meeting and suiting souls so dissimilar apart and singly, but to do it at once, fitting and filling each without damage and discomfort to the rest, this is a task that may well extort the exclamation, 'Who is sufficient?'

It cannot be expected that preaching will be very effectual if it is not very *experimental*. There is enough, and a great deal

too much, of what is called experimental preaching. The mere description of what some, or most, christians may feel, and chiefly with the view of affording to them consolation, is not what we mean, or at least only part of what we mean. The method of handling the spiritual sorrows and sufferings of saints is very often extremely injudicious and injurious, calculated to foster a morbid religiousness, and not the vigorous and healthy piety of the first christians. But whatever the method of doing this, there is a great deal more to be done in the way of experimental preaching. Ministers cannot enter too deeply into all the workings of the human mind upon the subjects of religion, cannot probe it with too much skill and courage. There are endless sophistries to be removed, false emotions to be detected and revealed, practices of self-deception to be exposed, and hidden germs of goodness to be nourished, which require a shrewd and searching application of the principles of divine truth. It is only part of a minister's duty to state those principles; he should point out their legitimate operation, distinguishing with every possible care and wisdom the constitutional from the spiritual, the natural from the supernatural, the wrong or excessive exercise of good feelings from bad ones, the form which true religion may take in some from the form which it must take in all. This is done now to a considerable degree, but often done loosely and unwisely. We have often trembled as we have heard things mentioned as signs of incipient godliness, which some kinds of sinners might possess without a particle of God's grace. If we might give an opinion as to the most serious deficiency in the pulpit ministrations of the present day, we should say it is in this; it is not familiar enough with the ten thousand religious processes that are continually going on in the souls of the righteous and the wicked. We say *the wicked*, for the religious experience of the wicked is as much a part of a minister's sphere, and presents as fine an opportunity for the skilful and forcible application of spiritual truth as the religious experience of the righteous. The handling of this is too coarse, the treatment too much by guess. Men do not feel that the preacher is fully acquainted with them, do not wonder that he knows so much of their secret life, do not tremble at the expectation of his next possible disclosure, are not conscious as of the searchings of an invisible hand, do not anticipate in the solemn scrutiny of the sanctuary the tests and trials of the last awful day. They are permitted to deceive themselves, thinking they have faith in the midst of unbelief, mistaking emotions for principles, approbation of right for righteousness. Sin is not destroyed in them, but made more secret, and therefore dangerous. The disease is driven in, not out, and its deadliness is increased. A ministry to be properly and powerfully

experimental must be based upon an extensive knowledge of the human mind and of the modes in which religious truth operates upon it in its various conditions. A minister should be a metaphysician as well as a theologian.

We cannot close our remarks without suggesting the importance of a wise selection and use of *language* to the effectiveness of preaching. It has not been without concern and grief that we have witnessed among many young ministers a grievous departure from what appears to us the fitting and forcible speech suited to the pulpit. It is not an affectation of philosophical refinement and scientific accuracy; it is not long words, long sentences, long thoughts; it is not German mysticism of conception and of style, that the spiritual interests of the present age require. The great demand is for *force*. The eternal circumlocutions of an Owen would send one half of our congregations to sleep, and the other half away, whatever they used to do. Language is but a vehicle, and when it has fully expressed the thought designed to be communicated, its office is fulfilled —it has nothing more that it can do. Whatever more of it there is, encumbers but does not help, and in proportion to the smallness of the thought is the danger of its being concealed and weakened by the accumulation of unnecessary words. It is not in oral discourses as in books; the latter present an opportunity of recurrence to preceding passages, the former do not, and therefore is it the more necessary that they should not fail to give full conveyance to each separate and successive idea. No doubt the temptation is strong, to a man conscious of the poverty of his matter, to stretch it out on the hard iron bed of unmeaning wordiness to the requisite dimensions, but the cure is to have matter enough without doing it. But want of care is as much a cause of a diffuse and attenuated style as want of matter. Strength and point are not to be acquired by chance. Great effort and self-control are necessary; it is a work of time and trouble. The best way to get it is to practise written composition. We would not, indeed, counsel the permanent adoption of the habit of reading sermons in the pulpit, although we have no sympathy with the foolish prejudice that prevails against it; but a man should write sermons or something else until he has formed a good and vigorous style. It is worth any minister's while to elaborate his style to the last degree of perfection, for the power of the sayings of the wise, their being goads and nails fastened, depends very much on the selection of 'acceptable words.' The arm may be strong that draws the bow, but is it nothing to have the arrow rightly and nicely feathered? Appropriate speech is the right and nice clothing of a man's thoughts, and no vigor or purity of intellect can make him independent of it. We

have said that the requirement of the present day is *force*, a we repeat it. Sermons should be practically metaphysical, f from the moonshine and mockery of scholastic quibbling, de ing plainly and energetically with the great facts and real p losophy of the human mind and state, making no distinctic where there is no difference, and always making them wh there is; and of such sermons the language cannot be t strong and simple. Technicality should be as much avoided verbosity. It is high time that men spoke of religion as G has spoken of it, that is, as they would speak of any thing el Few things have done more to spread and perpetuate erroneo conceptions and weaken true ones than the prevalence of a s class of forms and phrases in religious discourses and religio literature. To many they convey false notions, and to ma no notions at all. They are injurious as creeds are injurio though on a smaller scale, to the progress and power of spiritu thought. To multitudes they are charms. In multitudes th inspire disgust. If there is one subject that demands more th another a free and liberal, an honest and direct, a various a natural mode of expression, it is religion.

As to the Lecture which we have placed at the head of th article, we shall say but little. We deeply feel the importan of the subject, as our remarks have proved, and we think D Beman has treated it well, as well perhaps as the limits of lecture would permit. Many of his observations are extreme good, all of them are true and solid. Whatever the America have or have not, they certainly have a way of preaching, a of speaking about preaching, which we greatly like. There is freeness and reality about their representations of truth mo refreshing and impressive. They treat religion as they woul treat any other theme of deep and momentous interest. Muc good has the British ministry derived from the America Finney alone has done more to improve and quicken the mini try than any dozen other men. His warm, earnest, vigorou volumes we cannot but regard in some respects as a fine spe cimen of the right way of aiming at the conversion and sancti fication of men. They may have their faults, but they are jus the books to take religion out of the creed and put it into th conscience; and in our country, where the three creeds an thirty-nine articles have more or less to do with the religiou conceptions of almost every man, such books are especiall needed. Honor to the man who, though gifted with so fin an intellect, is content with doing good.

Art. II. *The Natural History of Society in the Barbarous and Civilized State: an Essay towards discovering the Origin and Course of Human Improvement.* By W. Cooke Taylor, Esq., LL.D., &c., &c. 2 vols. 12mo. Longman and Co.

AMONG the various branches of historical inquiry always inviting attention, there is assuredly none of higher interest than that which the author of the present work has selected. To man, the survey of his own race preserving its continuity through the long series of generations, and identifying itself in all the various stages of its condition, from the lowest barbarism to the highest degrees of refinement and civilization, cannot fail to prove instructive and exciting. The subject has accordingly engaged attention more or less in all civilized nations. But here, as in many other subjects, the conceit of riches has been the cause of poverty. Ignorance has assumed the guise of knowledge, and speculation has too often supplied the place of real history. The difficulty of ascertaining facts in the procession of nation from nation and race from race, the profound obscurity resting upon many questions of remote antiquity, and the natural propensity of inquiring minds in the absence of facts, to indulge in theories, for the sake of gratifying curiosity, have all contributed their quota of impediments to the acquisition of sound knowledge, and to the rational investigation of human history. It would not be unjust to add that infidelity, intending by that term the indisposition of philosophers to accept the testimony of revelation for knowledge, or their latent wish even to falsify that testimony, has tended greatly to the production and prevalence of theories which patient research has proved to be baseless, and to the authority of philosophic speculations which philosophy itself has refuted.

Time was when the belief of the scriptural narrative of man's origin and first state was contemptuously scorned by the would-be sages of civilized Europe; and that man was accounted unworthy of being esteemed a philosopher, who did not admit that his progenitor was an ape. The favorite maxim was that all nations now civilized had either been once in the lowest state of barbarism, or had descended from ancestors who had been so. The first state of man was determined to be savage, brutish, purely animal, and profoundly ignorant. At one period this primitive state had almost become an object of envy and emulation—and the philosophers, in their idolatry of simple nature, or rather, of their own idea of simple nature, were ready to subscribe to the despicable rant of Rousseau when he said, 'Education confines the natural parts, *effaces the grand qualities*

'*of the soul,* to substitute such as are trifling and apparent, but 'have no reality.'

Happily the dogmatism of philosophic speculation, by its own effrontery and extravagance, hastened the downfall of its authority. The world, little as it reverenced inspiration, was not to be persuaded that ignorance was preferable to knowledge, or savage life better than civilization. Gentlemen and ladies, accustomed to the display of courts or the amusements of the drawing-room, had little inclination to be restored to the honor of wearing the tail which Lord Monboddo said had been appended to their ancestors, and felt no desire that their young should be turned out to fraternize again with the ourang-outang. It is but just to say, that the whole list of notions and theories upon this subject emanating from the philosophers have, by succeeding philosophers, been repudiated as utterly baseless and absurd. Patient research, in every branch of knowledge connected with human history, has tended to the establishment of opinions precisely the reverse of former ones. Traces of early and of high civilization have been found in lands inhabited now by savages, and where no one ever supposed such traces could exist; the identity of the entire human family has been established by purely physical researches; the investigation of languages by the most profound scholars has shown that they constitute the branches of a single tree, having had originally but one root; while the history of all nations, their traditions, customs, commerce, and civilization, seem to point as uniformly to the east as the magnet to the pole.

The shallow sophisms which were founded upon the supposed discovery of the brutish origin of the human race, and which were designed to subvert the testimony of Moses, for a while prevailed among the learned, but have at length not only been thoroughly exploded, but have recoiled upon the character of those who either invented or upheld them. As far as our recollection serves us, a Dr. Doeg, in Scotland, was the first British author who contested, on sound principles of induction, the doctrine of the French theorists respecting the ascent of the human race from an equality with the animal tribes; insisting that, prior to improvement upon barbarism, there had been first deterioration, and that the natural tendencies of the human race, irrespective of external and exciting causes, was rather to decline than advance in civilization and refinement. His work was a small but original essay. It was well received, though it was deficient in what might be called complete scientific proof and elaborate research. This has since been supplied by writers of various nations, and upon every related and collateral subject.

The facts which have been accumulated incontestibly show that the human race, in its earliest history, was not in a state

of barbarism, that it has not risen to its present state by a series of improvements and developments gradually proceeding from a low and simple organization, or even from a high organization of a purely animal nature, but that the first state of man was that of high mental endowment, and that whatever states of barbarism, ignorance, and brutality men may now be found in, is to be placed to the account of their decline and degeneracy, from which, under proper circumstances of culture and excitement, supplied, be it observed, by their own race, they are uniformly capable of being recovered, and of approximating to an equality with the most accomplished of their brethren.

There may be theories still afloat which carry the notions of former speculators out to greater absurdities still, such as those of De Maillet and La Marck; but as these have no foundation in the history of the human race, and just as little in animal physiology, they have obtained no influence among men of sound philosophy, and are favored only by those who love theory more than truth. It may be sufficient to observe generally of the modern researches into this subject, that they have at length adjusted themselves into a perfect harmony with the inspired record, and there is little hesitation now in assuming the facts of the Bible as amply attested by science. The dream of man's natural state as either that of the savage or the ape has passed away, and more comprehensive and just views of his nature have taken its place.

Dr. Taylor has with propriety inquired, 'What is the true 'state of nature of any person or thing? A simple instance 'will suffice to show that this is not so easy a matter (*to determine*) as is generally supposed. Pine-trees are found on the 'high Alps near the confines of perpetual snow; but they are 'stunted in their growth, they scarce put forth any branches, 'and their leaves are not fully developed. Pine-trees are also 'found in too luxuriant soils, which give them a precocious 'exuberance, leading to a deranged organism and early decay. 'In either case, can the trees be said to be in their natural 'state? Assuredly not; we know that there are fundamental 'laws of the life and being of the tree, and that the state most 'natural to it is that in which it fulfils most completely the end 'and object for which it is made, according to its organization 'and the principles of its vitality. Man in a state of nature, 'must therefore be man in the state for which nature has fitted 'him. Is there a definite mould and form to which his faculties are irrevocably predestinated and predetermined? Then 'nature has designed him to remain stationary, and the natural 'man is the savage. On the other hand, are his faculties expansive, his capacities progressive, and his moral endowments 'susceptible of cultivation?—If so, nature has organized him

'for progress; civilization is the natural state, and barbarism 'the artificial' (*Introduction*). It was a grand error to suppose that man was originated in a state of equality with brutes, or that his nature was not essentially distinct, and his endowments primarily and essentially peculiar. The entire oversight of facts led to absurd conclusions, and the construction of a system of false philosophy, as to his intellectual and moral condition, which is not yet extinct.

The volumes before us contain a very pleasing and able essay upon the entire subject. It comprises a condensed view of nearly all the researches and discoveries of the moderns. The first chapter, which is introductory, treats of the speculations of the zoologists, and the theories which ascribe a low and brutish origin to mankind. This is not the most complete and satisfactory part of the work. It is too brief and limited to afford space either for a full review, or a thorough refutation of the errors that have prevailed. After treating of the characteristics of barbarism and civilization, the author comes to the evidences of lost civilization, the scriptural account of its origin, and the state in which it must have been when the book of Job was written. From this portion of the work we present our readers with the following extract.

'When North America was first discovered by Europeans, it was found inhabited by barbarous races, unacquainted with most of the arts of life. Among the most savage of these Indians were the inhabitants of the wilds on the Mississippi and Ohio, who not only were destitute of civilization, but seemed utterly incapable of appreciating its blessings. Centuries elapsed; the red man, untamed and untameable, retired before the skill, enterprise, and science of the Anglo-Americans; their forests fell beneath the axe, the tangled thickets which covered their soil were cleared away by the cultivator, but their labors, instead of revealing a virgin soil, have exhibited to the wondering colonists unquestionable traces of the existence in these regions, at an unknown and remote age, of a highly civilized race, whose very name has been lost to history.

'Vestiges of tumuli, fortified encampments, mounds, and trenches, are found in Western America as far back as the range of the Buffalo; their western limit is not known; but on the south they extend through the Isthmus of Darien to Peru. They vary in construction according to the nature of the soil; in the north they are principally built of earth, but on approaching the Cordilleras they are found to serve as bases for massive stone edifices now in ruins. A fortress at Marietta, and another at the mouth of the Great Miami, are described by competent persons, as constructed with considerable engineering skill. Such works, it is manifest, could not have been raised by the Indians discovered on the Ohio, who were mere untutored savages, unacquainted with any useful arts save those of the rudest manufacture and most simple necessity. They were also divided into small

tribes, having little or no connexion with each other, while there is strong evidence for believing that those who erected these monuments formed one people. The larger camps are constructed near water-courses, and at intervals along the stream tumuli have been raised, which would be visible one from the other were the country cleared of its present forests.'—Vol. i. pp. 217, 218.

'The most concise account of these fortifications, tumuli, and their contents is given from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Harris. He says, 'The vast walls and mounds of earth discovered in the western country have excited the astonishment and baffled the researches of all who have seen or heard of them. The works at Marietta are on an elevated plain above the present bank of the Muskingum, on the east side, half a mile from its junction with the Ohio. They consist of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines, and in square and circular forms. The largest *square fort*, by some called the *town*, contains forty acres, encompassed by a wall of earth from six to ten feet high, and from twenty-five to thirty-six feet in breadth at the base. On each side are three openings at equal distances, resembling gateways.

''From the outlet next the river is a covert way, formed of two parallel banks of earth, two hundred and thirty-one feet distant from each other. On the inside they are twenty-one feet in height, and forty-two in breadth at the base; but on the outside average only five feet high. Within the walls at each corner are elevated squares a hundred and eighty feet long, a hundred and thirty-two broad, and nine feet high; level at the summit, and nearly perpendicular at the sides. Circular mounds are seen thirty feet in diameter and five in height.'

''Towards the south-east is a smaller fort, containing twenty acres, with a gateway in the centre of each side and one at each corner. These openings are defended with circular mounds. At the outside of this smaller fort is a mound in form of a sugar-loaf. ' It is surrounded with a ditch four feet deep and fifteen wide, and defended by a parapet four feet high, through which is an opening or a gateway towards the fort, twenty feet wide.'

''The places called graves are small mounds of earth, from some of which bones have been taken, in their natural position, of a man buried nearly east and west, with a quantity of isinglass (*mica membranacea*) on his breast. In others there were some bones partly burnt, charcoal, arrow-heads, and fragments of a kind of earthenware.

''*Plates of copper* have been found in some of the mounds, but they appear to be parts of armour. These works were covered with a prodigious growth of trees, one of which was felled, and was judged from the concentric circles to be four hundred and sixty-three years old.*

* This circumstance gives a minor limit for the age of the mound, but as the species of tree is not mentioned, we cannot determine whether it was of first or second growth. Later descriptions of Marietta would lead to the inference that the trees are of second or perhaps third growth, which would of course more than double the amount of years that must have elapsed since the abandonment of the fortress.

' 'About ninety miles further up the country, on a plain bounded by a western branch of the Muskingum, is a train of ancient works, nearly two miles in extent, with ramparts eighteen feet high.'

' 'At Licking are extensive works, some different from those at Marietta, and several circular forts with but one entrance. They have a parapet from seven to twelve feet high, but no ditch.'

' 'Utensils are found four and five feet below the surface. They are quite different in shape and kind from the stone tools and flint arrows of the Indians, which are frequently picked up on the surface. They undoubtedly belonged to *a people acquainted with the arts.*

' 'In some of the mounds have been found *plates of copper riveted together,* copper beads, various implements, and *a very curious kind of porcelain.* The Indians regard them with as much surprise as we do. There are *inscriptions engraven* on a large stratum of rocks, on the south-east side of the Ohio, two miles below the mouth of Indian or King's Creek, which empties into the Ohio fifty miles below Pittsburgh. The rocks are horizontal, and so close to the edge of the river, that at times the water covers them.

' 'At the distance of a few yards from the bank of the river, there are several large masses of the same kind of rock, on which there are *inscriptions also of the same kind,* which appear to have been engraven at the same time.

' 'The town of Tomlinson, state of Ohio, is built upon one of these square forts. Several mounds are within a mile; three of them are higher than the rest. In digging to build a stable at the end of one of them, many curious implements were found; one resembling a syringe: there was a pestle, and several copper beads. In another mound, in Colonel Biggs's garden, there was a vast number of human bones, stone tools, and a stone signet of an oval shape, two inches long, with a figure in relievo, like a note of admiration, surrounded by two raised rims. Captain Wood observed that it was exactly the figure of the brand with which the Mexican horses are marked.

' 'A tumulus twelve feet high, and a parapet of five, with only one entrance, was surrounded by a regular ditch. One, called the Big Grave, is sixty-seven feet and a half high, with steep sides; the diameter at top is fifty-five feet, but the summit of the apex forms a basin three or four feet in depth; the base is half an acre. It is covered with large trees, and sounds hollow. The Rev. Doctor (now bishop) Madison thinks that these were fixed habitations.' '

—Ib. pp. 232—236.

Since Dr. Madison ventured this conjecture further investigation has established its truth. The facts herein stated, and they relate only to one portion of the American continent, are quite sufficient to demonstrate an advanced state of civilization, such as would place the inhabitants of North America on a level, or nearly so, with those of Asia, probably within a few centuries after the deluge and the dispersion of sacred history. Dr. Taylor has remarked the agreement between these very ancient fortified towns, and those still existing in Mongolia,

and which were evidently common in Asia in remote antiquity. They formed a sort of scattered village—detached houses with fields and gardens, enclosed by a common line of protection, and evincing regular government and co-operation. He justly observes that Nineveh, as described in the Book of Isaiah, was evidently built after this plan. It is quite impossible that the ancient inhabitants of these plains on the Ohio could have been in that state of social order and advancement which these fortifications indicate, without considerable knowledge on a vast variety of subjects. It is certain that they understood the working of ores, the art of engraving, the manufacture of porcelain, and war, even as conducted on scientific principles. It is also evident, that the region was populous, and that their works for protection must have been the result of extensive combination and of regular government. Yet even the last traces of this high advancement had been lost, even if any traditions of it had ever existed, among the savage Indians that roamed over that continent when it became known to Europe. Dr. Taylor, in noticing the objections which have been made to these proofs of early civilization in America, observes

'Some authors have, from this circumstance (the working of metals) been led to entertain doubts concerning the high antiquity of the Ohio civilization, and to conjecture that the copper plates were either obtained by traffic, or were the work of some foreign artizans, accidentally thrown on the American coast. This theory is at once refuted by the great number of these remains, and the wide extent over which they are scattered. We have, in the oldest parts of Scripture, distinct intimation that metallurgy was one of the earliest arts: describing the situation of the countries adjoining Eden, the historian says, 'the land of Havilah containeth gold; there also is bdellium and the onyx-stone.' It may be remarked, that the Arabic version, instead of the resinous gum called bdellium, reads 'pearl;' and as Havilah is generally believed to be the southern part of Persia, it is probable that we have here an allusion to the pearl-fisheries in the Persian Gulf.

'Tubal Cain is described as a whetter, or 'instructor of every artificer in brass or iron;' from the way in which Jabal and Jubal are mentioned in the preceding verses, it seems exceedingly probable that the several branches of industry at that early period were assigned to families or castes, and, as we shall subsequently see, this circumstance will account for the arts, at an early period, attaining a high degree of perfection, and then sinking by premature decay.'

—Ib. 236, 237.

One most remarkable circumstance connected with the early civilization of America, is the fact that the southern half of that continent contains still more numerous and more elaborate proofs than the northern, of an advancement equal at least to that of Asia. The facts of this case have been long known, but

their value and importance have been enhanced and brought more distinctly into notice by recent discoveries made in the north. The researches of modern travellers and men of science in the south have all tended to connect the traces of remote civilization with Asia, from whence, there is little doubt, the whole continent of America received both its inhabitants, its arts, and its religion, though of the date of that first peopling, or of its continuance, no satisfactory opinion can be formed. It is, however, extraordinary that, so far as the north is concerned, there should exist no link of connexion, even in tradition, between the present natives and their civilized predecessors in the same continent. Whether we suppose the present races to be descended from those ancient inhabitants, or the ancient inhabitants to have become utterly extinct, and, after some lapse of ages, another race of inhabitants to have immigrated, the solution is equally embarrassing. If any connexion between the present and the remote inhabitants is supposed, then we cannot solve the fact of the memory of their civilized ancestors having entirely disappeared; and if there is no connexion of descent between them, then it is equally astonishing how those original inhabitants should, under their circumstances of civilization, have become altogether as extinct as if they had been swept away by a deluge or engulfed in an abyss. Yet the remains of their civilization show that such could not have been the cause of their extinction. The case is widely different between the present natives of Southern America and their remote ancestors. Links of connexion are there obvious and abundant, though the decline in civilization is great. The derivation of it from Asia may also be more satisfactorily traced than in the north. There is no point in which the agreement of the Southern Americans with the Asiatics is more remarkable than in the zodiac and the calendar. The coincidence in such fanciful matters as the signs of the zodiac is indeed too distinct to be attributed to chance. The system adopted from the remotest antiquity by the Chinese, Japanese, Kalmucks, Mongols, Mantchous, as well as among the Tolteks, Azteks, and other American nations, is said to be the same, with trivial variations; while that in use by the Japanese and Americans is said to be precisely identical. The points of agreement and difference between the Mexicans and the Egyptians in their regulation of the calendar have been ably treated by M. Jonard, in a letter to Baron Humboldt.

'I have recognized in your memoir on the division of time among the Mexican nations compared with those of Asia, some very striking analogies between the Toltec characters and institutions observed on the banks of the Nile. Among these analogies there is one which is

of attention. *It is the use of the vague year of three hundred y-five days, composed of equal months, and of five comple- days, equally employed at Thebes and Mexico, a distance of nsand leagues.* It is true that the Egyptians had no inter- while the Mexicans intercalated thirteen days every fifty-two Still further, intercalation was proscribed in Egypt, to such a iat their kings swore, on their accession, never to permit it to oyed during their reign. Notwithstanding this difference, we riking agreement in the length of the duration of the solar n reality, the intercalation of the Mexicans, being thirteen each cycle of fifty-two years, comes to the same thing as that ulian Calendar, which is one day in every four years, and con- y supposes the duration of the solar year to be three hundred y-five days and six hours. Now such was the length of the ongst the Egyptians, since the Sothic period was at once one l four hundred and sixty solar years, and one thousand four l and sixty-one vague years; which was in some sort an inter- of a whole year of three hundred and sixty-five days every one l four hundred and sixty years. The property of the Sothic -that of bringing back the seasons and festivals to the same the year, after having made them pass successively through int—is undoubtedly one of the reasons which caused the in- on to be proscribed, no less than the repugnance of the Egyp- foreign institutions. Now it is remarkable that the same r of three hundred and sixty-five days six hours, adopted by so different, and perhaps still more remote in their state of ion than in their geographical distance, relates to a real astro- period, and belongs peculiarly to the Egyptians. This is a ich M. Fourier has ascertained in his researches on the Zodiac pt. No one is more capable of deciding this question in an nical point of view. He alone can elucidate the valuable dis- which he has made. I shall here observe, that the Persians ercalated thirty days every hundred and twenty years; the ns, who employed the era of Nabonassar; the Romans, who day every four years; the Assyrians, and almost all the who regulate their calendar by the course of the sun, appear have taken from Egypt the notion of a solar year of three l days. As to the Mexicans, it would be superfluous to how they attained this knowledge. Such a problem would oon solved; but the fact of the intercalation of thirteen days rcle, that is, the use of a year of three hundred and sixty-five l a quarter, is a proof that it was either borrowed from the ns, or that they had a common origin. It is also to be observed, year of the Peruvians is not solar, but regulated according to se of the moon, as among the Jews, the Greeks, the Macedo- nd the Turks. However the circumstance of eighteen months y days instead of twelve months of thirty days, makes a great e. The Mexicans are the only people who have divided the this manner.

second analogy which I have remarked between Mexico and

Egypt is, that the number of weeks, or half lunations of thirteen days, comprehended in the Mexican cycle, is the same as that of the years of the Sothic period, that is, one thousand four hundred and sixty-one. You consider such a relation as accidental and fortuitous; but perhaps it might have the same origin as the notion of the length of the year. If in reality the year was not of the length of three hundred and sixty-five days six hours, that is $\frac{1461}{4}$ days, the cycle of fifty years would not contain $\frac{52 \times 1461}{4}$, or thirteen times 1461 days, which makes thirteen periods of 1461 days.'—Ib. pp. 288—291.

These are grand and important facts in support of the doctrine of the original migration from Asia, and of the early civilization of mankind in that birth-place of nations from which there can now be no doubt all have proceeded.

In chapter xv. we meet with some valuable observations upon the testimony to the early civilization of mankind, derivable from the Book of Job. The author attaches much importance, and no doubt justly, to the fact that the Book of Job is a testimony altogether independent of the Hebrew history and system of religious worship. Under this view it testifies to a state of civilization and of religion nowhere else described, and pertaining to a period earlier than that of the Mosaic legislation. The Book of Genesis, in carrying down the general history of mankind to the deluge, and in showing the connexion between the antediluvians and postdiluvians, through the medium of the Noachic family, which must have brought with it out of the ark a large measure of civilization and refinement, prepares us to expect that all the nations arising from that stock should commence their career under circumstances altogether different from barbarians, that their progress should be rapid, and their rise to a high degree of civilization comparatively rapid and simultaneous. This enables us to account satisfactorily for the existence of so many nations in a high state of attainment within a few hundred years from the dispersion. Dr. Taylor has well observed that 'a test of the 'accuracy of this estimate is in some degree provided, when 'we find that such an amount was actually possessed by the 'earliest race of which we have a distinct and detailed account.' He then enters into an examination of the various facts and references in Job which throw light upon the state of religion and civilization in Idumea, carefully marking some points of distinction between the state of that country and others in the east. This is a part of the present work which will prove highly interesting to most of our readers. One passage is all that our limits will allow us to cite.

'The religious knowledge possessed in the age of Job was founded on the unity of Deity, both in the creation and government of the universe; but that this was not a natural theology,—a doctrine discovered by unassisted reason,—is proved by the reference of Job himself to a revelation, when he declares (chap. vi. 10), 'I have not neglected the words of the Holy One;' and again (chap. xxiii. 12), 'I do not neglect the principles of his lips: I have treasured up his words in my bosom.' This religion was embodied in formal acts of worship: Job offered expiatory sacrifices for himself and his family, not in the character of a priest, but as patriarch and head of a tribe. We find from the Book of Genesis, that sacrifices began to be offered immediately after the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise: and as there cannot be found any reasonable ground for the suggestion of sacrifice to an uninstructed mind, the character of Job's religion, both in doctrine and form, is that of a theology derived from a primitive revelation, and not evolved from barbarism or paganism by any mental process.

'That the knowledge of the Divine unity was derived by Job from a revelation to himself, or from a former revelation transmitted to him by writing or tradition, appears further proved by his reference to the corruptions of religion which were gradually increasing in his time. He describes Sabaism, or the worship of the celestial luminaries, as an error to which he might, like others, have been led by his natural propensities, and from which he was protected only by the firmness of his belief in what had been revealed. This is a remarkable confirmation of his having obtained his own knowledge of religion from some external source, for he mentions the superstitious practices connected with Sabaism as customs with which he had been tempted to comply.

> ''If I have looked with a superstitious eye
> At the sun when he shone in his strength,
> Or the moon when she walked in her brightness,
> And my heart hath been secretly enticed,
> And I have worshipped by carrying my hand to my mouth,
> I should have been chargeable with a great transgression,
> For I should have denied the supreme God.'
>
> —*Wemyss's Translation.*

'The religion of Job, the first great element in the patriarchal system of civilization, is thus clearly shown to possess a derivative character, and the only form of religion which we find to have been self-evolved was a corruption. It is not to be expected that the ideas of morality formed by the patriarch could be so clearly traced to their source, but there are still proofs of their derivative character in their disproportion to the state of physical knowledge represented in the book. It was not until a very late period in the history of the Grecian philosophy, that moralists discovered the necessity of imposing a restraint on the inward sentiment. Now, we find that Job had anticipated this great principle, for he disdains not the overt act, but the impure desire which might have prompted to its commission (chap. xxxi. 1).'—Ib. pp. 333, 334.

In the second volume the learned and accomplished author successively treats of the state of civilization in Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Phœnicia, Africa, Greece, and Rome. Here, as the proofs of high cultivation become more abundant, the work rises in interest, till we come to the decline of polytheism, the introduction of Christianity, and its influence upon the civilization of the world. From the important chapter on Egyptian civilization we could extract much which would be instructive and gratifying to the public, but must content ourselves with a few of the introductory paragraphs.

'The holy Scriptures not only contain the best and most consistent account of the origin of civilization, but they furnish the most authentic description of the country in which civilization first made a remarkable advancement. The Books of Genesis and Exodus contain incidental notices of the condition of Egypt, by which we are enabled to estimate pretty accurately the progress of humanity at a remote age in the valley of the Nile; and these notices have recently derived unexpected confirmation from modern discoveries—for the monuments brought to light in Egypt confirm the accuracy of Scripture in every particular, and satisfactorily refute any counter statements which had previously been allowed to rank as contradictory authorities. One remarkable instance of this new evidence for the accuracy of the Pentateuch will serve fitly to introduce our examination of the scriptural statements respecting the civilization of Egypt.

'In the last century, the books of Moses were often attacked and their authenticity impugned, because they mentioned the existence of vineyards, grapes, and consequently of wine, in Egypt; for Herodotus expressly declares that there were no vineyards in Egypt, and Plutarch avers that the natives of that country abhorred wine, as being the blood of those who rebelled against the gods. This authority appeared conclusive not merely to the sceptics who impugned the veracity of the Pentateuch, but even to the learned Michaelis, who concluded that the use of wine was enjoined in the sacrifices for the purpose of making a broad distinction between the religious usages of the Israelites and of the Egyptians. The monuments opened by modern research have decided the controversy in favor of the Jewish legislator. In the subterranean vaults at Eclithyia every part of the processes connected with the dressing and tending of the vine are faithfully delineated: the trellises on which the vines were trained, the care with which they were watered, the collection of the fruit, the treading of the wine-press, and the stowing of the wine *amphoræ*, or vases, are there painted to the life; and additional processes of extracting the juice from the grape are represented, which seem to have been peculiar to the Egyptian people. M. Jomard adds, that the remains of amphoræ, or wine vessels, have been found in the ruins of old Egyptian cities, which are still encrusted with the tartar deposited by the wine.

'It is not necessary to account for the error into which Herodotus has fallen; he wrote long after Egypt had been distracted by civil wars, and then subdued by the Persians; calamities quite sufficient to ac-

count for the disappearance of such a highly artificial cultivation as that of the vine must have been in Egypt. This statement is most probably correct, if it be limited to the period when Herodotus wrote; and thus viewed it becomes important evidence for the superior antiquity both of the Bible and the Egyptian monuments.

'The land of Egypt was visited by Abraham about four hundred years after the flood, according to the computation of the present Hebrew text, or twelve hundred years according to the Septuagint. It had then an organized government, a king with the title of Pharaoh, a court, nobility—'the princes of Pharaoh,'—and a system of domestic servitude; for we find male and female slaves enumerated among the presents bestowed by the Pharaoh upon Abraham. Females had greater freedom than they usually enjoyed in the east, or in Egypt itself at a later age; they were not confined to harems, they were permitted to go about unveiled, and their personal charms were made the subject of conversation.

'The next mention of Egypt is connected with the history of Joseph. He was sold to certain Midianites or Ishmaelites, who had established a regular caravan trade with Egypt, the articles of commerce being 'spicery, and balm, and myrrh.' The precious metals had become a medium of exchange before this time, for Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah with silver from the children of Heth; but the progress of commerce had probably introduced some mode of coining or stamping, by which the value of the bullion had been made known without the necessity of assaying and weighing it, for the price paid to Joseph's brethren was twenty *pieces* of silver. Joseph was sold by the merchants to Potiphar, 'an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard, or chief of the executioners;' for the punishment of criminals in eastern countries is generally entrusted to the royal guards. Here, then, we have two additional proofs of progress—a regular foreign trade, and something like an established coinage.

'Domestic slavery appears to have been very mild at this time in Egypt, for Joseph enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom; and that females were not yet deprived of their natural liberty is obvious from the history of Potiphar's wife. A more important element of civilization, however, is the existence of a legal system of punishments—'Joseph's master took him and put him into the prison, a place where the king's prisoners were bound.'

'It may appear whimsical to point out a prison as a sign of improvement, but unquestionably the existence of a system of legal punishment is evidence of advancement; for it shows that the regular empire of public law has superseded the blind impulses of private revenge. In a less civilized country than Egypt then was, Potiphar would have slain or mutilated Joseph on the spot.

'The reigning Pharaoh had a court and a royal establishment, for two of his officers, his cup-bearer and the master of his household, were committed to the same prison as Joseph; and, from their dreams, it is evident that the arts of confectionery, and of preparing grateful beverages, had been at this time cultivated with success. Pharaoh's dreams add, that the Egyptians were acquainted with the artificial

feeding of cattle, for it is said, that the seven fat kine were fed on the *achú*, not 'a meadow,' as it is rendered in our version, but the succulent water-plants of the Nile.

'When Joseph was summoned from the prison to attend the court, we find it recorded that 'he shaved himself,'—a remarkable custom among the Egyptians,—in which they differed from most other ancient nations of the East. It further appears, that the Egyptian monarch had, at his court, a regular establishment of diviners or soothsayers, to whom he had applied for the interpretation of his dreams, from whence we may reasonably conclude, that the sacerdotal caste had already acquired considerable political influence in Egypt; and this is further confirmed by the marriage of Joseph into a priestly family immediately after his appointment to the office of prime-minister. This marriage also shows, that the rules of caste were not so rigid as they afterwards became, for, at a subsequent period, intermarriages between priestly and other families, more especially strangers, were strictly prohibited. The honors which Joseph received from Pharaoh throw considerable light on the progress of civilization at the period. Investiture of office was given by entrusting him with the signet-ring of the monarch, which proves that the arts of jewellery and engraving were known; he was clothed in a *khelát*, or official robe, as is still usual in the East; he received a gold chain, and was permitted to ride 'in the second chariot;' so that, at this early age, chariots were used in Egypt, not only for the purposes of war, but also of state.'

—Vol. ii. pp. 1—5.

In the chapter (eighth of vol. ii.) on the introduction of christianity and its influence in civilization, there are some important distinctions pointed out between the doctrines of Revelation and the systems of ancient polytheism. The most remarkable of these the author considers to be the attention paid in the ancient system of religion to the physical attributes of the Deity, and compared with prominence given in Revelation to his spiritual nature. A second point of contrast is in the *localizing* spirit of heathen theology. Each religion was national in its very essence. It was designed for that one people, for all its masses indeed, but for none beyond its pale. Whereas even Judaism, though in one sense national, had still a universal character, which was perfected in Christianity. A further and most important distinction is shown in the peculiar prominence which is given by Christianity to man's individuality, as contrasted with the absorption of that personality, by heathenism, in his relation to the state. 'Christianity preached 'to man a spiritual God—not attached to any nationality, 'whether of language, country, or custom—the Father of all 'men, demanding the obedience of a child from each, and 'requiring each individual, separately and for himself, to effect 'a renovation of all his moral feelings and principles of action. 'If even the first time that religion addressed itself to man in

'his personality, and recognized that every individual had a 'moral being of his own; but Christianity did more, it showed 'that high reponsibilities were attached to this individuality, 'and to it only, for it declared that the future eternity of hap-'piness and misery would not be assigned by the Supreme 'Judge, at the day of final reckoning, on the ground of being 'born in a certain country, or descended of a certain class, but 'on purity of soul, producing purity of life and conduct.' These points of contrast are ably illustrated; they might perhaps have been strengthened by the mention of some others, scarcely less important and striking, which have been shown by various writers on the genius of Christianity as contrasted with heathenism. But these were sufficient to show that the religion of Jesus Christ contained powerful elements of melioration for human society, and that its introduction among the civilized nations could not fail to produce a momentous revolution in all the relations of domestic and social life, as well as in the politics and governments of all the nations where it made good its footing.

The discussion of these important topics naturally enough brings our author into collision with the artful reasoning of Gibbon upon the same subject. We should be glad to transfer to our pages the concise but admirable reply he has furnished to Gibbon's Five Reasons for the early Success of Christianity, but having already exceeded our limits, we must refrain from doing so.

It will not excite surprise that we, who hold that the independence of the churches of Christ ought never to have been invaded or surrendered, should call attention to the closing sentences of Dr. Taylor's reasoning on this subject. It is another candid testimony, borne by an impartial witness, to the state of primitive, that is, apostolic Christianity. The fact is conceded by every competent historian, and we know of no author of reputation for sound knowledge of the subject who ventures to question it: and yet the direful and desolating consequences which have followed the abandonment of that apostolic constitution, by incorporating the administration of the Christian church with the power of the state, are neither traced to this fact as their true source, nor are they viewed as unanswerable and imperative reasons for a return of Christians, in their ecclesiastical relations, to that simple and self-adjusting economy, which the wisdom of Christ sanctioned, and the authority of apostles everywhere established. Like many of the adaptations and contrivances of God in nature, *its simplicity conceals its excellence.* The pride or ambition of man demands something more complicated and imposing—something that shall gratify, even in his connexion with Christianity, his pro-

pensity to the centralization of power, and his ambition of extensive control.—But we must forbear comments of this character, and conclude our observations by briefly stating, that Dr. Taylor proceeds from his chapter on Christianity to discuss the effects produced on civilization by the conquests of the barbarians and overthrow of the Roman empire—then he comes to the progress of civilization in the middle ages—the independent circumstances which have contributed to the advance of civilization—and, finally, to the conservative principles of society, illustrated in the efforts made for the relief and improvement of humanity by public and private benevolence.

It will be perceived, from this summary of the work, that it embraces a variety of important and highly interesting topics, upon which it is impossible for us either to supply a comment or offer a citation. It may suffice as to the general complexion of the author's sentiments, to say he is an enlightened liberal in politics, philosophy, and religion. He makes no secret of his attachment to archbishop Whately, whose disciple he professes himself to be, and whose principles, both in philosophy and religion, he reflects and expounds with no mean ability. In reference to Christianity he seems more disposed to exalt its lessons of practical benevolence than to admire its mysteries of faith. It is probable the author intended no *slight* to the latter, since his subject naturally led him to give prominence to the former. There are a few passages which induce a suspicion of favoring some of the views of the *rationalists:* but, upon the whole, the work possesses no common interest, and will be read with no ordinary satisfaction by all who are anxious for the welfare of their species. We cordially recommend its perusal.

Art. III. *The Connexion and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments: being an Inquiry into the relation, literary and doctrinal, in which these two parts of the Sacred Volume stand to each other.* By W. Lindsay Alexander, M.A., Edinburgh. pp. 510. London: Jackson and Walford. 1841.

WE are inclined to question the policy of the custom into which several of the Congregational lecturers have fallen, of deferring the publication of their lectures to a period so very long after that in which they were delivered. It is scarcely good policy in reference to the circulation of the book itself, because the interest which may have been excited towards the subject by the living delivery, is not only allowed to

evaporate, but actually to be occupied and refreshed by a new class of lectures, which are in the course of being delivered just at the time when the old lectures make their appearance from the press.

We have risen from the perusal of this work with some measure of disappointment, as it is not exactly the work which our previous apprehensions of Mr. Alexander's mental character had led us to expect. It is probable that the blame of this lies at our own door, and not at that of the author. We, however, think that Mr. Alexander has confined himself to a range far too narrow for the claims of the subject, that he has expended the strength of his mind and learning on topics already very ably and abundantly discussed, and that he has excluded from his investigation many subjects of commanding importance, the vigorous and ample examination of which would be new and full of interest, and the manly and open discussion of which seems to be at present called for, by the bias, and, to use an old word in a new sense, the *vocation* of our age.

According to our estimate, the contributions which this volume actually *adds* to the theological fund already existing, consist of lecture the first, on 'The External and Literary Connexion of 'the Old and New Testaments,' and lecture the last, on 'The 'Nature, Criteria, and Interpretation of Types.' The lectures iv., v., vi., and vii., on 'The Messianic Prophecies,' might, we are disposed to think, with advantage to the work, have been compressed into one; inasmuch as the author's philological and critical labors, though highly honorable to himself, seem, on this part of the theological arena, to be almost a waste effort; especially so after the immortal work of Dr. Pye Smith on 'The Testimony of the Scriptures to the Messiah.'

The value of Mr. Alexander's work, as a contribution to theological science, would have been enhanced had he boldly enlarged his sphere of inquiry, and embraced topics which have in our day almost the freshness of new truths. For instance, in a work published in the nineteenth century, on 'the Connexion and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments,' we might have had presented to us a calm and lucid investigation of such subjects as the following:—the immutableness of divine morality as pervading all the principles of revelation—the uniform character of the workings of sin in the human heart through all ages and in all places—the spirituality, the power, and the identity of true religion under all dispensations and in all circumstances—the reality of the divine influences in all the good that has at any time been produced in the world—the unity of the church of God in all times, as being the principle on which the promises, instructions, and privileges of the entire

Scriptures belong to christians of the present day—and, to add no more, the progressiveness and consecutiveness evident in the gradual development of the scheme of salvation through atonement.

It is not from captiousness that we mark out these subjects as what might advantageously have been comprehended in a work like the present. Far from it. We wish they had been comprehended, for the author's sake, that he might have had free course over ground almost untrodden, for it is true in the field of theology as in the field of agriculture, that it is the untrodden part that holds the dew. We have cherished also this wish for the sake of the church of Christ in our times, that it might have received, in this day of mental enterprise, well adjusted instructions upon principles which are influencing and agitating every mind. It is true that PRESIDENT EDWARDS, in his 'History of Redemption,' has treated, very beautifully and largely, the progressive and consecutive character of the scheme of atonement, and that our author has, in his last lecture, touched on 'The Unity of the Church of God in all ages;' still we apprehend that the first of these might have been introduced with great benefit just now; and that the last, on account of its bearings upon experimental religion and church government, deserved the honor of a separate and full lecture.

In a time when the doctrine of religious revivals has fairly worked its way into the esteem of christian churches, a lecture upon the reality and development of divine influences in various circumstances of the church, could not fail to influence public opinion, and be esteemed by all as singularly *ad rem.* And in these days of PUSEYISM, PLYMOUTH-BRETHRENISM, and OWENISM, a free and rational discussion of the real spirituality of true religion in all times—of the system of means by which God has always counteracted the workings of moral depravity—and of the fixed and immutable laws of morality irrespective of expediency, must have been hailed by every enlightened mind.

As fair critics, however, it is our province to consider Mr. Alexander's volume as it is, and not in reference to topics which it does not contain. The author has not been pleased to give to his inquiry on this occasion the scope which we have just pointed out, but has limited himself to the investigation of four subjects only: the Connexion of the Old and the New Testaments as a literary question—the identity of doctrines concerning God and man contained in them—the Messianic prophecies—and the doctrine of types. These subjects he has discussed with a learning, ability, clearness, and a logical adjustment, that will sustain the honorably earned reputation of the Congregational Lecture, as well as reflect high and lasting credit on his own intellectual attainments and discipline.

The origin of a book is as interesting as the source of a river. Our readers are probably more concerned than they at first apprehended in the occasion which produced this volume. The author of these lectures was led to the selection of his subject from the circumstance that his pastoral experience convinced him that, for the Bible as a whole, christians are 'unable to 'entertain the same feeling of grateful regard as they possess 'towards the writings of the New Testament.' As a man of comprehensive mind who saw the grandeur and unity of divine revelation as a well adjusted whole, he at once felt that 'the 'existence of such a divided state of feeling towards the two 'great component portions of a volume which, if of divine 'origin, must be harmonious in its texture, was a circumstance 'deeply to be regretted.'—pp. v., vi.

Nothing can be more obstructive to the production of healthy and vigorous piety, both in individual minds and in the church itself, and nothing is more sure to fail of improving or converting the world, than the habit of receiving or of exhibiting the various truths of revelation by halves. The effects of such a divided or partial administration of divine truths, upon morals and religion, are perfectly analogous to what they would be on physical health, if an afflicted family, or the inmates of an hospital, were to take for the restoration of their health only one half the ingredients contained in the recipe of their physician. In order to produce or to obtain thorough and clear convictions in religion, as well as to secure just verdicts and sentences in a court of justice, we must hear and receive not the truth only, but THE WHOLE TRUTH. On these accounts, therefore, our author, both as a faithful administrator of the manifold grace of God, as well as an impartial disciple of honest induction, wishes the christian church to take for its 'health and cure,' the entire prescription of the divine Physician, and not, from a morbid taste, to refuse any part of it. He feels that the church must do this before it can furnish its own testimony in its favor, when in the act of exhibiting it for the salvation of a dying world.

The neglect of the Old Testament by many christians, as Mr. Alexander very properly observes, is not to be ascribed to 'a 'disposition to underrate any portion of revealed truth, but 'rather to an inability to perceive the bearing of many parts of 'that book upon the principles and the feelings which chris-'tianity teaches us to receive and foster.'—p. vi. In this state of the church, he felt assured that if a clue could be given to intelligent christians, by which they might discover 'the close 'connexion, mutual dependence, and internal harmony of the 'Old and New Testaments, so as at once to convince them that 'christianity must be found in the former as well as in the

'latter,' this divided state of feeling in reference to the two parts of the Bible would continue no longer.

As the spirit of the English line, 'In every work regard the 'writer's end,' is one of the first canons of upright criticism, it is just that we should allow the author to describe this 'end' himself.

'To supply what has appeared to the author a desideratum hitherto on this head in our British theological literature, is the design of the present publication.

'The vastness of the field I have had to traverse has necessitated my proceeding upon principles of selection and condensation in the arrangement of my materials. I have, consequently, confined myself as much as possible to such points as seemed of most comprehensiveness and moment; and have, save in a few instances, rested contented with adducing the evidence in favor of my positions, without entering at length into the refutation of such objections as might be adduced against them. This I felt to be the less necessary, that the controversial bearings of the different branches of my subject are those which have hitherto almost exclusively occupied the attention of those who have written upon them.'—pp. vi., vii.

Towards the close of the last lecture, the author states more fully, and more distinctly, what has been his principal aim in this work. He says,

'Allow me to recapitulate, in one or two sentences, what it has been my aim principally to establish in regard to the connexion and harmony of the Old and New Testaments. Assuming the divine authority of both, I have endeavored to show,

'*First.* That both belong to the same national literature; and, that on the composition of the latter great influence has been excited by the familiarity of its human authors with the former.

'*Second.* That both teach the unity of the divine existence; but, at the same time, intimate the mysterious fact of a plurality in that unity: the New Testament more fully and dogmatically; the Old, generally by hints and intimations, and, in one or two instances, by more express and explicit statements.

'*Third.* That both present the same view of the moral character of God, as holy, just, and good; and of the relation in which man stands to Him as one who has broken his law, insulted his government, and merited his displeasure.

'*Fourth.* That the penalty denounced against sin in both, and which both assure us man has incurred and deserves to receive, is eternal death—exclusion during the whole course of his being from the love and favor of God.

'*Fifth.* That both, representing God as full of love, announce the glorious fact, that he has found a way for the display of that love in the salvation of sinners, whereby so great an act of mercy has been rendered consistent with the claims of his government and law.

'*Sixth.* That both announce the great truth, that by the incarnation

of the Son of God, and his substitution on our behalf, this way of salvation has been opened up: the Old Testament, by promises, predictions, and types; the New Testament, by the history of our Lord and the statement of his doctrines, in which all these promises have been fulfilled, and all these types substantiated.

'Upon the whole, the aim of the lecturer has been to show that the religion of Jesus Christ, the only religion which, as our own experience amply testifies, can meet the case and relieve the miseries of man, has been from first to last the *sole* religion of divine revelation, and unfolds the *only* plan which God has ever announced to man, as that by which he saves the guilty.'—pp. 466, 467.

The whole work is divided into eight lectures.

Lecture I. is on the external, or literary connexion of the Old and New Testaments, embracing merely the considerations of those affinities which subsist between them in an *external* or literary point of view. In this discussion the author considers the sacred volume simply as venerable remains of the literature of a great nation; and inquires into the relation in which the two great portions stand to each other, the light in which the earlier portion was viewed by the writers of the later, and the use which the writers of the New Testament made of the Old in their own compositions. As instances of literary resemblance between the two Testaments he mentions the similarity of *form and structure* by which they are pervaded; the obvious influence which familiarity with Old Testament ideas and phraseology exercised upon the *language* of the evangelists and apostles; and the use of the same *nomenclature* for the purpose of designating the leading subjects of their revelations. The fair and conclusive inference deduced by the author from this literary resemblance is, that 'the continual occurrence of terms and phrases so obviously borrowed from the writings of the Old Testament affords a strong evidence of the familiarity with these writings possessed by the inspired authors of the christian documents, and of the influence exercised by the former upon the composition of the latter.'—p. 19.

But the most decided proof of the literary connexion which exists between the two documents is, 'the direct references to, or quotations from, the Old Testament occurring in the New;' and to this subject of New Testament allusions and quotations —no very easy one—the author brings the powers of his mind and the stores of his learning, with the happiest results. The numerous and various allusions of the New Testament to the Old, are divided by our author into three principal classes. The *first* class embraces those passages which contain simple references to the Old Testament Scriptures as a document well known to be extant in the days of our Lord and his apostles; as being in their estimation of divine authority; and as con-

taining pre-intimations of the facts and doctrines of the christian revelation. The *second* class consists of passages in which notice is taken of certain incidents, institutions, and characters mentioned in the historical portion of the Old Testament. Allusions of this kind are made, 1. for the purpose of supplying genealogical catalogues of Old Testament worthies, such as those of Matthew and Luke, comprising the ancestry of our Lord according to the flesh. 2. For the sake of illustrating or enforcing some doctrinal or practical statement, by furnishing the attestation of infallible authority to the *actual historical character* of the incidents referred to; and by supplying us with a more complete acquaintance with the fact alluded to, partly by the explanatory comments which accompany the reference, and partly by the context in which the allusion is introduced. 3. With the view of stating the particular event which constitutes the historical basis on which some doctrine or duty is founded: as, for example, the event of the fall of Adam being adduced by Paul, Rom. v. 12, as lying at the foundation of the doctrine of universal depravity. And, 4. for presenting some fact or institution of the old economy in the character of a constituted type, or symbolical adumbration of the truths of christianity—of which the Epistle to the Hebrews may be taken as a specimen. The *third* class of direct references to the Old Testament comprises those passages in which a quotation more or less exact of the words of the earlier Scriptures are found. The discussion of this class of passages is one of the most important, able, and lucid in the whole volume.

In presenting his matured sentiments on New Testament citations from the Old, the author does not profess to institute an independent and original investigation of the subject, for that would have been preposterous, within the limits to which his lectures were to be confined; but, with the success and ease of one who has mastered the subject, he presents his readers with a condensed view of the leading results, to which the researches of professed inquirers and learned investigators seem satisfactorily to lead.

One of the *cruces* of exegetical interpreters is the question of the sources from which the quotations in the New Testament are made, whether by direct translation from the Hebrew original, or by borrowing from the Greek version of the Alexandrine Jews. The fact that the writers of the New Testament have made use of the Greek language for their productions, and had to address persons who were, generally speaking, more familiar with the Septuagint than with the Hebrew original, brings our author to the conclusion, that 'the *probability* is, that their 'quotations would be made from that version in all cases where 'to follow it did not involve a departure from the meaning and

'purport of God's will as originally communicated in the He-
'brew Scriptures.'—p. 40.

Our readers may form some idea of the difficulty of accounting for the sources of the quotations found in the New Testament, when it is considered that some of them agree with both the Hebrew original and with the Greek Septuagint; that some agree with the Hebrew but not with the Septuagint; that some agree with the Septuagint but differ from the Hebrew; that some differ decidedly from both, but agree more with the Hebrew than with the Septuagint; and that others differ as decidedly from both, but agree more with the Septuagint than with the Hebrew. The result of an ample and honest comparison of the whole case appears to be this, that the *customary* practice of the New Testament writers was to take their quotations from the Greek version of the Old Testament rather than from the Hebrew original.

It is, however, a fact, that even in citations decidedly traceable to the Septuagint, the writers of the New Testament seem to have paid very little attention to accuracy of quotation. They sometimes change tenses, number, and person; sometimes substitute synonymous words or equivalent phrases,—transpose also words and expressions, interpolate or add words or clauses, abridge passages, omit words, make a series of quotations as if they were one passage, and sometimes only hint at passages instead of quoting them. All this array of inaccuracies in quotation present great difficulties to the mind of the young critic, and disturb all his prepossessions on the subject of inspiration. In this state of mind let him hear Mr. Alexander.

'Of the deviations from the Alexandrian version found in the quotations from it in the New Testament by which these classes are characterized, none, it is obvious, amounts to a destruction of the identity of the quotation. Some of them are evidently the result of intention on the part of the writer or speaker; as, for instance, where a word or phrase is added, for the fuller exposition of the passage, or where such grammatical changes are made as are required by the context into which the quotation is introduced.

'Many of them, there is reason to think, are attributable to the circumstance, that since the days of the apostles, the texts of Scripture have been subjected to numerous minute alterations, which have given rise to various readings, so that we cannot be certain that, at the time the autographs of the New Testament were issued, all the discrepancies existed which we now find on comparing their quotations with the LXX. This is confirmed by the fact that in several instances where a discrepancy existed in the received text, it has been removed by a various reading supplied by some of the MSS. In fine, it is to be remembered that the New Testament writers appear to have, in the majority of cases, quoted from memory, which will easily account for

their transposing and altering words and phrases, omitting words, or indicating in a general way instead of fully quoting the passage to which they refer.

'That they chiefly quoted from memory must be admitted when we consider the circumstances in which their writings were, for the most part, composed—sometimes on a journey—sometimes in prison—very seldom, if ever, where access to books could be had; and [when we] observe the vagueness and generality which frequently characterize their references to the Old Testament Scriptures; as when, instead of naming the book from which they cite, they merely say, ἔστι γεγραμμένον, or ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, or still more vaguely, διεμαρτύρατο δέ που τις, 'some one has somewhere testified,' Heb. ii. 6; Εἴρηκε γάρ που, 'he hath somewhere said,' iv. 4.

'Nor need any one fear lest such a supposition should tend to derogate from the claims of the New Testament writers to divine inspiration. If, indeed, it were essential to inspiration that the same idea should always be clothed in the same words, this fear would be well founded. But upon this principle it would be difficult to account for the apostles being permitted to make the slightest departure from a literal version of the Hebrew text; and as the fact of their quoting from an uninspired version, and not invariably translating from the inspired original, shows of itself that verbal inspiration is not essential to real inspiration, there seems no reason why they should not be left to quote that version as they remembered it, where nothing material depended on their remembering it correctly. There is surely no reason why they should quote the Old Testament always verbatim, when they do not report their own Master's sayings verbatim, as is evident from the differences in the records of the four evangelists. The great end of inspiration was the securing of perfect accuracy in the *thing* recorded, and, in so far as compatible with this, the natural faculties of the writer seem to have been left to their own operation.'

—pp. 46—48.

Were the general reader aware of one half the importance of this investigation, he would thank us for making so long a quotation; and he would thank Mr. Alexander for thinking out the question so thoroughly, and for explaining it so clearly to every one's apprehension.

The second and the third lecture are on 'the internal or 'doctrinal connexion of the Old and New Testaments,' instanced in 'the doctrines respecting the divine *nature*,' and the 'doctrines respecting the divine *character*,' and the condition and prospects of man. In these lectures the author treats of the divine existence as assumed in Scripture—the unity of God as taught in the Old Testament—the intimations there of the plurality in the divine essence—the character of the angel of Jehovah—the personality of the Spirit of Jehovah—the Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man—the penalty denounced in the primal threatening—the knowledge possessed by the Old

Testament saints respecting a future state of rewards and punishments, &c., &c.

The lectures iv., v., vi., and vii., are on what is called, after the German phraseology, but nothing the worse for that, the Messianic prophecies, that is, in the dialect of English theology, the prophecies concerning Christ. The fourth lecture is on the criteria and characteristics of the Messianic prophecies, giving the internal and external criteria, and discussing the neological doctrine of accommodation as inconsistent both with the divine authority of the New Testament, and with established facts in the life, character, and teaching of our Lord and his apostles. The sixth gives a survey of the Messianic prophecies from the fall to the time of David, explaining 'the first gospel' published in Eden, Noah's blessing, the promises made to Abraham, and the prophet like unto Moses. The sixth takes a review of the second age of Messianic prophecy, during the reigns of David and Solomon, marking out the peculiar characteristics of the prophecies belonging to this age, and especially interpreting, in a fair and manly exegesis, the Messianic psalms. The seventh describes the third age of Messianic prophecy, from the death of Solomon to the time of Malachi, presenting historical notices of the Israelites and Jews at this period, and establishing the Messianic references in the predictions of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Joel, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. At the close of this survey of the three periods of Messianic prophecy, the author presents the result of the entire examination, in a passage which we present to our readers as a specimen of Mr. Alexander's fine and masculine eloquence.

'Partial and cursory as this survey has in many respects been, enough, I trust, has been said to satisfy you in regard to the position, for the sake of supporting which I invited you to enter upon it. It has shown us how continuous a stream of gospel radiance pervaded the whole of that atmosphere in which the saints of the former dispensations lived and breathed. We have beheld the Luminary of divine revelation emerging from the midnight gloom which covered the destiny of man after his fall, and have followed its course as it shone brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. Its rays, we have found, were able to reach as far on its first appearance above the horizon, as when it had attained to the full zenith of its splendor, and poured upon the object of its illumination its directest beams.

'The promise given to Adam was that of the salvation of his race through a virgin-born Redeemer. 'This,' as an able writer has justly remarked, 'was the primitive promise; and the last of the prophets cannot go beyond it.'* It was left for them only to fill up the minuter

* Davison's *Discourses on Prophecy*, p. 75. Third edition.

parts of the picture, and bring out, in more prominent relief, the grand features of the scene. With matchless skill and consummate fidelity they fulfilled their trust. On one after another of the truths concerning the promised seed they cast the revealing light of which they were the ministers, until at length the picture in every lineament stood displayed, and the mighty scheme of redemption drew to it the admiring gaze, alike of the prophet who had unfolded it, and of the anxious multitudes who waited upon his instructions, and to whom his words were as the bread of life.

'At this point, the whole church of God meets as at a common centre. Into these things the angels desire to look. To the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow, are drawn the regards of all the unfallen, and of all the ransomed creation of God. On him, as the key-stone of the arch, the entire superstructure of the divine government rests. And when the grand result of all his propitiatory and mediatorial work shall be secured in the final redemption of his people, to Him shall the according voices of angels and of saints sing, 'worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing.''

—pp. 381, 382.

The concluding lecture, the eighth, enters into the nature, criteria, and interpretation of types, and into an examination of the leading types of Christ in the Old Testament. In the whole history of theological writing and evangelical preaching, scarcely has any class of divine truths met with greater perversion, abuse, and extravagant application than the typical class. Very often the tyro preacher, and even the village exhorter, begins his pulpit or cottage ministrations with what he calls an interpretation of some type of our Lord. He does this from the very best of motives, for he loves his Master so much that, he would rather, with good old Cocceius, see Christ in all types and shadows, than with the learned Grotius see him nowhere. Still, though our young friends may have all the aid of Benjamin Keach's glasses, and have all the love to Christ which the Marys had, it is possible that they might 'seek the living 'among the dead.' Before they preach another sermon on 'types and shadows of the ceremonial law,' we would recommend them to read more than once this masterly lecture of Mr. Alexander's. They would here learn how difficult it is to define a type, to distinguish between a type and a metaphor, and to mark the difference between a parable and an allegory.

'A type,' says Mr. Alexander, 'in the sense in which that word is used in such discussions as the present, is a representation of spiritual truth by means of actions or objects placed before the senses, and calculated to convey through them to the mind a lively conception of the truth which they are designed to represent.

'A type is not, as is too often imagined, *any thing* in the Old Testa-

ment between which and certain doctrines of the New a lively imagination may succeed in tracing some analogy or resemblance: it is something which the divine Author of Scripture announces to us as having been specifically contrived and appointed for the one purpose of administrating certain religious truths, and fore-shadowing certain future transactions with which these truths were connected. Viewed simply in itself, it is a hieroglyph, or symbolical representation of divine truth: viewed in its relation to christianity, it served the purpose of a pre-intimation or memorial, to those who lived before the advent of Christ, of the great facts connected with him on which christianity, as a religious system, rests.

'Its parallel is prophecy. Like it, it teaches a present truth, and announces a future fulfilment of it; like it, also, it has in its capacity of a type, one definite meaning and one definite fulfilment, to both of which it was intended and designed to point. The difference between a prophecy and a type lies only in this, that the former teaches by words, the latter by things; the former, that is, by an artificial combination of signs, the latter by a scenical representation of the whole truth at once. A word is the symbol of an idea; a type is the symbol of some principle or law, and the prediction of some great general fact in the economy of redemption.'—pp. 383—385.

We had intended to make some critical inquiries into the accuracy and the adequate fulness of this definition and description of a type, but our limits forbid us. We hasten therefore to what Mr. Alexander lays down as the great principles to be observed in all sound interpretations of types. These cardinal principles are four. *First*, that the essence of a type does not consist in any *mere resemblance* between it and its fulfilment or antitype; but that it consists in its *associative* or *suggestive capacity*, that is, in its power of calling vividly before the mind something which is itself absent. *Secondly*, that nothing can be regarded and interpreted as *typical* which is not also *symbolical*—meaning by symbolical, that which presents to the senses of the beholder an outward sign of a great general truth, and a memorial, that, in due season, the event on which that truth rested would take place. *Thirdly*, that types must always be distinguished from both *comparisons* and *allegories*—since objects and facts, compared and allegorized, are only historical events employed for illustration, whilst a type is a distinct divine institution; and also the metaphorical and allegorical sense is only a *fictitious* meaning put upon a narrative for the sake of illustrating something else, whereas the explanation of a type is its *true* and *only* meaning, and is adduced solely for the sake of unfolding that meaning. The *fourth*, that we are always to expect in the antitype something more glorious and excellent than is discovered in the type.

After having laid down these principles of interpretation, the author proceeds to apply them to the Levitical institutes of Mo-

ses, and to prove and illustrate the reference of the whole of these to Christ, and explain the fulfilment of them all in him.

'The survey,' he says, 'which we have thus taken of the instruction by means of types, enjoyed by the people of God under the former dispensation, may suffice to show how full and impressive was the representation thus set before them of the grand truths of the gospel of Christ. The guilt of the sinner, the evil of sin, and the importance of holiness,—the necessity of a mediator between God and man, and of a sacrificial atonement for man's transgressions,—the freeness and sufficiency of that remission of sins which such an atonement procured, and the full realization of all these truths in the person and work of the Messiah, were continually held before the view of the Jews by the ceremonies of their symbolical ritual. That ritual thus secured the preservation of the true religion among them, fed the faith and kindled the hopes of the truly pious, and paved the way for that fuller and more permanent development of the plan of mercy, which has conferred its peculiar glory on the dispensation of the latter days.'—p. 465.

The whole of the discussions, reasonings, and illustrations of these lectures go to prove, and to give prominence to the fact, that the Bible is *one book—the* book of the kingdom of God. The Bible contains the revelation of the principles of the government of God, the record of the history of his administrations,—the statute-book of the kingdom,—the embassy from the Throne to our rebellious province,—the charter of our privileges,—and the only legitimate instrument for gaining subjects to the eternal Crown. This one book reveals the character and the perfections of God as moral ruler,—the grounds on which his creatures are accountable to him,—the character and the injuriousness of transgression,—the method appointed by the offended but gracious Ruler for pardoning sinners and receiving them again into favour; and the design and aim which God has in view in establishing and carrying on such a government among mankind. It is evident that in the ways of God there is a great variety, but it is as evident that in all these diversities there appears a unity of plan, a subserviency of facts, and a tendency of all to one event—to one end. It is fit that men should know what this end is, for these diversities of operations are carried on in the midst of accountable men; and it is a fact that they are personally concerned in the wondrous movements and progressions of the kingdom, are capable of promoting its designs and purposes, and are responsible for their state of mind respecting the ultimate end of God's measures. But without the Bible none can say what this end is. Nothing tells us what the plan, the event, the end is, but the Bible—and the Bible *does* tell it. No other book can say *how* or *why* the world began; so no other can say how or why it will end, and what

will be the result of the whole scheme. This book says how events came to take place, how they were introduced and regulated, and how the whole will be governed until the final end. Even as a history it is worthy of the majesty, wisdom, holiness, and love of God; for it exhibits events in such a regular series as to make them the parts and elements of one grand and mighty scheme progressing to one glorious consummation; and in this manner it invests the world with an importance commensurate with the grandeur of its design, and gives us high and enlarged views of God, by showing how his perfections shine in every work, and harmonize all events. When we read Thucydides or Tacitus, and it may be Gibbon or Hume, we can say that we think we have some idea of the meaning of *each* history—that is, what *each* historian had in view when writing. But let us for a moment range all the historians into one book-case, and then ask ourselves—now, what is the meaning, the design of *all* these histories, and *all* the events which they narrate—what is the design of them put all together? We should be just in the position of the surgeon, who could tell the use of every bone and muscle in man, but could not tell of what use *man himself* was. The Bible is the only book that gives meaning to *all* histories, gives consecutiveness to all events, and *stereotypes* the whole into one history of God and man.

There is, then, no book in the world so high in its pretensions as the Bible. The regard which it claims, it claims to itself *exclusively*. The book, the religion, and the God of revelation are alike in their high claims. The God of revelation claims to be the ONLY God: the religion of revelation claims to be the only *true* religion; and the book of revelation claims to be the sole word of truth. The Bible is therefore called 'THE WORD,' as standing unique among all words, and as what will survive when all words are hushed. It is '*the* SCRIPTURE,'—the writing, as if all that has been ever written were no writing when compared with it; and it will exist when all records have perished. It is 'the Bible,' 'the Book,'—it stood alone and singular amid the millions of the Alexandrian library,—it was *among* them, but not *of* them. The great objection made to christianity was that it tolerated no other god than its own; and this is the great objection still made against the Bible, that claims to be alone the word of God. It is not gregarious; it will not herd with common books, but it is 'the royal law,' 'the word of the kingdom;' it stands alone in the kingdom, and it will be heard and obeyed by every one in the whole empire.

To this 'one book,' as an example of the 'homo unius libri,' the man of one book, Mr. Alexander has applied his well-disciplined mind. In his efforts to explain the connexion and the harmony of the various documents which compose this one

book, he has produced a volume bearing the image and superscription of a vigorous intellect, replete with thorough and modest learning, and perfumed with the unction of that Spirit, who moved holy men to write the Scriptures.

Art. IV. *Vivia Perpetua: a Dramatic Poem, in Five Acts.* By Sarah Flower Adams. London: Feb., 1841.

EVEN from our school-days, when we read Hannah More's Sacred Dramas, and wondered wherefore she took so much pains to amplify, in blank verse, what the inspired writers had already told us with far more dramatic effect, we have been struck (as probably our readers have) with the singularly undramatic character of nearly all those productions which claim the title of religious dramas.

In endeavoring to account for this, it is of no use to refer to the *acted* drama, and then point out the incompatibility of religious feelings with writing for the stage; because none of the writers we allude to ever desired, or ever dreamt of, their compositions being represented at the theatre; nor will it do to assign as a cause any want of general talent, since many who have failed entirely in the religious drama, have, in other walks, produced excellent poems. The theory that the lofty character of our religion, its mighty realities, its transcendent mysteries, unfit it to be employed in the dramatic form, is indeed the most plausible; but even this will not hold when we remember that narrative poems, and many of great merit, have been composed on religious subjects; and that these abound in dialogue, dialogue too of necessity, carried on by expletives, 'thus he 'spake,' and 'thus he replied,' instead of the more direct, more natural form of the drama. A curious and difficult subject is this; one, which fully followed out, might throw important light on the conditions which influence and modify the poetical genius of different nations and different ages. This, neither space nor time will allow us, but in passing we may remark, that dramatic poetry seems emphatically to belong to the earlier period of a nation's literary history; to that period when, untrammelled by rules, men feel keenly, and express themselves strongly. It was at such a period that the Greek tragedians arose, and all our great dramatic writers flourished. But when critics set about defining what a drama should be, and gave rules for its form, its style, its metre, it was then that writers, by dint of careful manufacture, elaborated what were called 'classical dramas;' Racine and Corneille produced their frigid

dialogues in five acts, and Mr. Addison his unreadable Cato, and instead of characters instinct with life, mere lay-figures, clad in the cumbrous drapery of prosing heroics, and made fine with the tinsel of mock sentiment, were presented to us.

Of late dramatic literature—we speak without reference to the stage—has become very popular; the natural result of a closer acquaintance with the works of our earlier poets, and a growing taste for their peculiar characteristics; and indications of a kindred spirit to theirs may, we think, be traced in much of our modern dramatic poetry. The poem before us, by a candidate hitherto 'unknown to fame,' is proof of this; for, in turning over its pages, we have again and again been struck with the remarkable similarity of style, of thought, even of rhythm, to the noble productions of our old dramatists.

The subject of this religious drama is the conversion and martyrdom of Vivia Perpetua, a noble lady of Carthage, whose name still retains a place in our calendar, and it opens with a spirited scene before the portico of her father's house, which introduces to us the state of public affairs at Carthage, the discontent of the people at their Epicurean prefect Hilarianus, and the ambitious views of Vivius, whose hatred to the christians is only exceeded by his passionate love for that daughter, now a young widow, and residing with her infant son beneath his roof, who, unsuspected by him, has already become one of them. Her character is finely drawn,—calm, earnest, imaginative; as her father says—

> 'Beneath the gentleness that you call mild,
> There is a depth nor you nor I can sound.'

And her first soliloquy is very fine.

> 'It cannot be, that I, whose heart was wont
> To live upon my lips like any child's,
> Should now begin a life externe, untrue,
> Now that this great Reality hath come
> To wake renewing life within, that gives
> A fuller impulse to my every thought—
> A growth so sensible that days seem years
> To pass me onward. Yesterday, scarce woman,
> Weak, poor, unknowing God, save in my fear—
> To-day, a soul adoring him with love.
> Yet what to do? This silence grows too great;
> Hath it not even now press'd on the sense
> To find a speech in phantoms? * *
> Whence?—O Heaven!
> Is it thy mute reproach unto my silence?
> To break it—how? To say unto my father,
> I am a christian! Oh, 'twere easier far

To speak those words unto assembled Carthage
Than one should even raise a doubt in him!
I cannot, while he stands full in the sun,
A child for hopefulness, a man for strength,
I cannot play the tempest to his joy,
And smite him to the earth.'—p. 18.

The entrance of two friends, Nola, the companion of her girlhood, and Cæcilius, arouse her, and they endeavour in vain to discover the cause of her anxiety.—

NOLA.

'Vivia, how tam'd you are! Do you forget,
How once we watch'd the legions as they pass'd,
And plann'd the different garlands we would weave
To grace their conquest?

VIVIA.

Years on years ago,
That ages seem, now I look back on them.

NOLA.

May be; but 'tis not years ago that we
Did sit together on the shore, and you—
I see you now—look'd dreamily o'er the water,
Speaking the while of Dido;—you were fain
To invoke a god to bid her galley float
Again upon that sea, as once it did,
To bear her to your sight and to your love;
And then you said your heart was big as hers,
And could, like hers, pour out its dearest blood,
Give you a cause: and when I minded you
That deeds like hers beseemed men, or matrons,
And not us maidens, straight you look'd away,
As you would rather have, instead of me,
The long blue line of ocean for a friend:—
And you to shrink from listening to a war-song!
But so you always were—so inconsistent!

VIVIA.

Queen of my childhood! how, through all the gloom
Of ages rising up 'twixt then and now,
How pure and white she stands! as one might see
Down a long cypress-grove a marble statue.
'Twas not the letting out of Dido's life;—
I ne'er did see the might of such an act,
Although my father oft hath vaunted it
In some great name, whose history might end,
'He knew not what to do with life, and died!'
Why, Nola, it was Peace—this very Peace
She would secure her people—kiss'd the steel
Ere Dido struck it home; while truest love,

That sav'd its own from wrong, look'd on and smiled.
That perfect deed of death it was that seal'd
Her people's safety and her soul's dear honor.
Oh, fond and faithful blood!—might not that stream
Be chronicled in heaven for baptism?'—pp. 25, 26.

The second act exhibits her increasingly anxious to make a ıblic profession of christianity, but still uncertain in what way ı do it. Her interview with the christian teacher Saturus ɔounds in fine passages; when Vivia asks how he became a ıristian he replies—

'The dawn doth come
Before the sun ariseth to the sight.
Man's soul hath many chords, like yonder lyre,
Which, separately struck, yield out a tone
That is not music, but the help to it;
Or, with more aptness to my thought, say this,—
The natural wind passing athwart the strings
Whispers of what the master's hand alone
Can render into fullest harmony.
So seemeth me a voice hath breath'd in man
Oracular since first he was created:
This bade the rude barbarian of the forest
To lift up longing eyes unto the sky
(The speckled intervals between the leaves)
To read the hope of better life and lands;
This swell'd the burden of old prophecy;
Taught calm philosophy to stretch beyond
Her measur'd track to reach the prophet's strain.
The poet heard it, and did wing his way,
The more divine his song, the nearer heaven;
And in our own old faith it hath enfolded
Some types of the 'to come,' which now thou hast;
Art, while she listen'd to the poet's lyre,
Did then create her fairest in those forms,
That thron'd on radiant clouds, high o'er our heads,
The souls of those once here, beatified
Into the deities of Greece or Rome.

VIVIA.

When spake the voice to thee?

SATURUS.

First in the night
(When silence else was angel of the hour,)
While poring o'er those yet illumin'd scrolls,—
The urns that shrine the poet's burning thoughts,—
From whence, the while we glowing contemplate,
New thought springs phœnix-like from out their ashes.
Of him I read, that glorious Titan old,

Stronger than Strength, master of strenuous Force,
Whose spirit urg'd endurance through his frame,
In mightier torrent than the blood his life.'—pp. 55—57.

And the fine mythos of Prometheus awakened in his mind a tumult of earnest and dissatisfied thoughts. He rejected the worship of 'the Thunderer,' 'yet where and whom to seek' was his anxious inquiry.

'Then rose the gloom of doubt; for when I saw
Oppression crush down man with iron foot,
And tyranny make strong iniquity,
And no redeemer for man's misery,
Save in one poet's solitary fable,
Sad eyes, despairing of a deity,
Turn'd vaguely upward to the azure heav'ns
As empty of all governance for man.

VIVIA.

There is a thought—say, would it be a sin
To track a mystery?

SATURUS.

Woe for the truth,
Had every mystery remain'd untrack'd!

VIVIA.

There are some mysteries, I scarce begin
To thread them, but from out them up springs love,
Flies through them like a bird along a grove,
And sings them to forgetfulness, in joy.
But one e'en now doth come to hold her mute:
Oppression yet doth crush with iron foot,
And tyranny makes strong iniquity,
Though a Redeemer hath appear'd for man,
Who bade us look to heaven for a God
Who made us, loves us, bids us love each other;
Our will is happiness for those we love,—
Our power is so much weaker than our will;—
But love omnipotent?——

SATURUS.

I do believe,
Were love omnipotent within ourselves,
Woe were extinct. I cannot answer thee—
I am but man, while He is God o'er all.
Yet as a man show manliness in this,
That I will trust the Pow'r hath given me all,
Nor meanly scant my thankfulness with doubt.
The mystery sleeps, while Faith, with arms afold
Over a trusting heart, sits smiling by.
It sleeps, o'ercanopied by starry heavens,
And cradled in earth's beauty.

VIVIA.

But are there really those who have no God?
All have some faith, some hope, a lingering wish,
Or a bare possible,—that is one step
Out of the nothingness that else were theirs.

SATURUS.

No, there are those who rather would be nothing
Than that another should stand high above them.
He is your atheist, who would make himself
An individual god unto himself—
Will brook no thought of equal with himself;
But, rather than confess a mystery,
Lest it should fix him with an ignorance,
Would coldly stand and watch the birth of worms
Out of the corpses of his wife and children,
Content with this—'you see all elements
Return unto their own.'—Ask thy child's smile—
Thy joy at seeing it—Is't dust? is't worm?
O man, that will not own nor God nor heav'n,
Because thou canst not spare from self a worship!'—pp. 58—61.

At length he heard the christians every where spoken against.

'I never yet did hear a hot abuse
But that some good had been its provocation;
For in itself abuse is so much wrong,
It gives fair aspect to its opposite.
Thus, when I heard the Christian faith beset
With venomous thoughts, and the tongue's sharpest arrows
Levelled the while at acts that spoke to me
Like loving voices, listen'd for, for years,
I turn'd me full to meet it face to face;
And, lo! my soul was stricken with a God!
O, blessed stroke! O lyre, that sounded then
Beneath the Master's hand full harmony!
O love, that shone so bright o'er all the world,
That every man seem'd image of a God!
He dwelleth not in temples made with hands;
The temples of the living Lord are ye;
His kingdom is within you. Thus for me,
From that time forth, did every human form
Stand for a living shrine of Deity.
How dark soe'er, no fire upon the altar,
Still was it man—man capable of God!'—pp. 62, 63.

The christian teacher now leaves his neophyte, promising that she shall join his congregation that night in the cave where they meet for worship. Saturus has, however, been discovered by a Jew, who hastens to inform the prefect, and Vivia

meets her brother christians for the first and the last time. The following extract is almost too long for insertion, but we cannot injure its beauty by farther curtailment.

'*A cave of sepulchre dimly lighted.*

TERTIUS, POMPONIUS, SATURNINUS, SECUNDULUS, TESTUS, *and others.*

(*They sing.*)

O ye fearful shepherds,
Watchers in the night,
When the heav'ns open'd
Darkness into light;
Little knew ye who was he,
The Saviour of the world to be,
Lord of men and angels; when
Rang their song throughout the sky—
Glory be to God on high;
Peace on earth, good-will to men!

Enter SATURUS, VIVIA, *and* FELICITAS.

O we happy Christians,
Watchers in the night,
Joyful to our darkness
Comes the heavenly light;
For we know the Lord to be,
The Saviour of the world is he,
Let us with the angels, then,
Sing that song yet in the sky—
Glory be to God on high;
Peace on earth, good-will to men!

TERTIUS.

What voice ariseth like a flame amongst us?

SATURUS.

A fiery voice is calling from without,
The voice of danger.

SECUNDULUS.

Lo! our teacher comes.

SATURUS.

To bring a twofold gift—knowledge of peril,
And new example how to meet it bravely.
Say I aright?

VIVIA.

I will not fail.

POMPONIUS.

The edict!

They have proclaim'd—

SATURUS.

They have; e'en now I heard it
Read o'er a gleaming watch-fire in the Forum;
Mutter'd! the words came hurriedly and low,
Scarce taking aim beyond the speaker's ear.
Soldiers, with glittering eyes and ready arms,
Savage and grim, show'd in the lurid light
As ready for their prey;—the place, the time,—
This dragging of the law from out its sleep,—
Betokens instant act.

TERTIUS.

Let us disperse!
Some take the eastern way, and some the west.

SATURUS.

Tarry!—nor fly ye like to timid sheep;
But meet the hour like men. Behold, my brothers,
Vivia Perpetua!——Lo! that fragile form
Roots firmly to the earth, as it would raise
An immortality from out dead dust!
E'en from the paleness of resolved brows,
Ye timorous, gather strength, and bid your own
Now fix with purpose of a settled soul.

VOICES.

What should we do?

SATURUS.

For Christ? Oh, what for him,
Who waits for us in heaven? To hear his voice
Say, 'Come to me ye blessed of my Father;
Well done, ye faithful servants of the Lord!'
What will ye do for Christ? Oh, what for him,
Ye whom he chose for his elect; ye poor
Whose daily bread is earn'd by daily toil?
What for him,
Ye slaves, redeem'd to freedom evermore;
A freedom charter'd in his book of life,
Sealed with his precious blood? Oh, what for him,
Who, though apart in mighty isolation
Of his most high supremacy with God,
Did yet draw nearer to us in his love
Than e'en the mothers who did give us birth.
Oh, answer! put your hearts into your speech,
And warrant both by act. Oh, what for him,
Our sovereign Lord, our Counsellor, our Friend!

SATURNINUS.

Or fight or die for him.

SECUNDULUS.

Or lay down life without one sigh for him,
As willingly as though it were his sleep,
Who, freed from toil or taunt, did lay him down
Under the willows, where the wind-swept harps
Still echoed true the praises of his God
By Babylon's sad waters. Rest—in him!

TERTIUS.

'A crown of glory is the hoary head!'
So spake the Psalmist. At the foot of Christ
I lay this earthly crown, praying of him
To grant a heavenly, even though the cost
Be martyrdom.

POMPONIUS.

And I these lustier limbs
And longer term of days. We die but once,
But through his grace we live for evermore.

FELICITAS.

I would I had a better life to offer;
Mine is too poor to give
To him who came to save
The stricken slave;
To bid us rise
From death in dust like this, to meet him in the skies!

Christ, I will live for thee,
As thou for me!
Christ, I will die
Bleeding for thee, as thou for me on Calvary!

SATURUS.

And Testus hath no voice?—he hath a life.

TESTUS.

I 'm loath, sir, now to part with it; I scarce
Do want a better: all goes different.
There's no more darkness now within the mine;
I seem to take the daylight down with me;
The pickaxe and the spade ply all so light,
They clink a pleasant tune; and I the while
Sing by the side of them the hymn that says,
There is a Lord above us, who doth love
E'en the poor miner well as other men.

Christ loves the poor;
Unto his door
He bids us knock and enter, ne'er denies us.
He asks no payment
For food or raiment;
But without price or money, all he buys us.

He knows our want,
He ne'er doth scant;
The oftener we beg, the more he giveth.
The more we crave,
The more we have;
And what from him we have, it ever thriveth.

Oh, poor estate,
By love so great
Made rich in goods beyond all earthly glory!
Where'er I go,
Above, below,
Still shall the Lord of love be all my story.

SATURUS.

Keep to that tune when they would question thee.

TESTUS.

I 'm poor of speech; there's nothing more to say.

SATURUS.

Now let us part;—perchance no more to meet
Till we are one in heaven with our Father.
Let us not hymnless go for the first time,
When we may mingle voices for the last!
Oh, give me this reward for all the care
Hath watch'd your growing souls,—for all the love
That still can only reckon it as joy;—
With unperturbed hearts, with souls resolv'd,
With voices steadied by a holy trust,—
Once more the hymn that we so oft have sung,
As now—when light was gaining on the darkness.
Brothers, once more! then all depart in peace.

[*They all sing.*

Part in peace! Christ's life was peace,—
Let us breathe our breath in him!
Part in peace! Christ's death was peace,—
Let us die our death in him!
Part in peace! Christ promise gave
Of a life beyond the grave,
Where all mortal partings cease.
Part in peace! [*They separate.*
(*Echo.*) Peace!'

In the subsequent scenes, the traditionary story of Vivia Perpetua is closely followed. She is consigned to prison, brought before the prefect, and, refusing to burn incense to Jupiter, is condemned to death. On her return to prison she consoles her fellow prisoners by relating the vision she has seen. Her young friend Cæcilius and her father now visit her for the last time; Vivius says—

'I am older many years since yester morn.
I was before that time a man nam'd Vivius,
A happy father, who did read his hopes
Upon the noble brows, and, as he thought,
The most true brows, of a beloved daughter!
I am—I know not what. And when I ask
Help of the outward universe to bring
Back to myself the former consciousness,
The sun shuts up the while I look on him;
The stars all hurry past me while I pray;
The earth sinks from my feet: all false! all false!

VIVIA.

No bitterness now!

VIVIUS.

No bitterness?—gods,
No bitterness! [*He weeps.*

VIVIA.

My father, that thou couldst
Crowd all thyself at once into one thought!
Think of the faith—look on me as I stand,
A creature anguished at thy agony,—
How far beyond the morrow's suffering!—
One who hath lost even the few brief hours
She reckoned as her own, to tend her child;
Then think upon the faith that bids my heart
Have yet beneath it all a hope as calm
As were his lids, when last I parted from him.
Whence come such miracle—of whom such faith?

VIVIUS.

Faith! faith!—is that the word?—and miracle!
Yes!—that thy tongue would stir to speak the word!
What is thy faith?—a lie. What are its fruits?
What made thee false to me?

VIVIA.

No more! forbear!
I see, though thou dost not, God's angel stand
Sheltring my hope in thee. Who was it in my youth
Did crown our Dido empress of my soul,
For that she gave her blood for double worth,—
A faith unbroken, and her people's good?
Did tell me of the wife of Asdrubal,
How that she lov'd the honor of her Carthage
More than her life, and leapt from off the walls
Giving herself, her children, to the flames?
My Carthage is the world! I do but stretch
The line they held—Christ guiding still my hand,
Who first did point the way.

VIVIUS.

And can it be
Thou art that very child so oft hath stood
Between my knees to listen to those old tales?
Oh for that child again!

VIVIA.

I am that child
In all that's simple truth. It was your wont
To question, that an answering lisp might come
Of names, of things, almost too large for one
Of infant speech. Ask me of this,—what is it?
Why, I should say, it is a water-cruise;
I know it that, and could not say it other.
I could no more deny to those who ask
Of me, what am I;—I do know myself
A Christian, and must say I am a Christian.'—pp. 174—177.

Her death occupies the following scene; and her brother, Attilius, abjures the gods, while Cæcilius stands by.

The tradition, as probably the reader is aware, was, that Cæcilius became a presbyter, and in after years numbered among his proselytes the celebrated Cyprian, who was believed to have been Vivia Perpetua's child.

It is some time since we met with such fine and truly dramatic poetry as we find in this work; and it is a long time, indeed, since we have met with so beautiful a *religious* poem. Again and again have we been vexed and sorry to remark the tame commonplace, or mawkish sentimentality, which nine-tenths of the poems on religious subjects exhibit; we therefore welcome 'Vivia Perpetua' with no common pleasure, and wish the writer abundant success in the difficult, but lofty path she has chosen.

Art. V. *A History of the Reformation on the Continent.* By GEORGE WADDINGTON, D.D., Dean of Durham. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Duncan and Malcolm. 1841.

DR. WADDINGTON is already favorably known to our readers as the author of the best, and, indeed, we may almost say, only manual of early church history of which our literature has to boast. For that work we are indebted to the enterprising Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. It is certainly not a little curious that a society, the institution of which was regarded by a not inconsiderable faction as having

an ominous aspect on religion, and whose publications it was predicted would be only the vehicles of a subtle infidelity, should have been the first to put into the hands of common readers an elementary work of Ecclesiastical History, conceived and written in a spirit of great earnestness and sobriety, indicating a devout sense of the truth of christianity and of the responsibility of the task the writer had undertaken, entirely free from the sneers and sarcasms which the portentous absurdities recorded in all faithful ecclesiastical annals so naturally excite, not to say, justify, and in which a writer of Gibbon's stamp must ever delight to indulge; and, lastly, characterized generally by a vein of commendable impartiality and liberality.

That work was certainly not without defects—though they were far from such as those enemies of the Society whose creed still is, that ignorance is the mother of devotion, might anticipate. They were defects of execution, in part inseparable from the mode of publication—that of *numbers*. It is almost impossible that any thing like the punctuality, which the periodical mode of publication requires, should be preserved without serious injury to the work so produced. Sometimes the forthcoming number must be completed with haste; sometimes, to meet the approaching day of payment, there is a temptation to write more fully on those points which are most familiar and most easy, and to slur over those which demand further investigation and reflection; sometimes, even to beg, borrow, or steal the matter which the author has not time enough to collect and digest by his own industry; in almost every case we find, before such a work is completed, the scale of proportional parts broken, redundancies in one place and deficiencies in another, marks of haste and weariness; crudities which certainly would have been digested, and omissions which would certainly have been supplied, had not the painful thought continually intruded, that the promissory note was becoming due, and must somehow or other be provided against.

The defects in Dr. Waddington's 'History of the Church' are, we apprehend, principally to be accounted for by the mode of publication. We have never seen any other than the edition originally published, and therefore do not know how far the said deficiencies are supplied in the subsequent edition of three volumes. At the same time we must say, that we do not think the work, even as originally published, was adequately appreciated by a certain leading Review; it was certainly far from justifying the severity of the strictures which were passed upon it there.

The present work will do no discredit to Dr. Waddington's previous reputation. It is in many respects decidedly superior to the 'History of the Church.' Yet we could have wished

that its publication had been for a while delayed. Though not issued, like his last, in *numbers*, it is not complete. Our author announces a fourth volume, and we think it would have benefited the three which have already been published, had they been delayed till its completion. Opportunity would have been given for another revision, in those intervals of time when the mind is wearied with original composition, or the laborious researches which precede it. We know not whether the custom of meeting the demands of periodical publication, or at all events of putting forth his thoughts in fragments, has given our author habits of haste, or made him impatient of the tediousness of the 'limæ labor;' or whether, as is known to be the case with some authors, he is incapable of waiting till he has seen the whole of a long work in MS., and must be cheered by the sight of at least a portion in type. Let no one who is altogether ignorant of the toils of authorship laugh at this notion; it is a very natural one, and if Dr. Waddington be a stranger to it, there are many who are not.

Or is it that our author hastened his publication on account of the appearance or announcement of several works, original or translated, more or less bearing upon this subject; such, more especially, as Ranke's History of the Popes, and above all, M. D'Aubigné's very powerful and animated history of the same period treated in the present volumes?

But though we should certainly have been better pleased to have the work at once complete, and though we cannot help thinking that an additional revision would not have been thrown away upon the volumes already published, our readers must not suppose that the inadvertencies which might have been thus corrected, or the defects which might have been thus supplied, are in our judgment of any great importance, or that the work would have been in any substantial respect different from what it is. That the style would have been in many places improved; that there would have been in some places more condensation, and in others greater elegance, we have no doubt. We do not think that Dr. Waddington has always written his very best.

In other and more important respects, it gives us great satisfaction to be able to speak in terms of strong approbation. It is no hasty work—it is no partial one. It has been the slow product of the leisure hours of many years; and, as the references to original authorities and the citations from them will serve to show, must have occupied very considerable time. It is written throughout in a fine spirit of historic equity, and we will also add, in a decidedly religious tone; with a due sense of the value and importance of those great principles of evangelical truth which it was the glory of the Reformation to recover

and establish. On this, as well as other accounts, we cordially hail the appearance of the present work, and of works like it; more especially that of M. D'Aubigné; they cannot but tend to diffuse more correct notions than the generality of our countrymen entertain respecting the true spirit of the Reformation, and the corruptions of the Romish church; and, as a consequence, to counteract the pestilential influences of those Oxford theologians whose ambition it is to be the apologists of Rome and the libellers of the Reformation.

All the important events in the lives of Luther and Zwingle (and the whole history is necessarily little else than the biography of these two illustrious men) are related in this work with great fulness, and occasionally great vivacity. The latter quality is further increased by the judicious citations which are every where made from their writings, more especially from the voluminous collections of their epistolary correspondence. And though in this one respect Dr. Waddington's work will hardly compete with the remarkably animated narrative of M. D'Aubigné, there is unquestionably greater sobriety about the style. Though his manner may be less graphic, history can literally vouch for all he tells us. M. D'Aubigné's pencil sometimes gives a little dash which, however picturesque the effect may be, and however it may leave the substantial facts just as they were, tells us more than we absolutely know. The reflections of both are for the most part distinguished by great solidity, though perhaps in this respect Dr. Waddington's work has the superiority. In the estimate formed of the characters of the two great reformers, both the German and the English historian are entitled to much praise, yet we cannot but prefer that of Dr. Waddington. Less distinctness, less depth, less light and shade, less brilliancy of coloring there may be in Dr. Waddington's portraits, but they are, if we mistake not, more like life. His judgment of the part Luther took is, in particular, marked by the greatest impartiality; much as he evidently admires him, he never conceals or extenuates one of his many failings.

Yet—shall we own it?—we should have been glad to see a few more references to M. D'Aubigné's work in that which is now under review. One or two we have noticed, but they are very few, and merely references. Now one is quite confident that Dr. Waddington must have read the work, and was probably under some obligations to it. Is it that Dr. Waddington had already advanced far in his own work before M. D'Aubigné's appeared, or that he, being like the Genevan historian, conscious that he had not gone to any second-hand authorities, but had in every case consulted original documents for himself, was unwilling to give his work the appearance of being in great

measure second-hand, by too frequent or too laudatory a reference to his spirited contemporary? Sure we are of one thing, that the omission, if it be one, is not the effect of jealousy or envy. Dr. Waddington's whole manner is that of a strictly impartial man. It is impossible to read the following beautiful and almost touching paragraphs from his preface without believing this, or without entering on the work to which they serve as an introduction with at all events a feeling of cordial respect. It is equally impossible that an historical work written in any thing approaching the spirit indicated in them can be without considerable value.

'It is with much anxiety and diffidence that I submit this production to the public. The subject is one of great magnitude and difficulty, and very peculiar talents are required for its perfect treatment. Yet as many thought that our national literature is almost discreditably defective in this department, and as I was not uninstructed in the earlier annals of the church, nor unpractised in historical investigation, I ventured to undertake the task. I have pursued it amidst other important occupations, through seven assiduous years, with moderate powers, indeed, but with the single predominant purpose of doing justice and speaking truth; and I have not been negligent in imploring that succour without which all our powers and purposes are vain. These considerations, by protecting me from self-reproach, will enable me to bear with equanimity the censures of others—censures which will not, however, be hastily admitted or lightly advanced by any man who has trodden the same paths in the same spirit with myself; who has toiled through the long and often obscure, and not always attractive records of those perplexed ages, with no partial, or polemical, or sectarian object; who knows how scanty are the fruits when compared with the labor of collecting them; and who will doubtless have learned, if not from his own experience, at least from the lapses of the ablest of his predecessors, that the most cautious attention will not always preserve the most vigilant inquirer from inadvertency and error.'

The History of the Reformation in Germany is in fact little more than the history of one man; of him who was the mainspring of the whole movement—who originated and who sustained it. Never before or since was such influence exerted, or such changes produced, by the agency of a single individual. If we look at the original condition of that man our astonishment is increased: the great revolution was commenced and conducted to a prosperous issue by an obscure ecclesiastic—by simple brother Martin of Wittemberg! If we look at the means he employed, our astonishment still increases; it was by means most alien from all the habits and customs of those fierce and barbarous times, in which physical force and military violence had long been the sole instruments of great revolutions.

The means which Martin Luther resorted to were wholly moral; he disclaimed every other; his weapons were the pen—the tongue—argument—protest—incessant controversy; his words were warlike and his hands peaceful; it was the opposition of passive resistance and the 'irresistible might of weak-'ness.' Again and again did Martin Luther declare,—and it was one of the greatest proofs he gave both of sagacity and christian principle,—that a resort to force must be fatal—that all violence must injure the cause and impede the triumph of evangelical truth. Such was his constant doctrine to his old and faithful protector, the Elector Frederick, and to his brother John who succeeded him; such was it when the 'war of the pea-'sants' broke out, and when he showed himself so solicitous to purge himself from all possible suspicion of sympathizing with their insane madness, as to be justly chargeable with having urged the civil power to needless severity in suppressing the rebellion; such, during the deplorable excesses of Munzer and his associates; and such, lastly, when the zealous Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, proposed to the Elector of Saxony and various other princes of the empire, the formation of a defensive league against that formidable conspiracy which menaced the reformers with destruction. At that moment, when unquestionably the cause and the persons of the reformers were in great peril, when there did seem good reason to believe that the emperor would be induced to league with the pope for their utter extirpation, the language of Luther was unaltered, his protest against physical violence as decisive as ever, and his confidence in the power and ultimate triumph of those great principles to which he had hitherto restricted his appeal, as firm as when he faced the Diet of Worms.

We have said that the History of the Reformation in Germany is little more than the history of one man, and that never before or since was so much achieved by a single individual. Luther's portrait almost fills the great historic picture; or rather, if we imagine the events of the period represented in a *series* of pictures, he is found to be the centre and principal figure of each group. To him all eyes were turned; to him all looked for counsel in difficulty, for encouragement under temporary discomfiture; they gathered confidence and energy from his bold and fearless bearing, from his vivid and trumpet-like appeals. Never was any man more completely the life and soul of a great party.

Far enough is it from our purpose, however, to represent the Reformation as taking place solely because such a man as Luther appeared at that period. We are merely regarding him as an instrument—though an exquisitely adapted instrument

—for bringing about an event which must have shortly taken place whether Luther had lived or not. Demosthenes told the Athenians, on the report that Philip of Macedon was dead, that it little mattered to them, inasmuch as their indolence would soon raise up another Philip. In like manner might the church of Rome have been told, that if Luther had never been born or his persecutors had succeeded in transforming the reformer into a martyr, as had been the case with so many before him, she would soon have raised up another Luther. The corruptions of the papacy had become greater than either God or man could longer endure, and very intelligible signals of a coming revolution—audible mutterings of the threatened storm, had already been heard in various parts of Europe long before Luther affixed his celebrated theses to the gates of the church of All Saints at Wittemberg. He had had not a few forerunners; such was Wickliffe, our bright 'morning star of reformation;' such the martyred Huss and Jerome of Prague; such the victims of the Council of Constance. The same thing was equally evident from the ridicule which the poets of our own and other countries so unsparingly poured on the impositions and absurdities of the papal church; as, for example, Dante and Chaucer. At a later period, the lampoons against the ignorance, the frauds, the licentiousness of the monks became still more caustic, as shown in the writings of Erasmus (who in this respect did good yeoman's service on behalf of the Reformation), and in the 'Epistolæ 'Obscurorum Virorum' of Ulric Von Hütter. No institutions can endure long which the community are taught to laugh at; and there must therefore have inevitably been some sort of a reformation of *manners* in the church, if not of *doctrine.* But most probably it would have stopped there; there would have been only such a reformation as satire can hope to effect—a reformation confined to manners—to the restoration of something like decency on the part of the inferior ecclesiastical orders, leaving doctrine untouched, and the great seeds of all abuses uneradicated: and thus in a few years, even if such partial reformation had taken place, things might soon have reverted to their old position, and the noxious weeds having been only cut down, not grubbed out, might again have overspread the soil.

The Reformation was what it was—thorough, radical, extending to doctrine as well as to manners, purifying the fountains as well as the streams, only from the character of the man who originated it. We cannot doubt, indeed, that if Luther had not been born, or had perished early in the conflict, some other instrument closely resembling him would have been raised up by the providence of God. But the emergency clearly needed a distinct instrumentality—'a new threshing instru-

'ment,' to use an expressive image of prophecy—and Luther was the man.

While we deny that a reformation could have been long postponed, we do affirm that to Luther, and to Luther only, is to be attributed the extent, the thoroughness, the grandeur of that which actually took place. A striking proof of the degree in which the great revolution was dependent upon the peculiar agent God had commissioned to produce it, is found in the fact, insisted upon by Mr. Waddington, that the Reformation has remained nearly stationary since his death. With him it began, and by him was completed; the people he made Protestant, indeed, still remain so—his work, so far as it went, possessed stability, but it has not advanced. Other instruments, in good measure resembling him, must be raised up before the principles of the Reformation can be effectually introduced into those countries which are still strangers to them; and especially into those which were then and are still cursed by the double curse of civil despotism and papal tyranny. Dr. Waddington's reflections on this subject are well worthy of attention.

'But the most remarkable fact in the history of the Reformation, and, in my opinion, one of the most so in the history of the world, still remains to be mentioned—that the limits which the Reformation won while Luther lived, were very nearly those which divide the two religions at this day. Almost all that was accomplished before his death endured; almost all that was afterwards achieved was wrested back again by Rome.

'The enthusiasm of a single generation attained, under his guidance, the prescribed boundaries. No exertions of his disciples, no reverence for his name and virtues, no wider diffusion of faith, and knowledge, and civilization, and commercial activity, and philosophical truth, during the course of three centuries of progressive improvement, have made any lasting additions to the work which he left. Such, as when it passed from the hands of its architect, or very nearly such, are its dimensions now. The form, indeed, is somewhat altered, and the part which he considered as exclusively sacred has been much narrowed by the change. But to the uncompromising, unrelenting enemy of Rome it was an immortal triumph, that he had extorted from her, with his own hands, all that she was ordained, so far as we have yet seen, to lose; and that he witnessed the utmost humiliation to which, even to this hour, it has pleased providence permanently to reduce her. It is not that the prolongation of his life would have enlarged his conquests. The Romans, indeed, and the monks, and all the hierarchy of Trent vented the most malicious exultation on the intelligence of his death. And even some reformers,—though Melanchthon deplored that event in the deepest tones of public and private sorrow,—yet some of the more pacific section of the reformers believed, that the only insuperable obstacle to a re-union with Rome was removed: so general

was the impression, even then, that the durability of the revolution was involved in the man who was God's ostensible instrument in producing it. But this was not so. Luther had fulfilled his office; he had placed the fabric on so solid a basis that it depended not even on himself for its safety. By the further continuance of an existence, which he no longer loved, he would have endured some fresh sufferings, both in body and spirit, but he could have effected no important good; and it was in mercy that he was called away, even when he was called to his everlasting habitation.'—Vol. iii. pp. 362.

We have said that even if Luther had never been born, it was impossible that the corruptions of the popedom could have been much longer endured, and that a reformation was in fact inevitable. Apart from this, nothing less than the utter extinction of christianity could have been the result of the downward course things had been long taking; it must have been absolutely lost in worse than heathen superstition on the part of the people, in downright infidelity and scepticism on the part of the priesthood. The latter were now fast learning to view christianity merely as a convenient instrument of self-aggrandizement or state-policy. Secret unbelief had already deeply infected the higher ecclesiastics—especially in Rome itself. It was the natural consequence of the whole influences at work upon them. Regarding the scene with an intelligent eye (the result of the revival of learning and literature, which took place while all true theology still awaited the resurrection morning of the Reformation), how could they do otherwise than despise the despicable mummeries by which the ignorant were befooled? and yet, while they despised, how could they bring their hearts to utter their contempt of the system which enriched them? The epicurean life of pleasure they led must have further strengthened this tendency to unbelief, not only as all vice hates all religious restraints, and seeks and finds a refuge in infidelity; not only as tending directly to alienate the mind from all serious inquiries which might terminate in the truth, but also as suggesting, not without reason, a doubt of the celestial origin of any system which heaven did not vindicate from such terrible abuses; which was so patient of insults; and which allowed a crafty priesthood to impose upon mankind such a yoke of superstitious oppression, for the benefit of those who secretly laughed at it. They nearly resembled, therefore, those philosophic infidels of Greece and Rome (except that the morals of those old heathens would have shamed those of their christian imitators,) who could speak reverently of the idolatrous rites and the fictitious deities of the vulgar, while, in their hearts, they despised them. The condition of the ecclesiastical infidels of Rome, however, was still worse; they traded in the credulity of the vulgar, plunged them, for their own sordid gain,

into still more deplorable superstition. There is surely no situation more terrible than that of the priest of any institute—the minister of any religion—standing with solemn looks at the altar, taking an awful and reverend part in impressive rites, and secretly laughing at them in contemptuous unbelief. Such a negation of all sincerity, such systematic and habitual treachery to truth, must soon end in perfect depravity, and invite to the indulgence of every vice. He who can do this—what can he not do? Open atheism is absolutely respectable to it. Accordingly we find that the ecclesiastics of Rome, and especially those immediately attached to the papal court, were sunk in the most horrible corruptions.

Secret unbelief — indeed scarcely secret except to the deluded populace—had deeply infected the higher orders of ecclesiastics. Luther was shocked beyond measure at the indications he every where found of it in that visit he paid to Rome, while still a zealous catholic, and he makes allusion to the notorious state of things there in the following passage of his Commentary on the Galatians.

'If,' says he, 'they [the papists] could, without the name of Christ, hold that seat and kingdom [of Rome], no doubt but they would express him to be such an one *openly* as in their hearts they esteem him *secretly*. They esteem him a great deal less than the Jews do, who at least think him to be a 'thief worthily hanged upon the cross.' But these men account him as a fable, and take him as a feigned God among the Gentiles, as it may plainly appear at Rome, in the pope's court, and almost throughout all Italy.'

We have said that the mind of Luther was exquisitely adapted to the work he was destined to achieve. It requires but a superficial inspection of the qualities of his character, and of the circumstances of his age, to perceive the truth of this assertion. A bold and fearless intellect was indeed necessary to examine the foundation of doctrines which had been held sacred for ages—to question which was deemed little less than impious—to deny them the height of blasphemy; which were surrounded by the most awful associations, and enforced by the most terrible superstition, itself armed with all power, civil and spiritual, to crush its victims. Luther's intellect was equal to the emergency.—Not less courage did it require to assert the conclusions to which he arrived in the face of such opposition—to stand alone for awhile, singular in his opinions, sustained only by his consciousness of truth and right, amidst the scorn and hatred, the threats and menaces of the whole world—in defiance of whatsoever was held awful, sacred, and venerable amongst men. His courage was equal to all this and more. It was strong enough to quell and silence

those occasional misgivings of his own heart, with which even he contemplated the work of demolition in which he was engaged, and from which he could not have been wholly free without being something more than man. 'Can it be that Luther alone is right and all the rest of the world wrong?' was a question which he himself tells us he sometimes put to his trembling and anxious bosom. Another quality, not less necessary, and for which he was eminently conspicuous, was decision,—promptitude of thought and action; and surely never, before or since, was this quality possessed in greater measure. Often, as at the Diet of Worms, he stood absolutely alone, and had to act in defiance of the threats of his enemies and the counsels and entreaties of his friends. There are no examples of the moral sublime more striking than those instances of decision of character in which Luther, taking counsel only of his own free and fearless nature, resorted to those critical steps on which the whole progress of the Reformation absolutely depended: as when he affixed his theses against indulgences on the doors of the church at Wittemberg; when he persevered in appearing at the Diet of Worms; and when, above all, he calmly threw into the flames the bull and decretals of the papal tyrant. To these instances many others might doubtless be added, scarcely less worthy of our admiration.—Equally necessary with the qualities on which we have already insisted, were the depth and earnestness of character which give intensity to all opinion and feeling, and render us tenacious of whatsoever we have once deliberately adopted. Luther possessed these qualities in perfection; never was a man animated by greater vehemence of character, and it was a quality intimately connected with almost all his excellencies and defects. Hence that warlike disposition by which he was distinguished; that inflexible, indomitable resolution with which he maintained whatsoever conclusions he arrived at.—All these qualities would have been comparatively useless without the highest powers of persuasion, more especially as the revolution he was to accomplish was to be wholly of a moral nature, and every appeal to physical violence out of the question. In this respect, the singular aptitudes of Luther for the task assigned to him are most obvious. Never probably was any man more wonderfully endowed with the power of popular impression,—with all the most essential characteristics, whether intellectual or physical, of the oratorical genius. To an imposing manner, a voice singularly clear, deep, and musical, a ready and fluent utterance, he added a command absolutely unexampled over his vernacular tongue, which indeed he may be said to have almost created; at all events he was the first to reclaim it from its rudeness, and to develop its hitherto unsuspected resources. His

sagacious and strictly practical intellect instinctively fastened on those arguments which could be most readily and powerfully exhibited to the popular mind, while the intensity and vehemence of his feelings habitually prompted that brief and startling energy of expression, which is the very soul of eloquence.

Such are a few, and but a few, of the points of correspondence between the character of Luther and the work assigned to him, and in the adaptation of the one to the other we gratefully recognize the wisdom and goodness of him who fits his agents for their great commission, 'who makes his angels spi-'rits, and his ministers a flame of fire.'

The most imposing events in the life of Luther are those connected with the controversy respecting indulgences, the Diet of Worms, the burning of the papal bull, and the Diet of Augsburg. But these, as being tolerably known to the generality of our readers, we shall pass by. In presenting them with one or two extracts from Dr. Waddington's important work, we shall confine ourselves to points less familiarly known.

The following brief account of Luther's interview with Gaetan and Miltitz, the papal nuncios, while there still remained hopes of conciliation, will show the position in which Luther stood at that comparatively early period. It was not till the publication of the celebrated bull, that the Rubicon was passed, and all hope of reconciliation abandoned. When he contemptuously threw that awful document into the flames, he must have made up his mind that the war was to be one of extermination. Gaetan reached Augsburg, where Luther was commanded to appear before him, in the year 1518; and the following is part of the interesting account of the interview between him and the reformer.

'When Gaetan adopted the character of an advocate, he placed himself in a false position, nor was he altogether unconscious that he did so. On the second day of the conference, Luther designated as a 'contention,'* the controversy which had been waged between them; on which the legate, with great mildness, and show of fatherly affection, corrected him. 'My son, I have not contended with you; it is not for that purpose that I sit here. My design is no more than to instruct you, and to listen to you with kindness, through the consideration which I have for the illustrious prince Frederick.' Nevertheless he persisted in mingling argument with authority, and colouring his demand for retractation by demonstrations of the errors to be retracted. This may have proceeded partly from an indulgent temper, of which the praise can scarcely be refused to him; partly from confidence both in the strength of his cause, and in his own powers of maintaining it;

* Satis fuisse, dicens, mecum anteriori die digladiatum.

partly and perhaps chiefly from the necessity of preserving at least some show of justice. In the heart of Germany, in the presence of free and enlightened and impartial witnesses, it was impossible to condemn the offender without some attempt at least to prove the offence. Among that people, the day was gone by in which the limits of orthodoxy could be defined by naked authority, and men of distinction irresponsibly consigned to chains or death. The dominion of mere brute force was at an end. The first principles of justice were on every side acknowledged. It became the Roman delegate to vindicate his proceedings—if possible by reason, if not, by sophistry. Thus much deference, at least, was demanded by the common sense and feelings of the German nation.

'Defeated in these three attempts to obtain his end by personal and public conference, unwilling to desist, and fearing to strike, the legate had immediate recourse to the more dangerous method of private negotiation. He determined to employ the influence of a common friend, where his own had failed. Scarcely was the last meeting over when he sent for Staupitz, and urged him with many expressions of good will towards 'his monk' (no longer his monk) to undertake the office of conciliation.* The latter professed his willingness. But as both parties were aware that Luther would require some satisfactory answer to his scriptural arguments, and as the vicar-general was no better provided with such answers than the legate, he entered on his task with no great hope of success. And such was the result. Luther repeated to his ancient patron his desire to yield as soon as ever the passages which he had alleged from scripture could be shown to have another meaning than that which he had assigned to them. Staupitz professed his inability to convict him of any error; and Luther asserted with courage and magnanimity the overruling obligation of conscience. 'He offers to guarantee me from disgrace! What better than everlasting disgrace is his who denies, through any fear of man, what he sincerely believes to be the truth?'

'His letters written to Spalatin and Carlostadt at this moment, exhibit the same righteous resolution: 'The legate will not allow me to make either a private or public defence. His desire, he says, is to act the part of a father, rather than of a judge; and yet he will hear nothing from me, but the words, 'I retract and acknowledge my error;' and these words I will never utter. . . . . He always styles me his dear son. I know how little that means. Still I doubt not I should be to him one of the dearest of men, if I would but utter the single word 'revoco.' But I will not become a heretic by denying the faith that has made me a Christian. Better far to be an outcast, to be anathematized, to perish at the stake.'

'The next advances, however, were made by Luther. On the 15th

* In the course of this dialogue Staupitz suggested to the legate the expediency of another public conference with Luther, on which the other very decidedly replied, 'Ego nolo amplius cum hâc bestiâ colloqui; habet enim profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite ejus.' 'I will converse no more with this beast, for he has deep-set eyes, and wonderful speculations in his head.'

of October he commissioned one of his friends, Dr. Winceslaus Link, to visit the cardinal, and mediate for the termination of the affair. Gaetan received the message with his wonted courtesy, and continued to express the most friendly disposition towards the culprit; and on this occasion he confined his demands to the retractation of the first article, not doubting that the question on faith would admit of some common interpretation and compromise. On hearing this last suggestion, even the moderate Staupitz regretted that the speech had not been taken down before witnesses, to the end that all the world might know in how much higher esteem gold is held at Rome than faith.'* —vol. i. p. 163, 164.

Luther, finding the negotiations altogether fruitless, and not choosing to trust himself any longer with the too often unscrupulous agents of Rome, secretly took his departure from Augsburg, whereupon Gaetan wrote a letter to the elector, plainly hinting that the audacity of Luther conld only be accounted for by the supposition that he was secretly backed by the favor of that prince, and exhorting Frederick to act a loyal and obedient part towards the Roman see. To this letter Luther replied.

'The elector did not receive this letter till the 19th of November. He forwarded it instantly to Luther, and the latter replied to it on the same day. In this very eloquent and even dignified composition (addressed to Frederick) he entered at some length of explanation into the particulars briefly alleged by Gaetan, and mentioned some circumstances, and made some observations, which are embodied in the account contained in the preceding chapter. He denied that he had offered the legate any deliberate disrespect, while he complained of the overbearing authority which commanded him to retract without exhibiting any proof of his error. He offered to defend his doctrines, and challenged his adversaries to a public disputation, within the states, or under the safe conduct of the elector. At the same time he skilfully exculpated the latter from the charge of having been privy to the publication of his theses, or of having shown in this last affair any undue favour towards himself, or any distrust towards the legate. He expressed his deep sensibility to such slanders upon his prince. He extolled with great warmth the singular acuteness of his understanding, 'that most penetrating judgment which is formidable even to the most learned, and with which providence has distinguished the genius of the elector Frederick before that of every man of his age.' Above all, he professed his own determination to suffer any evil rather than compromise the honor or fidelity of his sovereign. 'It is my earnest desire and prayer that you may in all respects adhere to the church and the pope, though you should in all respects be opposed to me. The only thing I ask for myself, nay rather for the sacred truth, for the honor of the church, of the pontiff, of the most reverend cardinal, and even

* 'Romæ plus æstimari pecuniam quam fidem.'—Seckendorf, l. i. 18, xxxvii.

for your own good report, is this,—that some publication be made of those reasons and authorities by which my error is supposed to be proved. For to condemn me without these would not be very honorable either to you, or to the pope, or to the church, or to the legate himself. The faithful live—Christ lives—nay there live even men who can judge this matter.

'' As to the admonition of the legate, that you should either send me to Rome, or eject me from your dominions, since they will prosecute the cause at Rome, ... I am not altogether reluctant to go into exile, for I see snares every where set for me by my enemies, nor can I live in safety any where. Poor and humble monk as I am, what is there that I can hope for? What is there that I have not to fear? What may not I expect from my fears, when these people do not hesitate to offer so signal an insult to you—a very powerful prince, an elector of the sacred Roman empire, a distinguished supporter of the Christian faith—to you—who have deserved so much better of them —as to threaten you with some fearful calamity unless you send me to Rome, or into banishment? On which account, that no sort of evil may befall you through me, which least of all things I should wish, behold, I forsake your dominions, go whithersoever a merciful God shall call me, and commit myself to his divine will under every contingency. There is nothing that I less desire than that any mortal, and least of all yourself, should fall into any odium or any danger, on account of me.

'' Wherefore, most illustrious prince, I salute you with all reverence, and bid you a simple farewell, rendering you immortal thanks for the benefits you have conferred on me. Under whatever sun I may chance to dwell, I shall never be unmindful of you, nor ever cease to pray with sincerity and gratitude for the happiness of yourself and your subjects.'

' Luther repeated the same expressions in letters addressed to Spalatin about the same time. On the 25th of November he wrote as follows:—' I am expecting your censures on the answer that I have sent to the legate's letter; unless indeed you think it unworthy of any reply. But I am looking daily for the anathemas from Rome, and setting all things in order; so that when they arrive I may go forth prepared and girded like Abraham, ignorant whither I shall go—nay, rather well assured whither, for God is every where.' And again on December 2nd:—' Unless I had received your letter yesterday, I was ready for departure. And even now I am prepared for either resolution. The anxiety that people here show about me, surprises me, and is even greater than I can bear. Some insist strongly that I should deliver myself into the hands of the prince; that he should place me in some safe custody, and inform the legate that he holds me in readiness to come forward and plead my cause in any secure place. Whatever this counsel may be worth, I commit it to your prudence; for my own part, I am in the hands of God and my friends.'

' It should be remarked that Luther was extremely well advised in all these expressions and suggestions. Under the show of much disinterestedness he took precisely that course which was best suited to serve his purpose, by recommending him to the favor of the elector.'

—Vol. i. pp. 176, 177.

The following few but deeply interesting paragraphs, from the account of the negotiations of the artful and politic Miltitz, are all that we can afford to lay before the reader.

'Miltitz brought with him into Germany seventy papal briefs, to assist him in accomplishing the real object of his mission. He had briefs for the elector, his minister, and his secretary; briefs for the governor and magistrates of Wittemburg; others for the authorities of the different cities through which he might pass in his return—all directed against the person of the heretic—all designed to protect himself from violence, and his future prisoner from rescue. But scarcely had he crossed the Alps, when he found reason to fear that even these precautions would not serve him. As he made his further progress through the empire, carefully sounding, as he advanced, the dispositions of the people, his fears at every step were confirmed; and he presently came to the conviction, not only that his briefs were absolutely worthless, but that a powerful army would be necessary for the escort of his captive. This conviction was established by a fact not lost upon his observation, that the late indulgence-bull, notwithstanding the clause against the intemperance of the preachers, had been ill received throughout the country, and that few were found who bought the wares.... The first overtures of the nuncio towards Luther, as well as the electoral court, breathed nothing but conciliation and friendship. He approved his zeal in denouncing the enormities of the quæstors; he remarked with great mildness upon some irreverent expressions into which he had been betrayed towards the holy see; and he promised entire forgiveness whensoever they should be retracted. To the ministers of Frederick he expressed the perfect respect of the pope, as proved by the present of the Golden Rose; while he pointed out the deplorable consequences of schism, and the evils which must follow the defence of opinions condemned by the apostolical authority. He demanded an interview with Luther, which, after some hesitation, was granted. It took place at Altenburg, in the house of Spalatin, in the beginning of January, 1519, and seemingly was conducted with some address by both parties. In the first place, Miltitz represented in very strong colors the disgrace and injury which Luther had inflicted on the Catholic church—how he had seduced the whole world from the service of the pope, and brought it over to himself. He proceeded to claim merit for having undertaken to mediate in that matter and propitiate the offended pontiff. He used towards Luther personally some flattering expressions, and even exaggerated his influence with the people: 'Oh, Martin,' he said, 'I thought that you had been some obsolete, decrepit theologian, who sat in his chimney-corner and meditated these disputations in solitude; but I see that you are yet young and vigorous. If I had five and twenty soldiers for escort, I doubt whether I could carry you away to Rome; for I inquired what people thought of you during my journey, and I found that for one who supported the pope, three sided with you against him.' He then exhorted him to retract whatever might have given offence, and pro-

mised on his part to secure the pardon of the pope. Luther urged on his own behalf, that, if a schism should unhappily be the result of this affair, the blame must rest with the pope, through whose connivance and concession the Archbishop of Mayence was plundering a christian people by a sale of indulgences, and that for no other purpose than to enable him to pay the said pope for a pallium and dispensations, necessary for his holding at the same time, and in defiance of the canons, two archbishoprics and a bishopric; that the good intentions of Leo himself had been perverted by the usurers of Florence, so far as to seek a share in this scandalous traffic; that another cause of the present confusion was the impudence and licentiousness of the quæstors; that the only remedy now applicable was to impose silence on both parties, and thus allow the dispute to bleed to death; that he for his part would most willingly repair any wrong that he might seem to have offered to the pope; that he would address to him a respectful letter in acknowledgment of his offence, and put forth a publication in which, while he explained and justified his own conduct in this business, he would exhort all men to offer perfect honor and obedience to the holy see. With all this he persisted in his refusal directly to retract his doctrine, though he insinuated that a form of retractation might perhaps be so ingeniously devised as not to revolt his conscience..... After the conference he supped with the nuncio. The evening was spent in great harmony and cheerfulness. Miltitz was profuse in expressions of affection towards his guest; he even condescended to salute him when they parted. 'And I for my part so behaved as if I did not see through these false Italian tricks.'

The history of the reformation in Switzerland is far from being as well known as that in Germany, and on this account we doubt not that the portions of Dr. Waddington's work which treat of it will be to many the most attractive. Though Zwingle was almost as important an instrument in the Swiss reformation as Luther was in that of Germany, his character and proceedings are much less understood. The reader will find them here very fully treated, and we must confess that our opinion both of the intellectual and religious character of the Swiss reformer, highly as we thought of him before, has been much raised. In the celebrated 'Sacramentarian Controversy,' —that unhappy rock on which the vessel of the Reformation struck and almost foundered, his whole conduct appears to great advantage as compared with that of Luther. Not only was truth on his side, but, as usually happens in such a case, there was more charity and moderation; though for any pre-eminent display of these qualities we certainly must not look to any of the theologians of that age. We shall conclude the present article by the following clear account of the calm and judicious manner in which the work of reformation was carried on and completed in Zurich. It should be premised that the Senate

of Zurich, in reply to a 'remonstrance' from a large part of the Helvetic body, had publicly declared their readiness to abandon the heretical opinions charged upon them, provided they were satisfactorily refuted, and their thorough determination to act upon those opinions if, after a specified interval, the required refutation were not forthcoming.

'After the appointed interval had elapsed, as no reply was received from the Roman Catholic cantons, the senate of Zurich proceeded to the execution of its late decree respecting images. We should observe the deliberate caution of its progress in this delicate transaction. In September, 1523, the images, as well as the mass, were arraigned in a public disputation, and the evangelical ministers encouraged to continue their attacks upon both, but neither the one nor the other was officially condemned in the edict which followed. After a second discussion on the same subjects in the January following, with the same result, the abolition of the images was indeed decreed; but the authorities for the moment advanced no further—they wished the work to be accomplished by the general consent, but not by the open violence, of the people, and some time was yet necessary to secure that consent. Meanwhile they challenged the whole of Catholic Switzerland to defend the idols, and the challenge was not accepted. Thus fortified, when at length they did interpose to remove the condemned abuse, they still conducted their measures with so much moderation, as to make it appear that they were rather obeying and regulating the popular will than leading it, so that every shadow of civil dissension was avoided, and the work seemed to spring from the unanimous determination of the canton.

'There exists a long account of this transaction from the pen of Zwingle himself, who was a principal actor in it. From this it appears that the power of the senate was first exerted to restrain individuals from destroying any images, except such as were their own property. It was next decreed, that every separate church might destroy its images after a certain prescribed method: the members of each church were to be in the first instance assembled, with their pastors at their head, to be consulted on the subject, and guided by the opinion of the majority; those churches which would still retain their idols being left to the further instruction of their ministers. Before the work of demolition commenced, all the proprietors of private idols were directed to remove them from the churches within a prescribed time; and when these various precautions had been duly observed, the appointed officers proceeded (about the middle of June) to their duty. They consisted of three ministers, Zwingle, Leo Judæ, and Engelhard, and twelve senators, with some necessary assistants; and they accomplished their labors without any opposition from the citizens, while the rural population displayed even greater zeal in destroying the objects of their recent adoration.

'"What surprised me," continues Zwingle, "was this; that among all those wooden gods, which had been held in such high honor, not one had virtue enough to resist the flames, but all, without a word in

reply, submitted to the fiery punishment. Still there was one prodigy, and I must relate it. There was a famous stone statue of the Virgin among the nuns in Altenbach, held in great reverence, and of much miraculous celebrity. There was a constant belief respecting it, that nothing could remove it from its place, and that so often as it had been transferred elsewhere, however firmly it might have been fixed and fastened, so often it had re-appeared on the following morning on its former basis, as steady and stable as before. We too, removed this statue, and in good earnest; but from that time it has never returned to its position—here is indeed the miracle! Forgive me, my christian brethren, if I speak with some ridicule on this subject; but ridicule is not unsuitable to those lying and most absurd inventions and fables, which have been related in utter shamelessness respecting these idols. I rejoice, then, and bid all others rejoice, that this most iniquitous imposture was at length removed from the eyes of men; for when this was once accomplished, all the other figments of the pontifical religion were overthrown more successfully, and with a more complete consent of all the citizens. To God, through whose power and grace all this has been accomplished, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.'

'The demolition of the images was presently followed by the conversion of the two most important religious institutions in Zurich. The first which offered its voluntary adhesion was the Abbesses' College, called the Frauen-Münster. It was distinguished not only by very high antiquity, but also by various immunities and privileges, and the possession of splendid revenues. These it surrendered into the hands of the government, on the understanding that the funds should be applied to pious and charitable purposes, with a due respect to vested interests, and the privileges, which were those of coining and a peculiar jurisdiction, were thenceforward exercised by the senate. The abbess, named Catharine Cimmern, retired on an honorable pension, and presently married. Towards the end of the same year, 1524, the canons, after some negotiation with the government respecting the disposal of their revenues, followed this example. The few remaining monks of the three orders were united in one monastery, where the young were taught to apply their industry to some useful trade, and the old were permitted to end their days in peace. The monastery of the Dominicans was converted into a house of public reception, and their chapel into the fourth parish church.

'In the April of the same year Zwingle made public his nuptials with Ann Reinhart, the widow of John Meyar, a gentleman of the county of Baden. This event took place about fourteen months before the marriage of Luther, and, like the other, it gave occasion to some calumnies. That it was an earlier declaration of ecclesiastical independence of course aggravated the offence. Yet as Zwingle had not been a monk, nor his bride a nun, the scandal was not in his case so enormous, nor was there so wide a field for slander. One imputation alone seems to have given him much mortification—that of interestedness, arising from the supposed wealth of the lady, and he thought it not beneath him to publish a short 'Apology,' now extant, in refutation of the charge. His character needed no such justification; he

was as free throughout his whole life from the influence of pecuniary motives as Luther, or Melancthon, or Calvin; nor has any act, betraying a mean or sordid spirit, ever been alleged against him with any show of truth, either by his Catholic or Lutheran opponents.'

—Vol. ii. pp. 298—300.

We cordially recommend Dr. Waddington's work to the attention of the religious public, and shall be well pleased to meet him again on the wide and hitherto inadequately cultivated field of ecclesiastical history.

Art. VI. 1. *Minutes of the Ninety-seventh Annual Conference in Newcastle upon-Tyne, July*, 1840. London: J. Mason.

2. *Official Proceedings of the Wesleyan Conferences of England and Canada, on the Subject of the Union and Separation, down to October* 28, 1840. Toronto: Conference Office.

3. *The Wesleyan Conferences of England and Canada: their Union and Separation.* London: T. Tegg.

4. *Documents relating to the Recent Determination of the British Wesleyan Conference to dissolve its Official Union with the Provincial Conference of Upper Canada.* London: J. Mason.

5. *Reply of the Canada Wesleyan Conference, June*, 1841, *to the Proceedings of the English Wesleyan Conference and its Committees, August and September*, 1840. *With an Appendix.* London: T. Tegg.

SOLOMON says, 'He that meddleth with matters not belonging to him is like one that taketh a dog by the ears.' We hold ourselves, however, in no sense liable to the charge of an officious interference in other people's affairs, by noticing the publications now before us. Though relating only to one section of the christian church, yet that section has risen into such prominence, and its numbers have increased to such an extent, as by their influence to touch, if not materially to affect, every question of importance, whether in relation to the civil or religious liberties of the people. To trace the principles and workings of a system attended with such results, is matter of deep interest to every well-wisher of society. The rise and progress of Methodism is indeed itself a study. So tempting was the theme, that even the Laureate of the day, though as destitute of the moral qualifications required for such a task as the most ignorant or prejudiced of his readers, must needs amuse the world with two volumes on the subject. By culling a vast quantity of extravagancies greatly exaggerated, facts magnified into miracles, and tales colored in relating till they appeared ridiculous,

he concocted an amusing and saleable book, and his end was answered.

It is little more than a century since the founder of Methodism began to form his followers into classes.

'In the latter end of the year 1739 eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired (as did one or two more the next day) that I would spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come, which they saw continually hanging over their heads. That we might have more time for this great work, I appointed a day when they might all come together, which from thenceforward they did every week, namely, on Thursday, in the evening. To these, and as many more as desired to join with them (for their number increased daily), I gave those advices, from time to time, which I judged most needful for them; and we always concluded our meeting with prayer suited to their several necessities. This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, and then in other places.'

Such were the insignificant beginnings of Wesleyan Methodism. But what, in the course of one century, has it become? By the Minutes of Conference for 1840, we find the number in connexion with its various societies throughout the world amount to 1,142,455. This number, however great, by no means determines the limit of Methodist influence over society at large. To ascertain the aggregate of that influence, we ought to allow nearly an equal number of persons attached to Methodist families, or stated hearers in Methodist chapels, who yet are not members of their society. And another large portion ought to be allowed for persons who, on various occasions and from a multiplicity of causes, have broken off from the original stock, and formed themselves into distinct and independent societies. Such is the result of John Wesley's labors; and such the aspect they bear upon the moral and spiritual interests of our country and of the world.

To suppose that the founder of Methodism contemplated such a result, or that the rules he laid down were devised in the prospect of it, is not at all to be conceived. His views were too simple, and their effect too immediate, to permit us to imagine that he concerned himself much about the events of a future century. He knew as little what Methodism might become in 1839, as we now do what it may be in 1939. He often acknowledged that he had no definite plan; important movements were forced upon him with little time for thought, and less opportunity for consultation: the steps he took were in obedience to present duty—the future he left to providence. With a knowledge of mankind equal, if not

superior to any man of his time, he adapted his discipline to what human nature was, rather than to what it should be, or what it might become. His object was to take man as he was, and to make him better; 'to spread scriptural holiness over the 'length and breadth of the land.'

Mr. Wesley was educated with strong prepossessions in favor of the Established Church. His great endeavor, for a considerable portion of his life, was to promote the piety and usefulness of that ecclesiastical body. His early regulations were made in express subserviency to this object; and it was not until he found his efforts unavailing in this direction, that he consented to the formation of any thing like a separate society. He dealt as tenderly with her as if she had been the most affectionate of parents; and the steps by which he receded were slow, reluctant, and sorrowful. For many years he would permit no public services in canonical hours; a stand was afterwards made against the employment of lay exhorters and preachers; and subsequently against taking the sacrament otherwise than from a beneficed clergyman. At each of these stages he tried to fix a barrier against future retrograde movements; but from each he was compelled to recede. During the latter half of Mr. Wesley's life, he had no fixed position in relation to the Church. He kept receding step by step; and had he lived much longer, necessity would probably have compelled him to withdraw from all nominal, as he had already done from all real connexion with it. In one of the early conferences the question was asked, 'Are we not dissenters?' To which Mr. Wesley replied in these emphatic words: 'We are not dissenters: we 'do not, we dare not separate from the Church;' and whatever might be the working of his system, and however in practice it verged almost of necessity towards dissent, language of the same import he uttered to his dying day. Mr. Wesley's attachment to the Church was the result of early associations: it was instilled into him from his birth, and was nourished by recollections of the most endearing and impressive character. He had received much good, and he had done much good in connexion with it. It gave him access to parties whom the advocate for dissent could never reach, and opened spheres of usefulness which the regular clergy were alone permitted to occupy.

But nothing of this kind can be said with respect to the present race of Methodists. Their profession of attachment to the Established Church is a solecism which to common minds defies solution. It is worse than puerile for them to disown the appellation of dissenters; and yet thousands of them reject the cognomen, and all affinity with those who acknowledge it. So far from being a part of the Church, they are in reality more

completely severed from it than any other body of christians. Of all the sects, they are the most sectarian;—most insulated, most independent, most exclusive. They have their chapels, their preachers, their books, their newspapers, their magazines, their schools, their missions, their society, all to themselves. A true Methodist hears nothing, reads nothing, and knows nothing comparatively, but what comes through the regular, organized channel; and when in familiar phrase he is describing 'the 'work of God,' his meaning obviously is, the progress of Methodism; and this is said and done, not through any debasing property of heart, or any jealousy of the good others are doing, but simply from his having been schooled in such a narrow enclosure, and his sympathies having been brought into so little contact with the world around him.

It has been customary with the biographers of Wesley to describe the state of religion in England, at the commencement of his labors, in language too strong to be borne out by the facts of the case. So far as the Church of England was concerned, the picture could not well be overcharged; but we doubt whether it be just to include the whole of dissenters in these sweeping denunciations. It is admitted that the piety of that period did not take the open and aggressive character which it afterwards assumed; and wherefore? Just because the persecutions of the state Church had driven its professors into obscurity. It was not enough that the piety of that age should be deep and genuine; it must have been backed by the heroic fortitude of a Whitfield, a Wesley, a Maxfield, or a Nelson, to stand the ordeal to which it was every where exposed. But though it did not possess these bold and daring properties, it had others of equal importance. The duties of family and personal religion; the catechising of the young, and the sanctification of the Sabbath, were in many cases more rigidly observed than in the present day: the high tone of spiritual feeling maintained by many Independents and Baptists of that age is proved by various excellent publications which are now in every one's hand. To say, therefore, that there was no religion in the land, because there was so little of it in the Episcopal church, is only to describe the state of Egypt while preternatural darkness was brooding over it, whereas 'the children 'of Israel had light in all their dwellings.'

As little do we concur in the judgment Mr. Wesley passed upon the dissenters of his day, expressed in one of his terse sentences, more epigrammatic than just, that 'the seceders laid 'the very foundation of their work in judging and condemning 'others: we laid the foundation of our work in judging and 'condemning ourselves.' Neither of these assertions is correct. The dissenters had something more important to do than to

quarrel with the Church; and the Methodists something less humiliating than always to be finding fault with themselves. That in the preaching of dissenters there is more of controversy than among Wesleyans, we want facts to prove. Among other evidences, their devotional poetry is proof to the contrary. Almost all their hymns are cast in a controversial mould, designed to correct what their authors conceived to be the great theological errors of the time, particularly as to the limited extent of the death of Christ; and though this mode of stating the truth is now nearly exploded, the right good Methodist goes on singing controversy, just as if no such change had taken place.

The influence which Mr. Wesley had over his societies was almost absolute; and never more so than during the last few years of his life. Upon whom that influence should devolve, was matter of deep and perplexing anxiety to him. He had diverged too far from the Church to commit his charge to the care of the bishops; and yet his system, to be complete, seemed to want some individual in that office and character. The expedient he adopted of devolving all the property and power of the connexion on a council of one hundred, was perhaps the best that could be devised. As to its scriptural authority, we say nothing. The scheme had the effect of preserving the unity of the connexion, and of keeping down all overweening personal ambition. The prizes were sufficiently numerous to awaken emulation, to encourage hope, and to keep up an active stimulus through the whole body, while they were not so numerous as to deprive them of value. With the hundred, of course, rests the whole power of the connexion; and as, for eleven months in the year, they are scattered far and wide from each other, the real influence will be exercised by two or three master-minds, whose tact, capacity, and energy, qualify them for leaders. There are likewise other methods of rewarding the docile and faithful; as well as of keeping down the troublesome. The actual remuneration of each minister in the connexion is alike; but there are such things as good circuits and honorable appointments; which it is possible may to a Methodist minister be as much the object of ambition as a valuable preferment in another establishment; while the off-circuits furnish as salutary a school for the querulous as could be desired. This is the necessary and inevitable working of the system; and that it is in accordance with the facts of the case, we should presume scarcely a minister in the connexion will deny.

What can be the cause of this pertinacious clinging to the Established Church, which the genuine Methodist takes up as a part of Wesley's mantle? Their church polity is unique and

complete within itself, and without any reference to the State Church. That church, so far from acknowledging them, frowns upon and discards them. There is no reciprocation of services, no interchange of kind offices. The Methodist renders no obedience to the church, and the church affords no support to the Methodist. And yet the disciple of Wesley is taught, to this very day, to say that he is no dissenter. What then is he? And what is a dissenter if a Methodist is not one? A dissenter is not a man holding certain speculative principles, but a man pursuing a certain line of conduct. Is *he* a churchman who never attends the worship, or communes at the altar of the Episcopal establishment;—but who, on the contrary, erects his own chapel, supports his own minister, attends upon his ministrations, and aids to sustain those minor associations and appendages to a christian church, authorized or appointed by the New Testament;—and all this without the least reference to the wishes, or authority, or support, of the State Church. But though this has been, and is the practice of the Wesleyans, yet are they so amiably inconsistent as to sustain the establishment in all its claims, plead for the right of the State to a compulsory support of religion, and display an active opposition to the efforts of dissenters in behalf of civil and religious liberty. We might have presumed, that the treatment which the Methodists have received from the State Church, would have long since taught them a lesson as to the real estimation in which they are held. At one time cajoled and flattered, and at another cuffed and persecuted, they have been made just the tools which haughty ecclesiastics wish to employ. Knowing the hold which the Methodists have upon the popular mind in our rural and manufacturing districts, the Methodist preacher has been the convenient and ready-made tool for the purposes of wily and ambitious ecclesiastics. But if at another time they appear to stand in the way of some ambitious project, they are as unceremoniously put aside as in the former case they were courted. At one time even his Lordship of Exeter can say smooth things of the Methodists; at another, his officials can refuse the members of the same body christian burial. When a conservative stands in need of votes at an election, it is not a very rare thing to call for Methodist influence to aid the good cause. When the measure for a general system of education was under discussion, petitions in abundance were got up in Methodist chapels, not after fair investigation and appeal at public meetings, but at the beck of certain authorities, who had no objection to save the people the trouble of thinking and understanding for themselves.

The equivocal connexion of the Methodists with the Established Church was the most fruitful source of discord during

the last year of Mr. Wesley's life; and at his departure, had nearly shivered the society into atoms. Many minor local separations have taken place on the same ground; nor is it likely ever to be otherwise, while the creed and the practice of so large a body of people look in opposite directions.

Perhaps no separation ever took place in the Methodist body more significant in its character, or more disastrous in its consequences, than the recent withdrawal of the British conference from its connexion with the conference in Upper Canada. Into any lengthened history of this dispute we have no disposition to enter. A great deal has been said and written upon the affair on the other side of the water; and necessarily so, for *there* the consequences are severely felt; but very little is said about it here. The Methodists are never hasty in their own defence. It was some months after its publication before we could procure a copy of the 'Documents of the British Wesleyan Con-'ference.' No persons know better that a cause is often damaged rather than benefited by its defence; and besides, the fact of publishing a defence is apt to excite a wish to look into the other side of the question—a proceeding not at all times convenient or desirable.

The history of Methodism in British America may be stated in a few lines. The preaching of the gospel by American Methodist ministers is connected with the earliest history of the country. They were the first preachers in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and in what was afterwards called Upper Canada. In the latter province two preachers from the United States were stationed as early as 1752. In 1791, the first regular Wesleyan society was formed. At that period, the whole province from Lake St. Francis to Sandwich presented an almost unbroken forest, with here and there a spot won from the surrounding wilderness. In 1800, some preachers were sent thither, who found 936 members gathered by their predecessors; and so rapidly did the society increase, that in 1810, there were thirteen preachers and 2603 members. Down to the close of the war in 1815, there were but four resident episcopal clergymen or missionaries in Upper Canada, and but few of other denominations, although the piety of a British king had reserved one-seventh of the entire land for their support. This donation has been the cause of more contention, and a more serious impediment to the prosperity of that colony than can well be conceived of by persons at a distance; and so extensive is the matter in contest, and so rapacious the disposition of the chief claimants, that it will require much wisdom to prevent its being the ruin of the colony. Immediately upon the close of the war in 1815, a tide of emigration set in from the British isles, especially from Scotland and Ireland; and as many of the emigrants were connected with religious societies

in their native land, they naturally carried their ecclesiastical prepossessions to the country of their adoption. The original Canadian Methodists, though British subjects, and strongly attached to the British throne, were chiefly from America, and had imbibed the notions of civil and religious liberty prevalent in the States; whereas the emigrants from Great Britain held just those views of civil polity and church establishments which the Methodist body adopt among us. This appears to have been the origin of the altercations between the British and Canadian Methodists, which have been carried on with more or less of temper from the first arrival of British Methodists in the land. All attempts at reconciliation have hitherto failed. The litigants stand too wide apart to be made one by the magic of legislation. Though both devoutly attached to the memory of their founder; though maintaining the same theology, and adopting the same discipline, there yet are elements of dissonance, more of a political than religious character, which we fear will for a long time keep them apart.

The union which took place between the English and Canada conference in 1833, was principally designed to allay the collisions which had kept the societies in continual uneasiness. For some time the union appears to have been carried on with a degree of cordiality on both sides. The basis of it secured inviolate all the existing rights and privileges of the Canadian preachers and societies; while on the other hand, the funds of the English conference were exempted from any claims on the part of the Canadian preachers. Another article appointed a president from the English conference to preside over the annual conference in Canada; and it was the arbitrary power exercised, under cover of this article, by the British conference, that led to the separation that has taken place, and to all the consequences which have ensued.

It was agreed at the formation of the union, that the question of the clergy reserves should be left in abeyance, as a matter in which the Canadian conference should maintain its own opinions, and take its own course. The Methodists, in common with the whole community, except a small portion connected with the clergy of the Establishment, advocated a division of the land or its product, and its appropriation to national purposes: the portion falling to the Methodists was to be laid out in promoting the religious education of the people. The Methodists would be no parties to any share of it being devoted either to the support of their ministers, or to the endowment of their places of worship. The English conference, on the contrary, had their wishes been consulted, would have left the whole matter in quiet possession of the Church, or have advocated the re-investment of the reserves

in the crown for its appropriation at pleasure. The Wesleyan Missionary Society in London had for some years been receiving £700 per annum out of the casual and territorial revenues, in aid of their missions among the native Indian tribes; but when the clergy reserves began to be available, it was proposed by the government to transfer that grant to its more appropriate place—the reserve fund. Before doing this, the Governor General took the opinion of several of the more interested parties, with a view to secure their concurrence; and among the rest, his Excellency sent for Mr. Egerton Ryerson, who, as editor of the Christian Guardian, had been accustomed for many years to watch over the rights, and to communicate with the government on all civil matters relating to, the Methodists in Canada. It was a letter written by Mr. Ryerson to the governor-general in relation to this annual grant, which gave such high offence to the British conference, as could not be overlooked or forgiven. As the gist of the dispute rests on this letter, the following extract from a communication by the Messrs. Ryersons to Lord John Russell will give the reader a pretty accurate view of the whole matter.

'As the circumstances under which Mr. Ryerson wrote to his Excellency the governor-general of Canada the letter referred to have been misunderstood, it may be worth while to state them. His Excellency, having determined to undertake the settlement of the long agitated question of the clergy reserves in Upper Canada, sent, during the last week in December and the first week in January last, for ministers and influential members of various religious denominations, in order to ascertain their opinions and wishes on that subject. Amongst others he sent for Mr Ryerson, and also for the Rev. Messrs. Stinson and Richey, the former, president of the Upper Canada conference, and representative of the London Wesleyan committee in England, the latter, a member of the Wesleyan conference in England, but temporarily connected with the Wesleyan Methodist church in Upper Canada by a special vote of the Canadian conference. As the governor-general proposed to transfer all the religious grants which had been paid out of the casual and territorial revenues, as first charges upon the clergy reserve fund; and as those charges would for some years absorb the entire fund, Mr. Ryerson submitted to his Excellency the justice and reasonableness of making a grant to the conference of the Wesleyan Methodist church in Canada, in aid of the Upper Canada Academy, and of transferring that with the other religious grants to the clergy reserve fund. His Excellency objected, upon the ground that several hundred pounds per annum had already been granted in aid of the Wesleyan body in Upper Canada. Mr. Ryerson assured his Excellency that he was mistaken, and laid before his Excellency several documents to satisfy him that the grant referred to had not been made to the Wesleyan body in Canada, nor in aid of its funds. His Excellency considered the matter of sufficient importance to require a

thorough investigation, and requested Mr. Ryerson to recapitulate in writing the substance of what he had stated verbally. Mr. Ryerson did so in a letter dated January 2nd, 1840. On the same day (January 2, 1840), Messrs. Stinson and Richey had an interview with his Excellency, during which they informed his Excellency that the union between the English and Canadian conferences was expected to be dissolved (a measure the most remote from the thoughts of the members of the Canadian conference), and desired his Excellency so to frame his bill as to secure that portion of the proceeds of the reserves, to the control of which the conference of the Wesleyan Methodist church in Canada would be entitled, to the control of the Wesleyan conference in England, for the benefit of those who should adhere to it on the dissolution of the union with the Canadian conference. On the day following, Messrs. Stinson and Richey embodied their views in a memorial to his Excellency. In that memorial the Wesleyan *conference* in *Canada* is superseded by the Wesleyan *conference* in *England*, when one of the articles of union between the two bodies provided that the former should have no claim upon the funds of the latter.

'There is reason to believe that in the interview above alluded to, his Excellency gave Messrs. Stinson and Richey no reason to expect countenance from him to a proposition so obviously unjust and impolitic. Their views and statements furnished his Excellency with additional reasons for examining into all the existing relations and interests of the Wesleyan bodies in Canada and in England. His Excellency examined all the despatches and other documents which related to the subject, and sought for information from official persons, and from other quarters. The result of the investigation was, a strong conviction in the mind of his Excellency that the Canada conference should alone be regarded as the head and representative of the Wesleyan Methodist church in Canada; that the grant which had been made to the London Wesleyan missionary committee, out of the Canadian casual and territorial revenue, operated injuriously rather than beneficially to the interests of the conference of the Wesleyan Methodist church in Canada, and was not distributed in a manner, and did not accomplish the objects, contemplated by the imperial government when that grant was made, and ought to be distributed in a different manner hereafter. His Excellency informed Mr. Ryerson of the result of his investigations and inquiries, and requested Mr. Ryerson to prepare a statement in writing of the financial relations between the Wesleyan conference in England and the conference of the Wesleyan Methodist church in Canada.'—pp. 24—26.

That a private individual, however deeply interested or closely connected with the subject in hand, should presume to communicate with government, even though it were on a matter concerning which the Canadian conference was formally allowed to take their own course, was an offence of no ordinary kind. Accordingly, at the conference at Newcastle in August last, 'three allegations or matters of complaint' were brought against Mr. Ryerson, which they considered as fully

proved, and for which no justification in the opinion of the conference was established.

'1. A practical superseding of the Rev. Joseph Stinson, as President, by communicating with the governor-general separately, and without his knowledge, and by acting without him, and without the committee of the Upper Canada conference—of which committee Mr. Stinson was a member, and Chairman (*ex officio*)—on matters affecting the permanency of the government grant to the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

'2. A violation of the obligations arising from the union, in not opposing, but rather countenancing, the payment of our grant in a certain contingency, not to us, but to the Upper Canada conference, for other and different purposes.

'3. The decidedly and prominently political character of the 'Christian Guardian,' in violation of pledges given to us and to the Upper Canada conference from 1833 to 1839.'

In relation to the first and second of these charges, an explanation has already been given in the preceding extract. In reference to the last, some singular facts are brought to light in this controversy. Mr. Egerton Ryerson is the party specially impeached, as giving such a decidedly political character to their proceedings. On searching a little deeper, however, we were somewhat surprised to learn, that from 1833, when the union was formed, till 1835, not a syllable of dissatisfaction was uttered in any quarter; that from 1835 to 1838, Mr. Ryerson had no connexion with the paper, the editorship being held by a person whose sentiments were nearly in accordance with those of the English conference; that Mr. Ryerson's was again called to the office in 1838 at the express request of Mr. Stinson, the president for that year; but that even then, the only intimation on the matter was made in two letters, one addressed to Sir George Arthur, and the other to Mr. Stinson, who had recommended Mr. Ryerson to the office of editor. It appears, on referring to these two letters, that there is not a word in either of them about secular party *politics;* but the former refers to 'certain *ecclesiastical* questions of great import-'ance and difficulty;' and the latter is wholly devoted to condemning the *Guardian* for opposing 'a national church esta-'blishment in Upper Canada.' It is only doing Mr. Ryerson justice to permit him to state his own case.

'I continued editor from June, 1834, to June, 1835, to the satisfaction of all parties, but refused to remain in the office any longer. The Rev. Ephraim Evans was then chosen, and continued until June, 1838. During his three years' editorship, he did 'discuss political questions, and the merits of political parties;' and to such a degree at length, as to excite strong dissatisfaction amongst both our preachers

and people; whilst he was considered as leaning too strongly to the high party, to maintain, with proper vigor, the rights and interests of Methodism against high church pretensions and encroachments. But Dr. Alder and his colleagues were pleased with Mr. Evans's politics, lauded his editorship, and never hinted at the violation of any anti-political pledge of 1834, or the existence of it. . . .

'I was solicited to accept the editorship of the *Guardian* again in June, 1837, but refused, and begged my friends to try Mr. Evans one year more. In the course of that year I was reduced to the alternative of treating the most earnest entreaties of the principal preachers with indifference, resisting the appointment of the conference, or accepting the editorship of the *Guardian*. And amongst the most earnest of those preachers, with whom my remonstrances were unavailing, was the Rev. Mr. Stinson, the Wesleyan committee 'superintendent' in Upper Canada, with whom also agreed the Rev. Mr. Richey, the committee's assistant superintendent here. It was their opinion, as well as that of others, that high church domination required a more decided opponent, and Methodist rights and religious equality a more energetic advocate than Mr. Evans. This will appear evident from the following extract of a letter addressed by Mr. Stinson to a leading preacher, a few weeks before the session of the conference, at which I was elected editor. It is dated April 7, 1838. The extract is as follows:

'"I am quite of your opinion, that brother Egerton (Ryerson) ought to take the *Guardian* next year, if he do not go home. Brother Evans has done well upon the whole; but there is a crisis approaching in our affairs, which will require a more vigorous hand to wield the defensive weapon of our conference. There can be no two opinions as to whom to give that weapon. We now stand on fair grounds to maintain our own against the encroachments of the oligarchy, and we must do it, or sink into a comparatively uninfluential body. This must not be.'

'It will therefore be seen, that my appointment as editor was not only promoted by the representative of the Wesleyan committee, but with the express view of resisting the 'encroachments of the oligarchy'—that is, the high church party. *Messrs. Stinson and Richey had not, at that time, received instructions from Dr. Alder to support the pretensions of the high church party in Canada.*'

This wants a little explanation. A few months after Mr. Ryerson was recalled to the editorship of the Guardian, an important change took place in the political aspect of affairs.

'It was found that Sir George Arthur, late lieutenant-governor of this province, had thrown himself into the hands of the 'oligarchy' on the question of the clergy reserves—would not consent to have them applied to any other purpose than the support of the clergy, and was anxious to get them re-invested in the crown. When Sir George Arthur's views and plans were brought before the provincial legislature, I opposed them. The Wesleyan committee in London interposed to support Sir George Arthur on that question; sent a letter to Sir George, disclaiming all participation in the views of the Canada con-

ference advocated by me—and sent a letter also to Mr. Stinson, instructing him to oppose me and support a church establishment in this province. Messrs. Stinson and Richey immediately *turned round*, and from that day forward supported the 'oligarchy' which they had elected me to oppose.'

This is the key to the whole business. While the successive governor-generals of Canada were of liberal sentiments, and inclined to accede to the general wishes respecting the clergy reserves, the British conference and its agents remained silent and inactive; but the moment a Tory governor starts upon the stage, and proposes a disposal of the reserves in accordance with high church claims, they instantly step in with their authority, second the arrangement, pledge their influence for his support, and employ every effort to stifle the expression of Canadian feeling in any and every form. And this, be it borne in mind, is upon a point which was left, at the commencement of the union, an open question, upon which the Canadians were to take their own course, and to work out their own views: and moreover, this is the conduct pursued by the very individuals who, in the same articles of union, pledge themselves not to interfere with 'the rights and privileges of the Canada con-'ference.'

What, it may well be asked, have the English missionary committee, or its agents, to do in this matter? What right have they to interfere with the peculiar institutions of any country into which they introduce the gospel? Are they the apostles of Christ, or the apostles of Toryism? Is it their duty to reform the state, or to preach the gospel? We know it is usual with the preachers in England and their adherents to silence all appeals, by saying, 'Oh! the Canadians are gone astray by 'political disaffection—their piety is lost in a democratic party 'spirit:' but there is not the shadow of proof for the assertion. Barring the church question, which is a religious and not a civil matter, there is no proof of political degeneracy, either in the spirit they display or the efforts they sustain. Their views regarding the best and wisest institutions for their country may be different from those established in Great Britain, but is that any reason why fifteen out of the twenty agents which the English Wesleyan committee employ should be sent, not to the ignorant who need the gospel, but into the heart of the circuits belonging to the Canada conference, dividing neighborhoods, societies, and families, and producing the manifold evils of schism, strife, and division?

But we will no longer detain our readers with watching the straws which this storm has raised; nor shall we attempt to adjust the various misconceptions which a long discussion like this almost of necessity creates. Nothing is easier than to as-

certain the great principle on which the parties in this case are opposed. And, strange to say, it is nothing peculiar to Methodism, nothing which has a prescriptive sanction in the New Testament, nothing essential to the spiritual interests of mankind,—but it is *an attempt on the part of Tory Methodists in England to force Tory principles and state-church domination on the people of Canada.* Reduce the entire dispute to its elements, and this is the beginning, the middle, and end of the whole matter. The Canadian Methodists are Liberals in politics, and voluntaries in religion; and in connexion with almost the entire of the old population of the country, have given the strongest demonstration that they will not have a state-church to rule over them. You may tax them as you please, and govern them as you please, but a dominant church is what they will never submit to. All the points of collision during the late civil contest might, with comparative ease, have been adjusted, could the church-question have been amicably settled. This is a point which the Canadians will never concede; and to press it by any government would only involve the country in sanguinary collision, and terminate in its alienation from the parent state. The late arrangement respecting the clergy reserves, though not perfectly satisfactory to any party, will, it is hoped, save the Canadas from this fearful alternative.

If in the tone of these remarks we should be accused of using the language rather of an advocate than a reviewer, it is because we feel the case of the Canadian Methodists to be one of extreme hardship. We are no enemies to Methodism. It has been honored as the instrument of a mighty and glorious reformation, not only in Britain, but in other portions of the globe; and so long as it confines itself within its legitimate bounds, and aims at its legitimate objects, 'the spread of vital 'godliness through the earth,' we ever shall hail it with a hearty 'God speed.' It is only when it steps aside from its legitimate purpose, and mixes up something with Methodism which does not belong to it; when it assumes the attitude of political partizanship, and embroils itself with mundane affairs, that we dislike and oppose it. Methodism debases its character, and impairs its efficiency, when it turns aside from its holy purposes to take sides with the potsherds of the earth, in their strife with each other.

We conclude with an extract from the preface to the little tract, entitled 'A Voice from Canada,' earnestly hoping that the recommendation with which it closes will meet with that response to which the tone and spirit of the tract justly entitles it.

'The separation between the British and Canadian conferences, however painful the necessity which compelled it, has taken place; it

is now an historical fact, which no prudence can prevent, and no regrets obliterate. But that this separation should be followed up by a continuous struggle for dominion, carried on by the strong against the weak, will be regarded by the disciples of the Saviour, especially by every one who has imbibed much of the spirit of the departed Wesley, more a matter of temper than of principle. This struggle may be perpetuated from year to year; the funds of the Missionary Society may be employed to fan the strife into greater activity; every station, every chapel—nay, every inch of ground may be combated: but, that British Methodism should eventually swallow up and annihilate Canadian Methodism, is just as absurd to suppose as it would be mischievous to accomplish. It *ought not*, as truly as that it *cannot* be done. But what is the state of things in the province, while this strife is continued? Is not the spirit of the gospel dissipated by the spirit of envy, jealousy, petty triumph at success—and chagrin at failure; religion wounded in the house of its friends? while infidelity looks on, and says,—Aha! so would we have it: and in the midst of all this war and confusion, the spirit of piety weeps and retires, seeking its repose in more peaceful climes. But it is asked, Is this strife to be perpetual? Cannot an accommodation be effected? Is there not a wise man in the whole council of British Methodists able to devise a plan of pacification? Shall a conference of eight hundred Methodist preachers, disciples of Him who was meek and lowly in heart, followers of an apostle whose glorying was rather in his infirmities, and called after a man whose name was every where cast out as evil through his singleness of heart and aim in saving souls:—shall this band of men meet in Manchester at the approaching conference, and separate without some soothing and healing measure; or some approach towards reconciliation? And shall the deputations from the Irish and American conferences sit silently by, without attempting a kind and Christian mediation? Methodism is not only concerned. Other bodies of Christians are looking on; every well-wisher to the gospel of peace is interested; nor is it vanity to suppose, that the inhabitants of a brighter and happier world are awaiting an issue so intimately blended with the peace of the church and the spread of the truth."

Art. VII. *The Nestorians; or, the Lost Tribes: containing Evidence of their Identity; an account of their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies; together with Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia; and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy.* By Asahel Grant, M.D. London: Murray. 1841.

THE author of this volume was deputed by the American Board of Foreign Missions to visit the Nestorian christians of Persia, in order to ascertain their religious state, and the facilities which existed for introducing among them a more

scriptural and vital piety than at present exists. This branch of the christian church has long been shut out from intercourse with Europe. Surrounded by almost inaccessible mountains, with hostile tribes on every hand, their existence has been but little known, and their character and views very partially understood. The reports received of them from the Persians, Kurds, Turks, Arabs, and others, have been little adapted to raise our estimate of their character, or to induce any very strong desire for increased and more intimate communication with them. Christian sympathy has in consequence been checked, and they have been left, unaided and without esteem, to struggle with the fearful influences by which they are encompassed. The enterprise of our American brethren has happily put a period to this state of apathy towards a people who, however corrupted and secular, present many points of special interest to the more enlightened sections of the church of Christ. Two Americans, Messrs. Smith and Dwight, visited the Nestorians in 1831, and the report which they made to the Board for Foreign Missions, was so favorable as to lead to a resolution on the part of that body, to establish a mission amongst this branch of the primitive church. A medical man was deemed most suitable for such a field of labor, and an appeal was consequently made in 1834 to the religious medical men of America. To this appeal no answer was for some time returned, until our author, impressed with the importance of the summons, determined to relinquish an increasing practice in Utica, in order to devote himself to the incipient labors of the Nestorian mission. Having proceeded to Constantinople, Dr. Grant travelled on horseback over the mountains and plains of Armenia, sometimes sheltered from the cold and snow in the corner of a deserted stable, and at other times reposing more luxuriously beneath the canopy of an eastern tent. He arrived at Tabreez, one of the commercial cities of Persia, on the 15th October, 1835, and met, as he informs us, with a cordial reception from the English residents. 'From his excellency,' he says, 'the right hon. Henry Ellis, the British ambassador and 'envoy extraordinary at the court of Persia, with whom we had 'already formed a pleasant acquaintance at Trebezonde, we 'received the kindest offers of aid and protection, and I seize this 'occasion to acknowledge the same kind and unremitted favors 'from his successors and other English gentlemen with whom 'we have met in the east.'

Our author's first communication with the Nestorians was at Ooroomiah, whither he proceeded from Tabreez, in order to make arrangements for the contemplated mission. His medical skill gave him acceptance with all classes, and greatly facilitated the object of his journey. The Nestorians in particular

rejoiced at his arrival, while their clergy evinced none of that sensitiveness and suspicion by which their class has too commonly been distinguished. The following is our author's account of the state in which he found these descendants of an ancient church.

'The sick, the lame, and the blind gathered around by scores and hundreds, and my fame was soon spread abroad through the surrounding country. We were regarded as public benefactors, and our arrival was hailed with general joy. The Nestorians, in particular, welcomed us with the greatest kindness and affection. Their bishops and priests took their seats at our table, bowed with us at our family altar, drank in instruction with child-like docility, and gave us their undivided influence and co-operation in the prosecution of our labors among their people. They regarded us as coadjutors with them in a necessary work of instruction and improvement, and not as their rivals or successors. We had come, not to pull down, but to build up; to promote knowledge and piety, and not to war against their external forms and rites.

'We found much in their character to raise our hopes. They have the greatest reverence for the Scriptures, and were desirous to have them diffused among the people in a language which all could understand. In their feelings towards other sects they are charitable and liberal; in their forms, more simple and scriptural than the papal and the other oriental churches. They abhor image-worship, auricular confession, and the doctrine of purgatory; and hence they have broad common ground with Protestant christians, so that, not inappropriately, they have been called the Protestants of Asia.

'But they had, as a people, sunk into the darkness of ignorance and superstition: none but their clergy could read or write; the education of their females was entirely neglected; and they attached great importance to their numerous fasts and feasts, to the neglect of purity of heart and life. Still there are some who now appear to lead exemplary lives, and to sigh over the degradation of their people. Indeed, we cannot but hope that something of vital piety may have continued to burn upon their altars from the earliest ages of the church, and we trust it will again shine forth in a resplendent flame.

'In such a state of things, it is not surprising that we have been permitted to prosecute our labors without a breath of opposition from the ecclesiastics or the people.

'Twelve or fourteen free-schools have been opened in the villages of the plain; a seminary and girls' boarding-school have been established on the mission premises in the city; considerable portions of the Scriptures have been translated into the vernacular language of the Nestorians. They have opened their churches for our Sabbath-schools and the preaching of the gospel; native helpers are being raised up and qualified for usefulness; our mission has been reinforced by accessions from America; and a press, with suitable type, has been sent out.'—pp. 6, 7.

The passage of the Tigris transferred Dr. Grant from Mesopotamia into Assyria, upon the plains of which stood Nineveh, 'that great city,' whose humiliation averted for a time the judgments threatened by the prophet Jonah, but whose ruins now testify the faithfulness of the prophet's warning, and the fearful penalty which accompanies transgression. Having inspected these ruins, Dr. Grant proceeded to some villages of the Yezidees, who possess the unenviable reputation of being worshippers of the devil. Such a notion is obviously founded in ignorance of their character, many points of which betoken a superstitious reverence for the christian faith. Our author's account of this singular people may serve to correct some prevalent misconceptions, and to explain their origin.

'We became the guests of one of the chief Yezidees of Baasheka, whose dwelling, like others in the place, was a rude stone structure, with a flat terrace roof. Coarse felt carpets were spread for our seats in the open court, and a formal welcome was given us, but it was evidently not a very cordial one. My Turkish cavass understood the reason, and at once removed it. Our host had mistaken me for a Mohammedan, towards whom the Yezidees cherish a settled aversion. As soon as I was introduced to him as a christian, and he had satisfied himself that this was my true character, his whole deportment was changed. He at once gave me a new and cordial welcome, and set about supplying our wants with new alacrity. He seemed to feel that he had exchanged a Moslem foe for a christian friend, and I became quite satisfied of the truth of what I had often heard, that the Yezidees are friendly towards the professors of christianity.

'They are said to cherish a high regard for the christian religion, of which clearly they have some corrupt remains. They practise the rite of baptism, make the sign of the cross, so emblematical of christianity in the east, put off their shoes and kiss the threshold when they enter a christian church; and it is said that they often speak of wine as the blood of Christ, hold the cup with both hands, after the sacramental manner of the east, when drinking it, and, if a drop chance to fall on the ground, they gather it up with religious care.

'They believe in one supreme God, and, in some sense at least, in Christ as a saviour. They have also a remnant of Sabianism, or the religion of the ancient fire-worshippers. They bow in adoration before the rising sun, and kiss his first rays when they strike on a wall or other object near them; and they will not blow out a candle with their breath, or spit in the fire, lest they should defile that sacred element.

'Circumcision and the passover, or a sacrificial festival allied to the passover in time and circumstance, seem also to identify them with the Jews; and altogether they certainly present a most singular chapter in the history of man.'—pp. 30—32.

The system of belief prevalent among this people has strong points of resemblance to the ancient Manichean heresy, and

may probably, when more thoroughly examined, throw some considerable light on the history and fortunes of that sect. Their number cannot be accurately ascertained, but evidently falls much below the computations of some writers. As our author proceeded towards the country of the independent Nestorians, he met with reports of their character by no means adapted to conciliate his esteem, or to increase the conviction of his personal safety. 'They are regarded as almost invincible, 'and are represented as having the power of vanquishing their 'enemies by some magical spell in their looks. 'To the bor- 'ders of their country,' said the vigorous pasha of Môsul, 'I 'will be responsible for your safety; you may put gold upon 'your heads, and you will have nothing to fear; but I warn you 'that I can protect you no farther. Those mountain infidels 'acknowledge neither pashas nor kings, but from time imme- 'morial every man has been his own king.' The fears awakened by such warnings were not likely to be allayed by the reception with which Dr. Grant met on approaching the village of Dûree, after a toilsome ride of seven hours through mountain passes. Voices of rough mountaineers were heard on every hand demanding who he was, what he wanted, whither he was going, &c., in a manner which might well have made the boldest heart quake.

'The demand was repeated by each successive party we passed, till finally the cry seemed to issue from the very rocks over our head, 'Who are you? whence do you come? what do you want?' A cry so often repeated in the deep Syriac gutturals of their stentorian voices was not a little startling: and then their bold bearing, and a certain fierceness of expression, and spirited action and intonation of voice, with the scrutinizing inquiry whether we were Catholics or bad men whom they might rob (as one inquired of our Nestorian guide), bereft my poor cavass of the little courage that had sustained him thus far; and he manifested so much real alarm that I yielded to his earnest request, and dismissed him as soon as we reached the house of the bishop, who assured me that his presence was no longer desirable.'

—pp. 50, 51.

The village of Dûree is nominally subject to the Turkish government, and is separated from the proper country of the Independent Nestorians by a high range of mountains. Dr. Grant had been strongly advised not to venture into this country until he had obtained an escort from the patriarch; but on consultation with the bishop he resolved at once to proceed, as he would thus save eight or ten days, and hoped to gain the good will of the Nestorians by the confidence reposed in them. Being duly equipped for his difficult and hazardous journey, he set off on the 18th of October, and after a toilsome ascent found

himself at the summit of a mountain, where a scene indescribably grand was spread out before him.

'The country of the independent Nestorians opened before my enraptured vision like a vast amphitheatre of wild, precipitous mountains, broken with deep, dark-looking defiles and narrow glens, into few of which the eye could penetrate so far as to gain a distinct view of the cheerful, smiling villages which have long been the secure abodes of the main body of the Nestorian church. Here was the home of a hundred thousand christians, around whom the arm of Omnipotence had reared the adamantine ramparts whose lofty, snow-capped summits seemed to blend with the skies in the distant horizon. Here, in their munition of rocks, has God preserved, as if for some great end in the economy of his grace, a chosen remnant of his ancient church, secure from the beast and the false prophet, safe from the flames of persecution and the clangor of war. As I gazed and wondered, I seemed as if standing on Pisgah's top, and I could with a full heart exclaim,—

'On the mountain's top appearing,
Lo! the sacred herald stands;
Welcome news to Zion bearing,
Zion long in hostile lands!
Mourning captive!
God himself shall loose thy bands.'

'I retired to a sequestered pinnacle of rock, where I could feast my vision with the sublime spectacle, and pour out my heartfelt gratitude that I had been brought at length, through many perils, to behold a country from which emanated the brightest beams of hope for the long benighted empire of Mohammedan delusion, by whose millions of votaries I was surrounded on every side. My thoughts went back to the days when the Nestorian missionaries were spread abroad throughout the east, and for more than a thousand years continued to plant and sustain the standard of the cross through the remote and barbarous countries of Central Asia, Tartary, Mongolia, and China; to the time when, as tradition and history alike testify, the gospel standard was reared in these mountains by apostles' hands; for it was not from Nestorius, but from Thomas, Bartholomew, Thaddeus, and others, that this people first received the knowledge of a Saviour, as will be seen in the sequel.

'I looked at them in their present state, sunk down into the ignorance of semi-barbarism, and the light of vital piety almost extinguished upon their altars, and my heart bled for their condition. But Hope pointed her radiant wand to brighter scenes, when all these glens, and rocks, and vales shall echo and re-echo to the glad praises of our God; and, like a morning-star, these Nestorians shall arise to usher in a glorious and resplendent day. But, ere that bright period shall arrive, there is a mighty work to be done—a conflict with the powers of darkness before the shout of victory. Let us arm this brave band for the contest.'—pp. 53—55.

Dr. Grant would have been more than human if he had not looked forward with some emotions of fear to the reception he might meet with from these wild sons of the mountains, who had never before seen the face of a foreigner, and who might naturally regard his appearance as indicative of some sinister purpose on the part of surrounding tribes; but the good providence of God had signally prepared the way of his servant, and his reception was in consequence most friendly and warm-hearted. The following is our traveller's own account of his entertainment.

'God was smiling upon the work in which I was engaged; prayer had been heard, and the way was prepared before me in a manner so wonderful that I can hardly forbear repeating the account, though already made public.

'The only person I had ever seen from this remote tribe was a young Nestorian, who came to me about a year before, entirely blind. He said he had never expected to see the light of day, till my name had reached his country, and he had been told that I could restore his sight. With wonderful perseverance, he had gone from village to village seeking some one to lead him by the hand, till, in the course of five or six weeks, he had reached my residence at Ooroomiah, where I removed the cataract from his eyes, and he returned to his mountains seeing. Scarcely had I entered the first village in his country when this young man, hearing of my approach, came with a smiling countenance, bearing in his hand a present of honey, in token of his gratitude for the restoration of his sight, and afforded me an introduction to the confidence and affections of his people.'—p. 56.

Our author spent a Sabbath among this primitive race, and the narrative which he gives of the manner of its observance cannot fail to be read with considerable interest.

'A thin piece of board was struck rapidly with a mallet, to call the villagers to church at the rising of the sun. Each person, on entering the church, put off his shoes, and testified his reverence for the sanctuary of God by kissing the door-posts or threshold, and passed on to kiss the gospels lying upon the altar, then the cross, and finally the hand of his religious teacher.

'The church, like all I saw in the mountains, was a very solid stone edifice, with arched roof, and might stand for ages. Others that I saw had stood for more than fourteen centuries, according to their ancient records. For the narrow door (which would not admit a man without much stooping) the usual explanation was given, 'Strait is the gate,' &c., a truth of which they wished to be reminded when entering the sanctuary. The prayers and the singing or chanting of the psalms were all in the ancient Syriac language, and quite unintelligible to the common people; but one of the priests read a portion of the gospels, and gave the translation into the vulgar Syriac spoken by the Nestorians; and this constituted the preaching. Sometimes the reading

is accompanied by some explanations or legendary stories, of which they have many.

'It was a sacramental occasion; and the bread and wine were consecrated in the sanctuary or 'holy place' of the church, and then brought out by a priest and a deacon, while each member of the church went forward in rotation, and partook of a small piece of the bread from the hand of the priest, who held a napkin to prevent any particles from falling, as he put the morsel into the mouth of the communicant; and then he drank off the wine, which was held with great care by the deacon, so that not a drop should be spilled. But there was none of that idolatrous adoration of the host, so characteristic of the mass of the Romanists and of the other oriental churches. On the contrary, there was almost a scriptural simplicity in the observance of this solemn ordinance.

'The priest who had officiated in the prayers and instruction of the congregation first partook of the sacred elements, and then invited me to partake. Hitherto I had never partaken of this ordinance with the Nestorians; but to have declined under present circumstances would have done as much injustice to my own feelings as to theirs. For many months I had not been privileged with coming to the table of the Lord: God had in great mercy preserved me through many perils, and brought me among a people who had received the gospel from the apostles and immediate disciples of our Saviour, and had preserved its doctrines with a great degree of purity; and though there was painful evidence of a great want of spiritual life, I was encouraged to hope that some almost smothered sparks of vital piety were still burning upon these altars. I could not but regard it as a branch of the true church of God, though immersed in the darkness of gross ignorance, superstition, and spiritual torpor, yet not of death. But there was still much in their character and circumstances of deep and lively interest; my heart was drawn out towards them in warm affection; and seldom have I commemorated the dying love of Christ under circumstances more deeply interesting than among these primitive christians, in the wild mountains of ancient Assyria.

'There was a great stillness and propriety of deportment in the congregation, and all retired without noise or confusion. In passing out, each person received at the door a very thin *leaf* of bread, rolled together, and enclosing a morsel of meat. This was the 'love feast' of the early christians of the first and second centuries.*

'Several of the people then went to the house of the church steward, and partook of a more substantial but plain repast, retiring soon after to their houses or calling upon their more immediate friends. The day was observed with far more propriety than I have seen among other christians of the east. There was a general stillness throughout the village, such as I have noticed in few places in more highly-favored lands. There was no noisy merriment, no attention to secular business; and the social intercourse of the people was nothing more than

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist., vol. i. p. 54.

what was practised in the ancient Hebrew church. Formerly they are said to have regarded the christian Sabbath with so much sacredness as to put to death persons for travelling on that holy day.

'In the evening many of the people again assembled for worship at the church, and morning and evening prayers are offered there through the whole week. But unlike what I have seen any where else in the east, many of the people say their prayers in their own dwellings, instead of going to the church during the week; and a small wooden cross may be seen hanging from a post for them to kiss before prayers; a practice which they regard as a simple expression of love to Christ, and faith in his death and atonement. The cross, however, is not considered in any sense as an object of religious worship.'—pp. 60—63.

There is a great dearth of the inspired volume amongst the Nestorians, and we need not therefore wonder at their low state of religious information, or at the many corruptions by which their faith and practice are distinguished. Cut off from intercourse with other christians, and destitute themselves of the good word of life, it is no marvel that they should have lost much of the simplicity of Scripture truth, and have been led away by 'divers and strange doctrines.'

'At Asheetha,' says Dr. Grant, 'I became the guest of priest Auraham (Abraham), who is reputed the most learned Nestorian now living. He has spent twenty years of his life in writing and reading books, and has thus done much to supply the waste of, if not to replenish, the Nestorian literature. But even he had not an entire Bible; and though the Nestorians have preserved the Scriptures in manuscript with great care and purity, so scarce are the copies, that I have not found but a single Nestorian, and that one the patriarch, their spiritual head, who possessed an entire Bible; and even that was in half a dozen different volumes. Thus divided, one man has the Gospels, another the Epistles, the Psalms, the Pentateuch, or the Prophets. Portions of the Scriptures are also contained in their church liturgy or ritual. The book of Revelation, and two or three of the shorter epistles, they did not possess till furnished with them by our mission; and these portions of the Bible appear not to have reached them when their canon was made up. But they readily received them upon the testimony of other christian nations, and the internal evidence of their authenticity.

'The Nestorians attach the greatest value to the Scriptures, and are desirous to have them multiplied among their people, in a language which all understand; and when I told priest Auraham of the power of the press to multiply books, his keen expressive eye was lighted up with a new brilliancy, and he manifested a strong desire to see it in operation here.

'Seeing me take the catalogue of his small library, he begged me to write down his application for the Scriptures he had requested; and others following his example said, 'Write down my name:' 'Write my name, that I may have the gospels too;' refeirrng to the four gos-

pels in the ancient Syriac, which is the only portion of the Bible printed in the Nestorian character.'—pp. 65, 66.

The most pleasing feature in the present condition of this people, is the readiness which they evince to receive more perfect instruction. The clergy, as well as the laity, appear to be fully sensible of their own deficiencies, and to look forward with joyful anticipation to a more continuous intercourse with christians of America and Britain. The patriarch of the tribe welcomed the missionary explorer as a harbinger of good to his people. 'My heart,' said he, 'is rejoiced that I see your face, and you will make my house your home, and regard me as your elder brother.' The office of this ecclesiastic embraces the civil as well as the religious interests of his people, and his disposition is eminently friendly to their advancement in the peaceful arts of a more civilized life.

'The patriarch is thirty-eight years of age, above the middle stature, well proportioned, with a pleasant, expressive, and rather intelligent countenance; while his large flowing robes, his Koordish turban, and his long grey beard, give him a patriarchal and venerable aspect, which is heightened by a uniformly dignified demeanor. Were it not for the youthful fire in his eye, and his vigor and activity, I should have thought him nearer fifty than thirty-eight. But his friends assured me that the hoariness of his beard and locks was that of care, and not of age. His situation is certainly a difficult and responsible one, since he is, in an important sense, the temporal as well as the spiritual head of his people. To preserve harmony and settle differences between the various tribes of his spirited mountaineers, and with the Koords by whom they are surrounded, is a labor that would tax the wisdom and patience of the greatest statesman; and I could hardly wonder that the hoar-frost of care was prematurely settling upon his locks. It was quite evident that the patriarch's anxiety extended not less to the temporal than to the spiritual wants of his flock; as his first inquiries related particularly to their political prospects, the movements in Turkey, the designs of the European powers with regard to these countries; and why they did not come and break the arm of Mohammedan power, by which many of his people had been so long oppressed, and for fear of which the main body of them were shut up in their mountain fastnesses.

'He is pacific in his disposition, and he carries his rifle in the anticipation of an encounter with the brown bear, the wolf, hyena, or wild boar of their mountains, rather than with the expectation of fighting their enemies the Koords. But while the latter never enter the central parts of their country, they are sometimes brought into collision with them on their borders, as already noticed. Such had recently been the case in Tehoma and Jelu; and during my visit at the patriarch's, he was called upon to decide what should be done with two Koords who had been taken by his people from a tribe that had some time before put two Nestorians to death. Blood for blood is still the

law; and custom requires that a tribe be held accountable for the conduct of each of its members. Hence it mattered not whether the individuals they had taken were guilty of the murder; it was enough that they belonged to the same tribe, and by right they should die. The patriarch, however, was inclined to mercy, while his people, at the same time, must receive justice. After due deliberation and investigation of the case, the patriarch at length decided that, inasmuch as his people had brought the captive Koords into their own houses, they had, in a sense, become their guests, and, consequently, their lives must be spared, but they might accept a ransom from the Koords; and thus the matter was finally settled.'—pp. 81—83.

Their form of church government is essentially episcopal, though, with the exception of a single tribe, not a bishop is to be found amongst the independent Nestorians. Foreign influence has greatly moulded their religious forms, though enough would seem to remain to indicate the character originally impressed on their institutions. The income of the patriarch is moderate, and his style of living simple and unostentatious.

On the whole, we cannot but regard Dr. Grant's introduction to this interesting people as opening up a new and promising sphere of labor to the churches of America and Britain. Located amidst the followers of Mohammed, they possess many opportunities for propagating the true faith, which no other people can command, and may be fitted, when better instructed themselves, for the conversion of those deluded votaries to the faith and hopes of the gospel. We trust that the American church will follow up vigorously the steps already taken, and shall be happy to find, that the circulation of Dr. Grant's volume has served to enkindle amongst ourselves a feeling similar to that from which his mission originated. We have confined our notice to the former part of his volume, and have done so designedly. The latter and larger part is occupied in an attempt to prove, that these oriental christians are the lineal descendants of the ten tribes which Shalmanezer transported into Assyria some hundred years before the birth of Christ. The theory is supported by some strong points, and is well worthy of attentive consideration. We abstain for the present, however, from entering on it, as it would require, for its due examination, a much larger space than we have at our command.

Art. VIII. 1. *Low's Parliamentary List.* London. 1841.

2. *How to get in; or Hints to Parliamentary Candidates.* Scott, Webster, and Co. London. 1841.

3. *Crosbie's Contested Elections.* 1838.

4. *Popular Elections—Evils and Remedies.* By J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. London. 1841.

THE elections are now concluded; and, for the first time since the reform era, Toryism has achieved a parliamentary majority. The nation has refused to respond to the invocation of the Whig ministry, and a large accession to the ranks of their opponents has in consequence taken place. This result of the queen's appeal to the country is too palpable to be denied, and too instructive to be permitted to pass without comment or inquiry. The event is pregnant with counsel. It is calculated to teach succeeding generations lessons of no mean worth; and will not have happened in vain, if itlead our public men to an honest and thorough investigation of the causes which have produced so startling a change in the aspect of public affairs. A party, which eight years ago * opened the session with *a majority of three hundred and sixty,* is now left in a decided minority after a direct and earnest appeal from the monarch to the constituencies.

It would be sheer folly to ascribe this result to any isolated fact. Many influences have been silently and gradually converging to a point, all of which must be traced out and be honestly appreciated, if we would rightly understand the catastrophe which has befallen us.

If it be asked, Why, if the nation values reform, has not the nation stood up in its behalf? Why, if the people care for free-trade, have not the people sent representatives who would

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* The first reformed parliament, elected December, 1832, was thus constituted:—

	Reformers,	Tories.
English Counties	102	42
Boroughs	264	63
Welsh Counties	8	7
Boroughs	11	3
Scotch Counties	22	8
Boroughs	22	1
Irish Counties	48	16
Boroughs	32	9
	509	149

advocate it to parliament? It may be replied, that after analyzing with candor the influences and circumstances adverted to, we find it impossible to ascribe the altered position of parties in the House of Commons to a conviction in the public mind of the injustice and undesirableness of a liberal commercial policy. Far different causes are to be assigned in explanation of the change, to some of which we purpose briefly directing attention. It is in no querulous or disheartened temper that we do this, neither are we disposed to press more heavily than the case imperatively requires on the administration whose term of office has nearly expired. It were easy to adopt the language now so general with liberal journals, and to seek for a solution of the enigma in the defective state of the reform registration. But such a course is as impolitic as it is unsound. The state of the registration was but a symptom of a deeper and more fatal disease, which must be probed — thoroughly and fearlessly probed—if we would restore healthful life and action to the public mind. The Tories aimed at the spoils of office. This was their object, and the registration-court was the scene where they contended for it. Reformers, on the other hand, desired the correction of abuses and the free expansion of national energies, but seeing no hope of the attainment of their object, and having lost confidence in their former leaders, they neglected the means by which only it could be secured.

1. The most striking characteristic of the elections which have just terminated was the APATHY of the great mass of the people. They were indifferent about the result of the struggle, believing it to be rather a party than a national contest. The people had in fact lost confidence in the energy and honest intentions of Lord Melbourne's administration; and it was therefore impossible for any promises to outweigh past facts. They knew that the administration had become timid, temporizing, and conservative; had sought to repress rather than to guide the popular mind, had consorted with the hereditary enemies of English liberty rather than with its friends, had looked to class interests and the judgment of a clique rather than to the obvious requirements of the great body of the nation. Such was the impression extensively prevalent just prior to the bringing forward of the budget, and the consequence which followed was perfectly natural. The elections of 1841 read statesmen the important lesson that it is difficult to secure the confidence of the people, and next to impossible to recover that confidence when once forfeited.

> 'Facilis descensûs Averni;
> Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
> Hoc opus, hic labor est.'

'The measures now brought before the country,' said the people, 'may or may not be good in themselves, but have not 'the ministers adopted them at the eleventh hour as a last shift 'to keep themselves in office? Why did they not bring them 'forward when they had power to command attention? Why 'have they delayed them till this juncture? A death-bed re- 'pentance is seldom genuine,—it is barely possible that it may 'be so. When you had large majorities why did you give up 'sound principles and good measures to purchase the favor of 'Tory lords who afterwards taunted you with abandoning your 'bills? You were elected by the people; but you looked for 'support to their enemies: you must now gather the fruit of 'your own blunder. Why have you not abolished church- 'rates, condemned in turn by Lord Althorp and Sir Robert 'Peel, and dispensed with in Ireland? Why has not the land 'been purged of ecclesiastical courts, sentenced by a royal 'commission, and pronounced to be grievances by the House of 'Commons? Why did we hear jests thrown out by a secretary 'of state against Thorogood—a victim of spiritual injustice, 'in order to catch a smile from Tory opponents? Why was 'the *finality* of the reform bill talked of, when education and 'intelligence were spreading among the masses of the people,— 'when the system of registration, and the want of protection to 'voters were making things worse than they were prior to 1832? 'We are of opinion that the Whigs can do more good on the '*opposition* side of the house than on the *treasury* benches. 'Defeat will teach them wisdom, and endow them with the 'power of discriminating between friends and foes.'

Thus argued large masses of the people; and we must admit, more in sorrow than in anger, that there was too much truth in their reflections. We are not insensible of the benefits which have accrued to the country from the Whig government, nor are we so befooled as to liken it to that of their opponents. The error of the party has been a mistrust of the people, a shrinking back from the legitimate issues of their own principles, a morbid apprehension of the popular mind becoming too powerful for their control, and too enlightened to permit the further continuance of aristocratical immunities. This is the rock on which they foundered, and we need not therefore wonder at their present discomfiture. The benefits they have conferred are manifold and vast, and we deeply deplore, for their sakes, as well as for that of our country, that they were not qualified for the yet greater work which has to be performed. A temporary retreat from office may not be without its effect, in preparing them to act with greater firmness and on a more comprehensive policy.

2. Another circumstance, which has tended in no small de-

gree to produce the present discomfiture of the liberal parliamentary party, is the fact that Tory organization has converted the registration system into an offensive power against the people. That system, as we have frequently taken opportunities of explaining, contains a series of petty, vexatious, perplexing provisions, which it is difficult for plain men to comprehend, and more difficult for the mass of the constituencies accurately to comply with. The Tory party, by skilful arrangements, which their superior wealth has enabled them to make, have slowly and steadily, year after year, secured advantages over the Liberals; placing on the register (the £50 tenant at will clause affording them every facility) all their partizans who possessed doubtful or fictitious qualifications; and raising every objection that practised ingenuity could suggest, against men unlikely to co-operate with them. As long as the present expensive system lasts, the Tories will continue to possess great advantages over the less wealthy party; still it is our duty to impress upon the friends of reform in England, Scotland, and Ireland, that vigilance, earnestness, and perseverance on their part can effect more than has been effected. If they wish to repair the loss which they have sustained, they must copy the example of the enemy, and recollect that one of the great moving causes of Tory success at the elections just concluded, was the attention paid by the Tories to registration, and the negligence of the Liberals with reference to it.

3. Again and again have we impressed it upon the Whig Government and their supporters, that *unless they adopted some measures to protect the electors in the exercise of their franchise, it would be vain to hope for the continuance of a majority in the House of Commons, and that their own downfall was inevitable.* We told them that the Tory party had means of coercion and influence at their command, with which, in the long run, it would be impossible to cope. Bullied, intimidated, and wrought upon by a thousand subtle influences, electors in many cases within our recent knowledge have exclaimed, the Whigs *now* require our support, why have they refused us THE BALLOT, which would have secured fair play and liberty of action? To the absence of the ballot must be mainly ascribed the disorganization of the Liberal party and the strength of the Tories. No measure was, or is, more universally popular; and the influence of patronage possessed or anticipated, and the calculations of registration attorneys would be alike defeated by *secret voting.* But the prophetic advice of Mr. Grote and others was unheeded, till the evil day arrived that disclosed bribery, falsehood, force, unmanly intrigue, and insolent dictation, in active operation against free trade, religious liberty, and progressive reform.

4. In addition to the causes enumerated, others of a more temporary, but not less potent nature, remain to be disclosed. THE FREE TRADE PRINCIPLES, promulgated by the ministers of the crown, *alarmed the aristocracy.* They felt that those principles cut at the root of their monopolies; and the men of lands and rivers, who boast that they possess the strength of the hills, knew that, if their corn-monopoly were crushed, their haughty political pretensions would soon afterwards be set at nought. The monopolists, therefore, put forth their united strength. They clubbed their purses, and formed a joint stock company for mutual assurance, and the defeat of free trade theories. The corn monopolist said to the sugar monopolist, 'Let us go to the timber and coffee monopolist, and say, If you 'will *befriend us,* we will *befriend you.* Do you defend the 'corn and sugar monopolies, and we will in turn support 'yours.' The combined monopolists addressed themselves to *the clergy* for aid; and through the length and breadth of the land the clergy rose *en masse;* for when monopolies were threatened they fancied their craft was in danger. The landlords then began to play upon the ignorance, prejudices, and fears of THE FARMERS. Parsons beat 'the pulpit drum;' tracts, handbills, and newspapers, were circulated, gratuitously, on every estate. Agents and stewards went howling over the earth,—declaring that a free trade would reduce the price of corn from 62*s.* per quarter to 45*s.*, or perhaps to 40*s.* Woe! Woe! was on their lips from morning to evening, and from evening to morning. Orators in tap-rooms and at the market-place never ceased to cry—'*Ruin to British Agriculture;*' and talked of rents, taxes, and the workhouse, till the farmers were thoroughly frightened! In addition to these appliances every landlord exerted himself as if he had staked his all upon the hazard of the die, and threatened his cap-in-hand tenant, if for an instant the latter hesitated to promise support to 'the farmer's friend.' A panic unquestionably seized upon the agriculturists, who feared that their hard earnings, and not extravagant war rents, would be affected by the proposed change, and could not see that if a slight fall was experienced in the price of corn, farmers on the other hand would be able to purchase coffee, sugar, and other necessaries, at a much more moderate rate. The result of this movement was, that out of one hundred and fifty-nine English county members, but twenty two *liberals* were returned; many of whom, we are sorry to say, pledged themselves to support the corn-laws.

5. The fears of the working classes in towns and manufacturing districts, were, in turn, played upon. Mechanics and laborers were shocked with the announcement that *cheap bread meant low wages;* and the fallacy was urged with obstinacy

and vehemence, and was glossed over with all the plausibility that sophistry could devise. In Liverpool, Hull, Belfast, Dublin, Leeds, Bradford, the West Riding of Yorkshire and Northumberland, the fraud was but too successful. It was Sir Robert Peel's policy to accelerate a dissolution of parliament before his fallacies could be dissipated by full and fair discussion, and his trick has so far accomplished its object; but after all give us truth against all the world: *in the end* it will come off conqueror, although baffled for a season.

6. Beside the foregoing causes, must be noticed agitation on the subject of THE POOR LAW. The Tories, who were parties to the passing of that law, and who were, in an especial manner, *gainers* by it, (because it was in the agricultural districts more especially that the old poor-law system displayed all its corrupting influence and prodigal expenditure,) declaimed, nevertheless, pathetically against the new law, and sought, by making charges of inhumanity against their Liberal opponents, to excite the feelings of the poor on their behalf. Many reformers, who felt the importance of that law as a temporary means to check and cure extraordinary local disorders, and generally approved of the economy and improved management, were anxious to mitigate some of its harsh clauses, and take more effectual guarantees for a mild administration of its provisions; but the cant of 'the Whig Poor Law' was incessantly dinned in the public ear, and, in most cases, the cry operated in favor of the Tories.

7. That chartism has, in some degree, tended to injure the Liberal cause must be granted; although its powers of mischief have been greatly exaggerated for obvious purposes. Generally speaking, however, the Chartists threw the votes and the influence they possessed *into the Tory scale;* for which unprincipled conduct it will be well if their new friends give them no reason bitterly to repent.

The general result of the elections is as follows:

	Reformers.	Tories.
English boroughs . . .	176	166
——— counties . . .	22	137
Scotland	31	22
Ireland	61	43
	290	368

In the above calculation, Thetford, for which place there is a double return, is entered on *both sides;* and Meath county is not entered at all, as Mr. O'Connell has also been elected for the county of Cork; the general statement of the losses and gains of both parties is as follows:—

Tory gain.		Liberal gain.	
English counties . .	22	English county . .	1
——— boroughs . .	39	——— boroughs .	30
	—61		—31
Irish counties . . .	5	Irish county . . .	1
—— boroughs . . .	5	—— boroughs . .	2
	—10		— 3
Scotch counties . . .	4	Scotch counties . .	3
—— boroughs . . .	3	—— boroughs . .	1
	— 7		— 4
	78		38

Here then is a decided majority of SEVENTY-EIGHT against a Liberal government; a majority which is the more significant when compared with the majorities commanded by the Liberals after the elections in 1834, 1835, and 1837. The numbers returned to the Peel parliament being 356 Liberals, 302 Conservatives: the numbers returned in 1837 being 336 Liberals, 322 Conservatives.

The English counties, it will be observed, form the strongholds of monopoly. In the English cities and boroughs there is a majority of ten in favor of free trade; the great metropolis returning thirteen Liberals, and but three Tories, two of whom are in favor of a revision of the tariff. In the Scottish cities and boroughs free trade has also commanded a majority, and in both the counties and boroughs of Ireland there are majorities in favor of the same cause. In the Scotch counties there is a loss of two seats to the Liberals; but it is of great consequence to observe that Banff, Caithness, Fife, Forfar, Kinross, Kirkcudbright, Shetland and Orkney, Sutherland, and Wigtonshire, *the staple productions of which are derived from the soil, and the agriculturists of which are admitted to be the best cultivators in the world, have declared in favor of free trade.* Although then the Conservatives will enter upon office with a majority of at least seventy-eight, there is no cause to despair of the ultimate triumph of commercial freedom! Several remarkable changes have taken place. Mr. Grote has retired from parliament, not however without having done good service to the cause of free elections; for, in 1833, when he submitted his first motion to the House on the ballot, he had but 106 supporters; whereas, in 1838, 200 members voted for his motion; and it is probable that among the 290 Liberals now returned, 240 will be found pledged to support the ballot. Mr. Baines also retires from public life; and, together with him, Sir William Molesworth. Ardent, straightforward, and industrious, Sir William Molesworth is too able and too conspicuous a politician to be permitted long to remain inactive: it speaks but little, however, for the intelli-

gence of our constituencies, that such a man should be kept out of parliament at this crisis. Mr. Hume, we are concerned to say, has been defeated at Leeds; Mr. E. J. Stanley in South Cheshire; Mr. Handley in South Lincolnshire; Sir De Lacy Evans, at Westminster; Mr. Wyse, a lord of the treasury, at Waterford; Lord Howick, in Northumberland; and Viscount Morpeth in the West Riding of Yorkshire. These ten public men will be missed by the country; and we are not sure that among the one hundred and eighty new members just returned, will be found those who can supply the void created by the absence of some of them. The defeat of Lord Morpeth in the West Riding was well calculated to elate the Tories; for they placed at the bottom of the poll one of the most useful and successful of the cabinet ministers,—a man of sound principles and steady conduct,—universally esteemed for his estimable private character; one moreover who had represented Yorkshire for a period of eleven years. The Tories triumphed not because the electors of the West Riding disapproved of Lord Morpeth's *individual* acts, but, as they declared, because the ministry of which he was a member had collectively lost their good opinion.

But it is time that we turn to the scenes which characterized, and we may add, disgraced, the elections generally.

It is not possible for any man who desires, in the words of the Bill of Rights, 'that elections should be free,' to examine the history of those which have just taken place, without feelings of indignation. Intimidation and bribery have been fearfully prevalent. They have been systematized and unblushingly practised, so as to compel the most moderate reformers to call for the ballot, as the only hope of saving the constituencies from entire corruption.

We select a few examples of the tyrannical interference of Tory landlords with their tenants and dependents. The following note was addressed to Lord Harry Vane (now M.P. for South Durham, in the room of Mr. Pease), by Lord Seaham, son of the Marquis of Londonderry.

'TO THE LORD HARRY VANE, &c.

'Wynyard Park, July 1, 1841.

'MY LORD,—Having come to South Durham to manage the interest of my family in the division, I am desirous of knowing distinctly from your lordship, if you stand unconnected with any other candidate, or if there is a coalition between you and Mr. Bowes. *I heard from my father that you had declared to him a direct coalition with Mr. Bowes.* If this is not the case, I trust your lordship will be so good as candidly and frankly to inform me, *as my directions and the expression of my wishes to my father's tenantry*, will much and mainly depend on your lordship's answer, &c. &c.

'SEAHAM.'

Lord Seaham here broadly states that it was his intention to send '*directions*, and the expression of his wishes to his father's 'tenantry,' and yet his lordship unblushingly sends this letter to the newspapers for publication!

Not content with domineering over the county voters, the Tory gentry, in some districts, have ordered lists to be made of those tradesmen resident in boroughs who should support Liberal candidates, and gave notice that their tenants should not deal with them nor support them in the smallest degree. So barefaced were they in the neighbourhood of Berwick, that an admonitory article, of which the following is a correct copy, was inserted in the local Tory journal.

'We are aware that there are a few of the shopkeepers associating themselves with his (Mr. Forster, the Liberal's) party; and it is a singular fact that, amongst them are to be found parties who, perhaps more than most others, derive their support from the agriculturists. But these parties will do well to pause and reflect. We understand, and we give timely warning of the fact, that a list of those tradesmen of Berwick who may vote for the free-trade candidate, will be carefully circulated amongst the agriculturists of the neighborhood and surrounding districts; so that, if they are base and ungrateful enough to assist in injuring their best friends, those friends may know by whom they have been betrayed. The franchise is entrusted not to be be exercised in carrying out party feelings, but for the public advantage!'

Lord Howick, at the conclusion of the Northumberland election, in the presence of the accused parties, thus exhibited the unconstitutional conduct of the Tory proprietors of that county.

'*I do charge upon my opponents that they have adopted undue means of influencing electors*: and I confess that I listened with the utmost astonishment to the address which has just been made by Lord Ossulston. I could not believe that he would conclude his remarks without adverting in the very slightest degree to those circumstances which have lately taken place upon Lord Tankerville's estate at Wark. . . . . You all heard Lord Ossulston say, that on Lord Tankerville's estate no person should suffer. He said nothing for his friends, and, in the same manner, Mr. Cresswell answered only for his own estate. After that, I was fully prepared to expect that the influence of other proprietors would be used in the most unsparing manner, and certainly that expectation has not been disappointed. *You are all aware with what extreme want of all reserve or concealment the great power of our neighbor at the castle has been exercised.* But for this, I say, I was prepared. What I did expect was, that the little miserable pledge which was given, would at least be faithfully observed. But what has been the fact? There are, in the village of Wark, a considerable number of electors. They hold houses and land under Lord Tanker-

ville, and are in a great degree dependent on their landlord. All these persons, with two or three exceptions, had promised to divide their votes between me and Lord Ossulston; *but, instead of being permitted to do so, gentlemen residing in the neighborhood, in the first instance, took every means in their power to induce them to break their promises; and, all these means being found insufficient, Lord Ossulston himself appeared amongst them, and so strongly pressed upon them to withdraw the votes which they had promised to me, that, with five honorable exceptions, they were induced to do so.*'

Lord Howick from henceforth will, we trust, become an advocate for the ballot; and we believe that the experience of June 1841 will have produced salutary impressions upon the minds of other Liberal lords, who have not hitherto supported protection in the exercise of the elective franchise.

The following address, published by the operative cotton spinners of Bolton, is worthy of peculiar attention:

'To the friends of humanity and justice.—We, the committee for the operative cotton spinners of Bolton and its neighborhood, appeal to you on behalf of our fellow-workmen, who have become the victims of Tory tyranny and oppression. Since the election terminated in this borough, the bread-taxers have carried out the principle of exclusive dealing to a frightful extent. One of the most striking instances is that of fifteen of Messrs. Bolling's spinners having been thrown out of employment. And for what? *Because they had the courage to use their conscientious judgment in the exercise of that privilege which the law of the land has given them in the choice of their representatives in parliament.* A considerable portion of these men have been in a state of half starvation a long time prior to losing their employment, and are now almost destitute of food, clothing, bedding, and furniture. Englishmen! must these men perish? No! exclaims the voice of humanity as well as justice; and we presume the kindness of a benevolent public will at once respond to this call. No; they shall not perish, but live. We hope that every man whose bosom is animated with one spark of true patriotism will lend their aid to protect these victims of cruel oppression. We intend, in a few days, to lay before the public the particulars of the condition of these men, and the manner in which they were discharged from their employment.

'SAMUEL HAWORTH, Chairman.'

As an instance of the petty things that Tory gentlemen will stoop to do, here is a note sent by an ex-sheriff of the city of York to a barber who voted for the Liberal candidate, Mr. Redhead Yorke:

'Mr. Hornby desires that Mr. Summerwell will *send* his bill in for shaving, and never enter Mr. Hornby's doors any more.

'Tuesday afternoon.'

This note was sent to his house immediately after the poor barber had voted.

If space admitted we might have quoted from the speeches of Col. Bruen, M.P. for the county of Carlow and others, direct admissions of interference with their tenantry; we shall content ourselves, however, with adducing one other document which was publicly read at Derby by Lord Waterpark, and which affords a slight clue to the policy pursued by the Tories generally:

'Wirksworth Committee Room, June 26, 1841.

'Thomas Frost,—I am very sorry to hear that you are likely to offend your old master *by allowing your son* to vote for Gisborne and Waterpark; because he had spoken to me about obtaining for you the premium for long service at the next agricultural meeting, in which I should assist him; and I should be very sorry if you should lose £4 4s. by any such proceedings. 'Yours truly,

'R. Creswell.'

The public journals abound with accounts of outrages perpetrated at the elections; many of which were attended with loss of life, and destruction of property. The Tories charge the Whigs with unconstitutional violence; the Whigs lay the same crime to the charge of their accusers. On the admissions and allegations of both parties, the late elections were attended with numberless exhibitions of brute force, calculated to degrade the nation in the eyes of foreign states, to debase the character of the people, and to prevent the fair expression of public opinion. We cannot dwell upon these things, nor can we do more than allude to the bribery and corruption which stalked abroad in open day, so as to go far in justifying the statement of the 'Examiner,' that '*the country has sold itself to the highest bidder!*' These facts, taken together, surely suggest *a total change* in our mode of conducting elections; and afford irresistible arguments in favor of the remedial measures we have so often suggested. We must at present content ourselves with a bare enumeration of them.

1. Abolition of canvassing.
2. Abolition of distinctive colors, processions, music, and banners.
3. Abolition of the useless custom of taking a show of hands.
4. Adoption of the ballot.

It is futile to object that the secresy thus obtained is un-English. So till recently were bribery and intimidation, at least they were so reputed, and if practised, it was in holes and corners, and with an obvious solicitude to avoid detection. The case, however, is now far different, and we must remodel our procedure accordingly. If Tory landlords will abuse the power

which their wealth gives them, their tenantry and tradespeople must be protected from injustice, though it be at the expense of what is fondly termed the legitimate influence of property. If the rights of electors are incompatible with the interests of the aristocracy, the latter must give way. Better far that the few be deprived of the power they abuse, than that the independence and honesty of millions should be sacrificed.

The events of the past, however, now give way to anticipations of the future. The Tories have already begun to divide the spoil; their journals having published lists of the embryo cabinet. They calculated upon accession to office *before the opening of the house;* but the address of Lord John Russell to the citizens of London has undeceived them. His lordship declares it to be the intention of her Majesty's present ministry to take the sense of the new house on the great financial questions upon which an appeal has been made to the country. The Tories are incensed at this determination; not so much for the trivial delay in the accomplishment of their wishes which it will occasion, *but because Sir R. Peel, and many of his friends, fear nothing so much as being forced into a decided and premature course with reference to free trade.* The Tory leader would like to have his hands free and the road clear, in order that if necessary, he might fall back upon a revision of the import duties. It is remarkable that the great Tory organ, 'The Times,' declared no further back than the 19th ult., that it still adhered to its old opinions on the corn laws and free trade, which it said, 'will doubtless have fair play whatever party may be in 'power.' The Whig ministry have resolved wisely then; and the Tories may now prepare for an energetic struggle, which, it is not difficult to foresee, will end in the ultimate triumph of free trade.

'As no ministers of the crown can stand without the confidence of the House of Commons,' Lord John Russell observes in his manifesto, '*our retirement from office will immediately follow the condemnation of our policy.* In this altered position it would be inconsistent with my notions of public duty to harass the government of the day by vexatious opposition; still less to deny to the crown the means of maintaining the reputation of the country abroad, and internal quiet at home.

'But when the great principles of religious, civil, and commercial liberty come into question, those principles must be firmly and fearlessly supported. Whatever party may be in power, they are so inseparably connected with the progress of society, that—although the country may doubt, may pause, may ponder—it will examine, discuss, and finally adopt them.'

Lord John Russell alludes to the vassalage of the county

constituencies, and the great sacrifices made in many places by reformers in defence of Liberal policy. Let the ministry take a step farther, and advise the crown to insert in the forthcoming royal speech a paragraph *recommending the attention of parliament to measures for the protection of electors in the exercise of the franchise.* Such a step would carry dismay into the ranks of the adversary, and hasten the time when 'ELECTIONS SHALL BE FREE,' as our forefathers of 1688 declared they should be.

We subjoin a table showing the relative state of parties from 1832 to 1841.

	General Election, 1832.				Gen. Election January 1835.			Gen. Election July 1837.			Gen. Election July 1841.		
	Number of Members Returned.	Reformers.	Tories.	Doubtful.	Reformers.	Tories.	Doubtful.	Reformers.	Tories.	Doubtful.	Reformers.	Tories.	Doubtful.
ENGLISH Counties	144	101	42	1	69	70	5	41	102	1	19	125	—
Boroughs	327	249	76	2	183	126	18	181	145	1	168	158	—
WELSH Counties	15	7	8	—	5	9	1	3	12	—	3	12	—
Boroughs	14	10	4	—	6	7	1	8	6	—	7	7	—
SCOTCH Counties	30	22	8	—	15	12	3	11	19	—	10	20	—
Boroughs	23	23	0	—	22	1	—	22	1	—	21	2	—
IRISH Counties	64	44	20	—	41	23	—	44	20	—	39	25	—
Boroughs	41	31	9	1	24	15	2	29	12	—	23	16	—
Totals	658	487	167	4	365	263	30	339	317	2	290	365	—

Brief Notices.

The Revelation of God in his Word; shown in a Graphic Delineation of Holy Scripture for its Friends and Enemies. Translated from the German of Dr. T. W. Gess, Assistant at Beutlingen, and Director of the School Conference. By W. Brown, A.M., Minister, Tobermore.

This is the thirty-first volume of the Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet; and consists chiefly of a concise account of the several books of the Old and New Testaments. If the reader conceive of the preliminary observation sto those books in Henry's Commentary, or in Bagster's Comprehensive Bible, as being somewhat enlarged and improved, and printed in a separate volume, he will have a toleralby correct idea of the work before us. Dr. Gess's 'graphic delineation' may be useful to Bible classes, and is a very proper book for the use of the higher classes in our Sunday-schools: but if the student be beguiled into the purchase of this work in the hope of obtaining a volume of Biblical criticism, he will be utterly disappointed.

The subscribers to the Biblical Cabinet will probably be dissatisfied with the character of the volume; and certainly have great reason to complain of the manner in which it is executed. The punctuation is most negligent, some glaring verbal errors have been allowed to escape revision (see pp. 15, 189, 191); and the translation, as a whole, is chargeable with great slovenliness. We could cite scores of passages in which the rules of grammar are violated; and not a few in which the minister of Tobermore seems to have labored to work out his idea of the style of the apostle John, which, he tells us, 'scorns much the consideration of manner.' In justice to Mr. Brown, we give a passage or two in evidence. The first is from a paragraph explanatory of the peculiarities of the gospel by Luke.

'It belongs to its historical character that he introduced his book by a preface, in which he has set down the sources which he used; that he goes beyond the compass of the oral gospels, and narrates matters from the beginning, iii. 1, he has given a date without which we would have been wholly in the dark as to the time when our Saviour entered upon office; and that he has neither heaped together masses of narratives nor of doctrines, but placed all in good order, and distinctly; by a sketch he prepares the causes, by a remark he unfolds a digression, and ends in a beautiful harmony.'
—p. 170.

The gospel by John is poetically described thus:

'This little book is a calm deep sea, in which thoughts suggest themselves with the remembrance of the beautiful time of youth in the life of John, as a pleasing shore, where heaven itself is reflected with its sun and stars.'
—p. 177.

We make these remarks with regret, but should be wanting in fidelity if we did not point out such glaring defects, the frequent repetition of which cannot but be fatal to the reputation of a work, in the success of which we are on many accounts deeply interested.

The Popular Cyclopædia of Natural Science. VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY. Large 12mo, pp. viii., 295. Tanners. London: 1841.

In the present day there is such a happy demand, by the middling and lower orders of society, for natural knowledge, that works for the supply of this demand can no longer hope for public favor if they be of the flimsy compilation character which some years ago were tolerated. Minuteness and accuracy, as well as comprehensiveness, are now requisite. In our own country, including with marked honor Edinburgh and Glasgow as well as London, many single volumes and series of treatises have been published which confer immense benefits on their readers. Nor have Germany, France, and the United States of North America, been backward in contributing to this treasure for general usefulness. In the two former countries such works have often been impregnated with the venom of atheism and pantheism; but happily few of our English works are chargeable with this inexcusable fault and criminal insidiousness.

The volume before us possesses merit of a very high order. The

talents and attainments of its author are evidently such as qualify him to take his station, as an original author, experimenter, and discoverer, among the most exalted sons of science. If this work had been published in a splendid and expensive style, it would have found its appropriate place in the libraries and cabinets of the opulent. So much the greater is the debt of gratitude for such a disinterested employment of abilities, which would have commanded honor in the first circles; and that honor, we feel assured, will eventually not be wanting.

The present, though an independent work, is the first in a series which will comprehend the subjects of Natural History and Philosophy, which are the most universally important, and which ought to enter into any course of good education. At school, indeed, much in this department of instruction cannot be effected; but the mathematical and literary foundation can be laid, and then every young person is bound to strive, by the efforts of self-discipline, to become solidly acquainted with 'that bright volume of creation, the pages of which are daily and hourly unrolled before us, and which is written' (to use the impressive words of Lord Bacon,) 'in the only language which has *gone forth to all the ends of the earth*, unaffected by the confusion of Babel. To every one do *the heavens declare the glory of God*, whilst *the earth* shows itself *full of his goodness:* but most of all to him who has learned to interpret the wonders they display; and, by the application of the reason wherewith he has been endowed, to the discerning contemplation of the glorious works by which he is surrounded, to trace HIS power, wisdom, and love, in every action.'—*Prospectus.*

This succession of works will comprise, in addition to the volume in our hands, Botany, Zoology, Animal Physiology, Habits and Instincts of Animals; Mineralogy, Geology; Mechanics, Astronomy, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Pneumatics; Sound, Heat, Light, Electricity, Magnetism; Chemistry, and its application in the Arts.

Of the present volume we only say further, that, not only to the philosophical student, but to farmers, and all others who wish to cultivate their fields and gardens with intelligence, and the best hope of profitable returns, its instructions will be of signal advantage.

In particular, the observations upon the excretions of plants, and the inferences thence to be drawn with regard to the rotation of crops, are of the first importance in rural economy.

We perceive, with no little satisfaction, that the entire series of these treatises will be from the same able and accomplished author. On account of the innumerable points of connexion and mutual illustration between the subjects, this is a very important fact.

Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees. By Mrs. Ellis. London: Fisher and Co.

'Deeming it probable,' remarks Mrs. Ellis, 'that many individuals, under the necessity of hastening from England to the South of France, may wish to know something of the climate, the scenery, and the in-

habitants of that salubrious region, it is my desire, in offering the present work to the public, not only to supply information to such travellers, but to afford amusement, interest, and I would fain hope some degree of instruction to those whose circumstances or inclination detain them at home. I have made no pretension to observation either of a scientific or of a political nature. Mine is a simple detail of impressions made upon my own mind from the scenes and circumstances around me.' Such a work, from the author of *The Women of England*, cannot fail to secure an extensive circle of readers, to whose entertainment and instruction it will be found highly adapted to minister. The good sense and sound discrimination which characterise Mrs. Ellis's former productions are visible throughout this volume. The customs and manners of the people amongst whom she resided, their traditionary history and local impressions, are skilfully combined with notices of their religious state, and the prospects of a better order of things, which are beginning to unfold themselves. Free from the absurd prejudices of many English tourists, yet deeply sensible of the paramount importance of religious truth, she has delineated the superstitions of the papal church, and the national peculiarities of the French people, in a manner equally creditable to her acuteness and her candor. The beautiful scenery of the South of France, and its climate so 'soft and balmy,' are described in terms of well-merited eulogy; while the minuter features of the social condition of the people are sketched with the fidelity and tact of an accomplished female writer. There is an air of sober reality and truth about the volume which wins implicit trust, and places it in honorable contrast with the productions of many tourists of higher pretensions. We cordially recommend it to our readers as at once an entertaining companion and a safe guide.

An Address intended to have been delivered on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Lancashire Independent College at Hithington, near Manchester, on the 23rd of September, 1840. By George Hadfield, Treasurer to the Institution. London: Hamilton.

An able and well-timed address, admirably suited to the occasion for which it was prepared, and adapted to stimulate its dissenting readers to a vigorous discharge of their solemn responsibilities. Mr. Hadfield evinces an extensive acquaintance with our history, an enlightened estimate of our principles, and a sincere and warm-hearted devotedness to their defence and propagation. In these days of expediency and vacillation it is refreshing to meet with a writer whose language bespeaks deep conviction and earnestness,—that inward motion of the spirit which must always precede successful exertion in any great enterprise. We trust that we are entering on better times,—times, not more tranquil than the past, but more consistent, and therefore more effective. Released from the trammels of political partizanship, we shall have free scope for the display of our energy, and be cheered on in our laborious struggle by many Whig politicians who have hitherto sought to damp our ardor and to weaken our efforts,

lest the administration of Lord Melbourne might be injured. As a preparation for such times and such labors we cannot do better than recommend our readers to peruse the sketch which Mr. Hadfield has furnished of the political history of our fathers.

Chapters on Church-yards. By Caroline Southey. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

A charming volume, adapted to interest both the young and the old, the light-hearted and the grave. It is full of genuine sentiment, and is truthful in its descriptions. Mrs. Southey possesses in an eminent degree the faculty of painting her scenes to the eye. They live before the reader, and shed upon his heart some of the calmest and most hallowing influences of which our nature is susceptible. Out of an unattractive subject she has contrived, with great skill but without the slightest appearance of force, to extract useful and pleasing instruction;—useful as tending to promote the charities of life, and pleasing as it combines a tinge of melancholy with the bright hopes and verities of the christian faith.

Priscilla the Helper: a Memoir of Mrs. Rowton, of Coventry. By J. G. Hewlett. 18mo. Ward and Co.

To such as delight in piety without ostentation, and will be satisfied with 'a plain unvarnished tale,' this little volume will prove acceptable. It is for the most part the diary of a devout and zealous christian female, who endeavored to unite prayer with effort, and thus to enlighten and to bless the circle in which she moved. Pious women who would be stimulated by example, or encouraged by a look into the sanctuary of another's heart of like mind with themselves, may here discover within a few pages much to gratify and instruct them.

A Dissertation on the Vow of Jephthah; comprising a critical examination of the Hebrew Text, and of the Authorized Version; a Consideration of the various Arguments for and against the Sacrificial Nature of that Vow, that have been brought forward by the most generally received Commentators of Sacred Scripture; and Reflections on the subject, drawn from the nature of the Mosaic dispensation, and the Character of the Hebrew nation. By J. S. Keddell, Surgeon, &c., Sheerness. London: Painter.

This is a very able disquisition on a portion of the sacred records which has greatly perplexed biblical critics; and which, as it has been commonly understood, has furnished infidelity with a sneer, and scepticism with perhaps the shadow of an excuse. Mr. Keddell has boldly and satisfactorily met the question, 'whether Jephthah did or did not sacrifice his daughter in pursuance of his vow?' He advocates the negative of this question, and has conducted his argument with so much learning, patience, and skill, that it will not be easily refuted.

We wish that every difficult part of holy writ had a separate work, such as the present, devoted to its elucidation, which should embrace the whole subject, with all that has been said or written upon it—fairly weighed in the balance of reason—so as to enable the reader to examine it for himself, and draw his own conclusions. The title-page of Mr. Keddell's dissertation is fully borne out; and as it is not to be found in any commentary on the Scriptures, and is complete in itself, the biblical student would do well to procure it,—while to Christians in general it cannot fail to be interesting and instructive.

A Course of Lectures to Young Men. By Ministers of various Denominations in Glasgow and its neighbourhood. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

To us this volume is invested with peculiar interest. As the first moral demonstration in favor of young men in Scotland, we rejoice in it as a successful experiment—which we doubt not will draw after it a long train of happy consequences. Already the example has been followed at Paisley and Edinburgh. Dr. Chalmers, whose delicate health and official engagements denied him the pleasure of uniting with his reverend brethren in this work of faith and labor of love, expressed the deep interest he felt in their undertaking; and addressing the committee with whom it originated he says, 'I have the greatest value for your scheme, and the greatest wish for its prosperity. May the blessing and countenance of God be upon it.' This fervent prayer was not in vain. The committee observe, 'No charge of extravagance, it is hoped, will be incurred by the assertion, that its external success has no precedent in the annals of week-day lecturing. This much is certain, that no such series of popular and well-timed instruction was ever addressed to so *many thousands of young men*. The Lectures themselves have been every way worthy of their several distinguished and eloquent authors, and the deep interest they have excited and sustained is their best eulogium.' In this opinion of the varied ability displayed by the respective lecturers we perfectly concur with the committee, while we cordially recommend the whole course to the perusal of our young men on this side of the Tweed. We are glad that the committee at Glasgow have other measures in view, and hope that our southern churches will be roused to follow their plans as soon as they are matured. We know of no object of equal importance; for we believe, that if our hopes of the future are to be fully realized—if the future is indeed to come fraught with blessings—if the true patriot and genuine philanthropist may anticipate the highest elevation of Britain and of man, young men must be the objects of effort, solicitude, and prayer.

A Help to the Unlearned in reading the Epistles. By a Clergyman, A.M. Romans and Galatians. London: L. and G. Seeley.

This work is a paraphrastic exposition of the two most difficult Epistles of the New Testament, namely, the Epistle to the Romans

and to the Galatians. It is chiefly intended for the instruction of persons of little leisure and slender capacity. Individuals of this class, as the author justly observes, 'need something as short and simple as the subject will admit of.' We quite agree with him when he says—'They do *not* want two or three interpretations of a text, of which they are incompetent to choose the best, but they require one good one. They do *not* want a number of practical observations and accommodations of the passage they are reading, (for this often confuses them,) but they want to know, in *the first place*, the simple meaning of the passage itself. It will be time enough for practical observations and useful accommodations some time hence. Indeed, the scripture itself is so full of what is practical, that, for the present, they are better without any thing, however good in itself, which may draw away their attention from the plain and simple meaning of the text.' The author has well executed his task; and in doing it has set a good example to his brethren. What employment can be more worthy of a clergyman, than that of expounding to his parishioners the word of eternal life?

Analysis of the Bible, with reference to the Social Duty of Man. By R. Montgomery Martin. Second edition. London: Fisher, Son and Co.

Mr. Martin truly observes, 'Were the divine law incorporated in the heart and in the life, the whole mental structure of man and of society would be changed. Envy, strife, and misery, would cease—earth become a paradise, and in the restoration of the spiritual Eden, men would again 'walk with God.' To bring out this law in bold relief, as a majestic whole, as well as to exhibit all its parts in minute detail, Mr. Martin has given us an analysis of the Bible. It is alphabetically arranged, and is one of those useful books which may be laid on the table of the oratory, and read in portions during the seasons in which the Christian daily retires for meditation and prayer.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1841.

Art. I. 1. *The Administrative Economy of the Fine Arts in England.* By EDWARD EDWARDS, of the British Museum. London: Saunders and Otley. 1840.

2. *Letter to Thomas Phillips, Esq., R.A., on the Connexion between the Fine Arts and Religion, and the Means of their Revival.* By HENRY DRUMMOND, Esq. London: Fraser. 1840.

THE habit of admiring the beautiful calls into existence ten thousand pleasurable and healthful associations. The works of nature, or rather of the God of nature, being perfect, except so far as the effects of the fall may have marred them, always excite in the highest degree the best sympathies of the inner man. The productions of art also, being excellent just so far as they approach the natural, produce correspondent results; which, whilst on the one hand, we would avoid over-valuing them, yet on the other, ought never to be overlooked nor depreciated. Whatever elevates man, woman, or child, above gross or grovelling pursuits, does good as far as it goes. In the mere way of instrumentality, a glorious picture, a noble statue, a magnificent edifice, or a sublime piece of music, may on some rare occasions have even reached the soul of a sinner. The Almighty who would have all men to be saved, is not limited in His operations When at Geneva, several years ago, we were in company with a lady whose father received his earliest religious impressions from the awful name JEHOVAH being reiterated with an effect he had never observed before, whilst the band of the Emperor Napoleon, to which he belonged, was performing an oratorio of

Handel. We are fully aware that much difference of opinion may exist on these subjects; but all we would at the present moment contend for is, that the relations of the arts of design with the state, as instruments of national education, open a wide field of inquiry, which, as Mr. Edwards observes, has been less explored in England than perhaps in any other civilized country of the ancient or modern world. 'Yet of late, there 'have been several indications of an aroused attention to this 'subject. Associations have been formed for the attainment of 'objects more or less closely connected with it. Repeated 'allusions have been made in parliamentary discussions, 'and committees have been appointed to inquire into our 'artistic institutions. A central school of design has been 'established by government, and facilities have been afforded 'for more free public access to our monuments.' As respects the last, what would our worthy forefathers have thought at the admission of the democracy into the exclusive reserves of the aristocracy? In the good old Tory times, long before the Reform Bill, no one could cross the threshold of St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey without paying at least something; whilst to see all that is to be seen, in those magnificent structures, would have cost an operative countryman from two to three days' wages for his severest labor. Any dreams of a National Gallery, into which the lower classes might walk without paying a farthing, would have proved such a nightmare to British statesmen during the eighteenth century, that the hospital of St. Luke's must have teemed with privy councillors, and Bedlam have emptied the House of Lords!

Vast changes, however, have come over the spirit of the age. Continental revolutions broke down the barriers of class insolence, and admitted all ranks into the Temple of Fame. It is true that *individuals* never were altogether excluded, even when of plebeian origin, or the most lowly extraction; but the novelty of modern days lies in diffusing the benefits of artistic enjoyment throughout large masses of mankind. It was never imagined until lately, in this aristocratic land, that pictures could be of the slightest consequence to the poor; including within that definition most of the untitled, and all who were not rich. We look upon the general admission of the public to Hampton Court for nothing, and to the Tower of London for sixpence a piece, as amongst our noblest intellectual trophies within the last few years. Yet much, very much, still remains to be done. It has been justly remarked, that the position of England in regard to the fine arts is to be determined, not so much by the possession of distinguished professors in one or more of their departments, 'as by that far better criterion,—the 'degree in which the humanizing influences of correct taste are

'seen to pervade the population at large, aiding in the develop-
'ment of their best feelings, in the cultivation of their minds,
'and in the nurture of their public as well as private virtues.'
In a single word, we ought to have artists who can assert and support their claims to be numbered amongst the teachers of their generation. The productions of the easel and the studio must come to possess an upward rather than a downward direction. To this end they must not seek their patrons and scholars within the walls of palaces, mansions, and colleges exclusively, but mainly amongst those who adorn the fire-sides of British domestic comfort. Government, which has been hitherto thoroughly feudalized, could scarcely be expected to act otherwise than discourage the arts, which, whenever cultivated by a people upon a large and liberal scale, have been found to promote the liberty of the many, quite as much as the elegant luxuries of the few. Hence, although ruling over a commercial country, the hands of our political oppressors have borne hardly upon all national attention to the beautiful, even with particular reference to manufacturing industry. The parliamentary committee of 1836 felt compelled to report that the 'great advantage which foreign manufacturing artists possess 'over those of our own soil consists in the greater extension 'of art throughout the mass of society abroad. Art is compa-'ratively dear in England. In France it is cheap, because it is 'generally diffused. In England a *wealthy* manufacturer has 'no difficulty in procuring superior designs. Our *affluent* sil-'versmiths have called to their aid the genius of Flaxman and 'Stothard; but the manufacturer of cheap plate and of inferior 'jewellery cannot procure designs equal to those of France, 'without incurring expense disproportioned to the value of the 'article on which his labor is employed.'

Our author professes himself to be no friend to forcing systems in general, nor does he expect that the mere patronage of government could ever of itself suffice to alter the existing state of things: but his ideas on the subject are expressed as follows:

'Inasmuch as I believe that our inferiority in the application of design to manufactures, as well as our apathy to the more spiritual creations of art, are to be traced to the one radical defect,—namely, that with us the fine arts have not as yet been trained to take firm hold as indigenous and hardy creatures of the soil, and a necessary part of its common culture, but have, on the contrary, been nursed as exotic luxuries; so I think that in this very preparatory training, there is something which is the natural office of THE STATE to do, and which it alone can do well.'—p. 28. 'In relation to this, experience would seem to show, that government can do little more to good purpose, than clear away obstructions, and watch that artists and men of

letters, no less than merchants, have a clear field for competition; suffer no interruptions, either from oppressive fiscal laws, or from monopolizing institutions; and take no detriment from the want of protection, either national or international, for the fruits of their labor. If, in addition to this, such opportunities as are afforded by useful and necessary public works for the patronage of the highest order of merit are honestly employed, then I submit, the government, as such, will have done its duty, so far as relates to the *direct* encouragement of the fine arts.'—p. 35.

We quite think so too: but then comes the disputed question as to how far the state may advantageously afford the *indirect* encouragement of art, so as to place a truly qualificative education for it within the reach of all. The fine comparison of Lord Bacon is quoted by Mr. Edwards, as inferring that the cultivation of general taste should form a feature of national education; that it should belong to that part of the tree of knowledge above which the branches begin to shoot off in their various directions. This opinion may be thoroughly reconcileable with the highest appreciation of the value of voluntary and associative exertions. Our author approves himself no very warm friend to state-establishments for religious purposes; but with regard to education, he conceives that although it is the most universal of all wants, it is least of all to be left to ordinary impulses. Thomas Carlyle, the British Critic, and the Westminster Review, are adduced by him as supporting his view of the matter; namely, that voluntary educational efforts are least strongly put forth just where they are most deeply required,—that they are uncertain, and fluctuating as to their duration,—that they are unable to cope with special difficulties, such as in the case of factory children,—and that they have too often fostered very narrow notions as to the nature and extent of that instruction which is desirable. His object is, not that these voluntary efforts should be superseded, but that they should be quickened and supported in the greatest possible degree: whilst the state shall stand by, not as an indifferent spectator, but as an intelligent and active friend. He imagines that in no country has high excellence in the arts ever been attained, except by their employment for religious or national purposes; and that no where have even the humbler applications of art long continued to exist, save in subordination to high attainment in those nobler branches. From the neglect of these points amongst ourselves, he conceives that artists have for the most part addressed themselves to the gratification of personal vanity; so that what might have assisted to improve or advance general taste and intelligence, has been suffered to produce an opposite effect. He contends that much may be done by government in the way of improving the laws of copyright; and herein we

quite agree with him. The exercise of intellectual or artistic labor in producing a valuable painting or piece of sculpture constitutes a clear and indisputable right of property; in the possession of which the ingenious designer ought certainly to be protected. He draws, however, a line between the productions of authors, sculptors, painters, engravers, and composers, and those who originate chemical or mechanical inventions: the former having nothing in their nature which ought to limit the term of their secure enjoyment; whilst the latter are less fortunate, inasmuch as *their nature* renders some limitation necessary for the purpose of securing fairness in the race of ingenuity to all inventors of every grade. Here, it seems to us, that a distinction is drawn without a difference. The entire question is one of general utilitarianism. The law of copyright, to be perfect, must strike that accurate medium which will afford the maximum of public advantage together with the minimum of individual inconvenience. Let books, pictures, prints, statues, as well as all sorts of designs, be nurtured by the law, without being rendered ineffective in their results upon the national mind, through that spirit of monopoly which is inherent in our natural selfishness. The real demon, however, to be exorcised from our legislation, as we must again and again repeat, is that of aristocracy; whether it glows from the iris colors of vivified canvas, or sheds its beautiful yet cold disdain from the forms of immortal marble. It is remarkable that such works of sculpture as can be brought within the definition of the 54 Geo. III. cap. 56, are protected for fourteen years, and even twenty-eight, should the artist survive. Patterns for printed linens, cottons, calicoes, and muslins, were only safe for three months, until the recent enactments. Silks and woollens, left to take their chance before altogether, are now added to the others, and the term of protection is extended to a year. Even thrice that period may also be secured by registration for any new manufactural designs unconnected with tissues or textile fabrics. Yet it must not be forgotten that to render these improvements satisfactory, proper means must be had towards resisting encroachment and invasion. Unless the remedy for an injury be cheap and simple, the ægis of the law becomes a mockery, or a burthen, instead of a reality and a blessing! But when shall we expect rich senators to make cheap laws; or nobles with hereditary coronets, and almost regal revenues, to ponder in the balances of equity the difference between a penny and a pound? We are ourselves for various reforms as to our patent regulations, the removal of all fiscal obstructions to ingenuity through the excise on bricks, paper, and glass (each of these articles exercising no slight influence on architecture and the internal arrangements of our

houses), as also for the multiplication to a moderate extent of schools for design.

It would be, moreover, not a little beneficial, were the powers conceded by parliament to municipal bodies, for making improvement rates, only acted upon as they were intended to be. Here government must undoubtedly set the example, and give a tone to the awkward efforts of torpid corporations.

'Collections of casts from the best works of sculpture, of ornaments in plaster and in metal, both ancient and of the middle ages, of prints, and of books, and of ornamental designs, such as the French and Prussian governments have caused to be produced on so splendid a scale, are those which are most desirable in our great manufacturing towns. Parliamentary grants, in aid of local rates, to be levied by the municipal bodies, appear to offer the best means of attaining them. Next in importance to these are collections of original and improved machines, models of new inventions, specimens of new and improved fabrics. These might easily be obtained in connexion with an improved law for the protection of patents and copyright. When these wants shall have been supplied, it will be necessary to consider the best means of establishing public galleries of the higher works of art, the want of which, though not operating so prejudicially upon industry, is yet both morally and intellectually a serious evil.'—*Edwards*, pp. 326, 327.

The present constitution of the Royal Academy, of which we hear so much, should also be speedily altered. It combines certain distinct functions incompatible with each other, and with those expectations which the public, who pay for it, have a claim therefore to see realized. It comprehends an assembly of honor for artists,—a school of instruction for aspirants,—and the chief medium for exhibiting their productions. It is justly argued, that to unite the control of honors and exhibitions in the same hands, is to place not only the professional distinction but the means of subsistence of the rising artist, at the absolute disposal of a body of men who at once are his competitors and his judges. Let these conflicting departments then be separated without delay. Let the absurd limitation as to the number of members be removed; let engravers be recognized as full members; and the class of associates be abolished. What will posterity say to the disgraceful fact that no engravers but those of *dies* can now participate in academic honors upon equal terms with their fellow artists? At Rome, Florence, and Milan, not to mention Venice, and some other places, we have had the gratification of witnessing the high estimation in which this order of artists can scarcely fail to be held, where foolish oligarchical prejudices have not as yet biassed the judgment of the public. Each academy in Italy has a resident professor within its establishment to give lectures, and encourage or assist be-

ginners. Even at Paris, engravers hold rank in common with other members of the Institute. But in England, our boasted Royal Academy condemns them to an intermediate state between respectability and disgrace; so that while six of their profession are eligible as associates only, just that stigma of inferiority is put upon them which prevents such men as Finden, Goodall, Robinson, and Raimbach, from entertaining any feeling, save that of contempt, towards an institution thus obstinately refusing to recognize their unrivalled merits. The annual exhibitions ought to be entrusted to an elective committee, uninvested with any exclusive privileges of inflicting fresh paint or varnish on pictures which it may be the interest of certain individuals either to spoil or sell. The fact, however, we fear is an incontrovertible one, that favoritism and monopoly have pervaded in this country the very marrow of society; so that throughout all grades of our fellow-countrymen they grow with our growth, and strengthen with our strength; nor can they ever be extirpated, for generations to come, by mild or ordinary remedies.

As might be expected, in the opinion of Mr. Edwards, the state ought to employ artists, as well as educate and honor them. He argues that from the enormous disparity in our social condition, together with all that such disparity involves, the fine or plastic arts should be employed for purposes of general enjoyment and magnificence, in which even the poorest may have their right of property. To this end, he would have government give national commissions to artists of approved ability for pictures of religious and historical subjects, to be placed in our public edifices and galleries; and for works of sculpture, as monuments to our illustrious men. He would also have judicious purchases made from the exhibitions, wherever such instances of artistic success were there displayed as might illustrate national genius. Considerable prizes, he further imagines, ought to be offered to unlimited competition for works of the same class as those included within the national commissions just mentioned. Sir Martin Archer Shee proposed some time ago that £5000 per annum should be funded, and with the interest be applied every third year to the encouragement of sacred and historical pictures, to be divided into three classes, and distributed with much public solemnity. If our readers have already differed in many respects from our ardent and ingenious author, we conceive that many will still further disagree with him in regard to the admission of altar-pieces into churches. 'Pictures are the books of the ignorant, who can 'see, but who cannot read,' said the synod of Arras, as quoted by Mr. Edwards. Probably we need not remind this gentleman, how strenuous a conviction the first Pope Gregory had, at

least six hundred years earlier, on the point. *Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui literas nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant quæ legere in codicibus non valent.* Lib. vii. Epist. 109, 110: and see the same in another epistle to Serenus the bishop of Marseilles. Indeed, both the idea and expression would seem to have been borrowed from Porphyry ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. 7. p. 98. Edit. Paris. 1624. Perhaps the generality of episcopalians would agree with, and the great mass of nonconformists dissent from, such statements. Virgil represents Æneas, in the new temple at Carthage, as feeding his mind *picturâ inani:* but how will our author not rejoice in Paulinus of Nola, who endeavored *to feed the bodies* of a famishing population with pictorial enjoyments, or at least something very like it? We cite the curious passage, which is not commonly known, for the benefit of the Royal Academy.

> 'Dumque omnes picta vicissim
> Ostendunt releguntque sibi, *vel tardius escæ*
> Sint memores, dum grata oculos jejunia pascunt!
> Dum *fallit pictura famem*, sanctasque legenti
> Historias, castorum operum subrepit honestas
> Exemplis inducta piis; potatur hianti
> Sobrietas, nimii subeunt oblivia vini!'

We heartily trust that this cheap method of assuaging the pangs of hunger in our large manufacturing towns may be forthwith adopted, *if there be* any reality in it: whilst not only should the walls of our union houses be covered with frescoes, but for the sake of the *sobrietas potatur hianti*, a coalition ought to be formed between temperance societies and the tasteful academicians of the metropolis. Messrs. Edwards and Drummond are perfectly sincere, and even solemn, in their extraordinary anticipations. The latter sketches out the religious origin of representations in oil and mosaics. He alludes to the edifying tradition of St. Gennadius, who in portraying a head of our Lord, having endeavored to improve it by copying the features of Jupiter, found his right or left hand withering in the profane attempt. The Virgin Mary, according to himself and Professor Burton, might be termed the patroness of painters, 'who has 'revenged herself upon the Protestants by not assisting them in 'this art.'

'After the time of Constantine, when the christians were allowed to have buildings exclusively devoted to worship, and when mosaic was the prevailing, if not the exclusive manner of christian painting, a majestic figure of our Lord was usually represented as placed in the pulpit, with the right hand leaning on the book of life, on which were

written in large characters, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.' To strike the imaginations of the faithful, on their entry into the church, by the figure of the God-Man, whose mediation they were come to evoke, and to strengthen this impression by the words, which briefly but so fully summed up the mission of the Mediator, was the object of the christian art of painting, in its early grandeur and simplicity. As the knowledge of the mechanical parts of the art advanced, still *religion* was the great principle which guided it, so that the artist who had the consciousness of his high vocation, looked upon himself *as the ally of the preacher;* and in the continual struggle which mankind has to maintain against its own evil inclinations, he always took the side of virtue. In conformity with this principle, at a later period, Buffalmacco, speaking of himself and his brother painters, says, *Non attendiamo mai altro che a far santi e sante per le mure e per le tavole, ed a far percio con dispetto dei demonij gli uomini piu devoti e migliori;* 'We painters do not attempt any thing but to make holy men and women by *means of walls and boards;* and by these means to make men, in spite of devils, more devout and better.'—*Drummond*, pp. 6, 7.

Now, we cannot think that any one, who has cast his or her eye over this present article, will accuse us of being indisposed to admit the just claims, which painting in particular, or the fine arts generally, may have upon our attention. We have even gone the length of allowing that, in very rare instances, the Holy Spirit of God has made use of certain exquisite productions to affect the understanding, or influence the heart. But the two gentlemen before us go very much further, in this respect, than we can accompany them. Their enthusiasm, we had almost said their fanaticism, so carries them away, that they forget the only kind of religion which is really worth any thing for eternity, as well as the usual means of promoting its success according to the word of God. It has been our lot to see, and that too with untold delight, most of those specimens of the plastic art, which common consent has pronounced to be the finest in the world. We have also witnessed, though with very different feelings, a good deal of that sickly sentimentalism which so unhappily distinguishes our fellow countrymen abroad, when contemplating the works of first-rate masters. Our duty therefore, as journalists, calls upon us to reprobate and protest against all this enervating and ostentatious display of intellectual emotion, which stands not more opposed to the best standard of taste than it does to the interests of genuine religion; although both these venerable names are miserably prostituted by persons who, neither understand the one, nor comprehend the other. Intellectualism is never to be despised, as we have repeatedly intimated; but neither must the fact be forgotten, that it may be, and generally *is* an entirely distinct affair, from

the vitality of that knowledge which converts, and which alone saves a soul. We have seen the most secular and even sensual minds more deeply moved than we would venture to describe, before the Transfiguration of Raphael, in the Vatican,—or under the dome of St. Peter's, when the blazing cross used to be exhibited on the eve of Good Friday,—or at the Miserere in the papal sanctuary: and yet these very individuals, when the spectacle has terminated, have returned like the dog to their own licentiousness again, or like the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire! Such religious impressions, if deserving that name at all, are but the contortions of a corpse when in contact with the wires of a galvanic battery; the illusive and horrible imitations of a genuine quickening of the inner man! Or to adopt another illustration of what we mean, they may be described as the varnish of sepulchres, in contrast with the manifested beauty of holiness, in the temples of the living God! We should be grieved, indeed, with all our honest admiration for, and willingness to advance the fine arts, were the expectations of our authors to be extensively entertained. Their bitter disappointment, in following such vain shadows, will be speedy and inevitable: nor is their immediate influence on the judgment at all sound or healthful. Thus, we have Mr. Drummond telling us how, in better ages than our own, the primitive missionaries received pictorial instruction as to the mode whereby the heathen were to be converted. He represents the walls of convents as displaying before a juvenile but devoted apostle, his noviciate, his labors, his sufferings, and his successes, in vivid hieroglyphics. The preacher was then and there delineated in his addresses to the Saracens;—men might gaze upon beforehand, or afterwards, his consequent flagellation by order of an incensed Soldan,—the ultimate decapitation of himself and his companions, or converts,—and finally the faithfulness of their *severed heads*, in continuing 'faithful to the death, and *still* 'speaking to the attentive and no doubt astonished multitude! 'Such was the life of a missionary, and such the method by 'which he was instructed in the same, *in the best times of the* '*church*, and such it is still in the Romish communion. What 'it is in *the things called missionary societies, amongst Protes-* '*tants*, we know too well.'—p. 8. We regret to perceive this malignant sneer at the noblest institutions of our day reiterated in subsequent pages.

And does Mr. Drummond gravely imagine, that this is the way to conciliate the sober, reflecting, and religious sections of our population, to become more and more friendly to the fine arts, or countenance governmental exertions on their behalf? This gentleman, we perceive, from several statements made by himself, is what may be termed, to avoid a periphrasis, a zealous

Puseyite. Just let us suppose him an influential member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, or on the committee of the Church Missionary Society, in Salisbury Square; especially since they have recently handed themselves over to the prelacy of the establishment. Fancy him making all conceivable exertions for the benefit of the plastic arts at home, and the diffusion of christianity abroad, by getting employed a large portion of the pence levied from the poor, and of the pounds gathered from the rich, in rendering the walls of the Islington seminary frescoed like catholic convents, or adding to the clergymen and schoolmasters in India, Jamaica, and New Zealand, a corps of artists from the Royal Academy! Yet this would be very consistent teaching on his part, upon his own principles and plans, *per le mure e per le tavole*, by walls and painted tablets! The subject, however, is far too serious a one to handle after a facetious manner. We are rather reminded of the scriptural assertion, 'God hath chosen the foolish things of 'the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the 'world to confound the mighty, and base things of the world, 'and things which are despised hath God chosen, yea, and 'things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that 'no flesh should glory in his presence.' 1 Cor. i. 27—29. Our readers will henceforward be able to understand such lugubrious paragraphs as the following:—

'From the time of the Reformation, well founded complaints have resounded on every side respecting the decline of the arts. As their advance was commensurate with the faith and zeal of the church, so their decay has been but the outward and visible sign of that faith and that zeal being gone!'—*Drummond*, p. 21.

'But never has Protestantism produced any thing in the highest department of the art of painting. In vain will be sought any superhuman expression of purity, holiness, and sanctity, in any protestant painter. They may paint old men's beards and magic effects of light like Rembrandt; they may show all the knowledge of drawing, and of the mechanism of coloring, that Rubens could produce, but they have not become like the artists of *the golden age* of painting, because there is neither in them, nor in the public, the religious feeling which alone can inspire them.'—*Drummond*, pp. 23, 24.

That golden age of painting, be it remembered, was one in which a prostituted priesthood had nearly succeeded in withdrawing from a fallen, and therefore a darkened world, the sunshine of the word of God! It was an age during which those same men had succeeded in lengthening the creed, and in shortening the commandments; in taking away the key of divine knowledge, so that they would neither enter into the kingdom of God themselves, nor suffer others to enter it! Verily it *was* a golden age, at least in the sense of an

Established Church, having allied herself with the state, and said unto gold, 'Thou art my hope, and to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence!' Probably no artists have arisen since the days of Leo the Tenth, to compete with such geniuses as Raphael, Michael Angelo, Correggio, and the wonderful brotherhood of the Caracci,—all this we candidly admit. But protestantism, blessed be God, has fought for, and earned, and borne away far more immortal trophies than those of painting, music, sculpture, or architecture. Its laurels are unfading, for they are planted upon the Rock of ages. If it has failed to call into fragile existence those vivid and variegated colors, which flourish through successive centuries, only at last to decay;—it has nevertheless been the instrument of giving birth to living characters, which, as Milton somewhere says, 'shall survive the 'circle of three hundred and sixty degrees, and which owe no 'homage to the sun!' It has restamped the image of the living God, in hues, and forms, and lineaments, to endure for all future ages. It has awakened the matchless energies of such christian heroes as Henry Martyn, a Williams, a Marshman, or a Carey. It has preached the gospel, and delivered the volume of inspired truth to thousands of thousands. It has blown the silver trumpet of salvation amidst the snows of Labrador and Greenland; it has roused into spiritual life the torpor of the tropics; and planted the Rose of Sharon amongst the wildest sands of Africa! These are its results—these are its triumphant achievements. What an ancient painter said absurdly, if not blasphemously, *Pingo in æternum*, protestantism, in the teeth of such taunts as these publications cast upon her, may venture to utter, in all humility, and without presumption. Her hallelujahs will swell the chorus of heaven, when those of Handel and Haydn shall have been long forgotten. Her sculpture has been expended upon memorials more lasting than marble; her architecture is that of the skies, the house not made with hands, eternal, in a world of glory! Messrs. Edwards and Drummond may rest assured, that we love the arts as well as every thing else which may multiply or augment in any manner the welfare of our fellow-creatures, quite as much as they can: and if we love protestantism and vital religion more, than from their printed pages they would themselves appear to do, they must accept this latter circumstance as an apology for these somewhat indignant expressions, which we hold to be righteous ones, when palpable disrespect is shown towards efforts for diffusing evangelical christianity, on such a scale as might almost command their admiration, even if failing to excite their sympathies. We have only to mention in conclusion, our further total dissent from the efforts made to open the National Gallery and British Museum to the public on Sundays; even

although this proposal be speciously masked as to its ultimate results, by a limitation 'to those hours during which public-'houses are by law allowed to be open.' Mr. Edwards, we believe from sincere and upright motives, heartily wishes its success. We are no friends to the abuses of public-houses, or the sabbath profanation they occasion, on the one side; nor do we admire the vagaries of the worthy Sir Andrew Agnew in an opposite direction. To look at a picture, or some specimen of curiosity, even on the Lord's day, is undoubtedly a comparatively better engagement than the ale-bench, the gin-palace, or the tea-garden. But what is *per se* essentially wrong does not admit of such legislative comparison, as would let in a recognition, that what it attempts to restrain is, in itself, innocent or innocuous. Although acts of parliament are not the scriptural or correct means of coercing people to love the privileges of our Sundays, yet woe betide that fatal day which shall witness a protestant government ostentatiously enlisting itself on the side of Sabbath desecration. An established church attempted the sort of thing in the seventeenth century, and we know how that terminated. The French terrorists repeated the experiment within the last fifty years, and in lines of blood and fire they that run may have read the result. Let the fine arts flourish as ornaments in their natural and proper places by all means, yet without being permitted to sap the foundations of national morality, or prostitute the glories of protestantism at the feet of what, after all, is only part of that fashion of the world which is quickly passing away!

Art. II. *The Horæ Paulinæ of W. Paley, D.D., carried out and illustrated in a Continuous History of the Apostolic Labors and Writings of St. Paul, on the basis of the Acts, with Intercalary Matter of Sacred Narrative supplied from the Epistles, and elucidated in Occasional Dissertations.* By JAMES TATE, M.A., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's. Longman and Co. London. 1 vol. 8vo.

APART from the great Founder of christianity, history, whether sacred or profane, can present no character equal in interest and importance to that of St. Paul. His conversion gave a check to Jewish persecution, and an impulse to the christian cause, which was felt wherever either Judaism or christianity was known. It supplied an argument for the truth of christianity which could not be resisted, and has never been answered. And no single individual by his character, labors, and writings, ever produced such an impression while he lived, or left behind such results as permanently remain, in the revolutionized con-

dition of the whole civilized world. His life and travels, his sufferings and successes, the wonderful things he experienced, and the equally wonderful things he accomplished, would supply matter for the deep ponderings of philosophers, as well as entertainment for the lovers of the romantic, were it not that religion pervades the whole; hence those who seek philosophy without religion, and those who love excitement without instruction, or the romantic beyond the limits of truth, never recur to the history of St. Paul as a narrative replete beyond parallel with all that is wonderful, exciting, and improving.

His early character and doings bore, indeed, a portentous aspect towards the christian cause. He was just such an agent as the Council at Jerusalem required; and no authority which they could have given him would ever have been withheld, as long as he sought it for the extermination of the new religion. His acquirements, natural energy of character, connexions, and associations, as well as the scenes of his youthful days, had all contributed to make him a resolute and reckless waster of the despised, and no less feared than despised, sect of the Nazarenes. In proportion as his character was prized by the heads of the Jews, and his services important to their cause, so must have been the intenseness of their mortification and the bitterness of their rage, when *they* lost, and when christianity gained, the support of a man who threw the entire energies of his soul into whatever he espoused.

All the circumstances, too, of his conversion were calculated to spread dismay through the camp he forsook, and to inspirit, as by a voice from heaven, the defenceless and already scattered champions of christianity. But God had designed his conversion to impart a new impulse to the cause of Jesus Christ, and himself to be a chosen vessel to bear the divine name before kings, and rulers, and judges. Threatening, therefore, as were the first years of his manhood, and fearfully as the disciples must have regarded his first furious assaults, improbable, as they no doubt all deemed it, that his course would be altered or his character changed, yet He who has the hearts of all men in his hands, had conceived the mysterious and glorious purpose to transform this reeking compound of bigotry, cruelty, and rage into one of the very chief of the apostles, and one of the most successful preachers of that gospel which was designed to bless all nations of the earth. Hence the whole of his history, labors, and sufferings is replete with interest and instruction. It is not wonderful that the christian church should have made his travels the subject of much learned research; and considering their extent, the absorbing interest and immense variety of the incidents and circumstances connected with them, as well as the distance of time and paucity of documents, it is not wonderful

that difficulties should have arisen in the attempt to place the whole in the form of a regular and connected narrative. Much interest attaches even to the imperfect outline which has been preserved by the sacred penman, and learned ingenuity has been well repaid for the efforts it has made towards placing the sacred narrative in a complete and continuous order. In almost every new scene which presents itself, we behold the christian philanthropist in the full swing of his energy and zeal, the christian hero in the vigorous exercise of his heaven-descended principles, cheering and enlivening all by the freshness and animation of his faith and hope.

Conquerors have travelled into 'foreign lands and realms 'remote,' have braved all perils and encountered all hardships, only to gather the fruitless laurel which was doomed to fade upon the victor's brow, or to establish a bloody and hated dominion over men as brave but not as skilful as themselves, or merely to make their own and their country's name a watch-word for robbery and oppression:—philosophers have travelled through deserts and across oceans to view the desolated scenes of ancient glory, or nature's sublimest wonders; and the results of their toil may all be comprised in a few accessions to some museum of curiosities, some additions to our knowledge of nature:—the wealthy and the gay travel to see the world, converse with strangers of different nations, amuse their sense with novelties, regale their appetite with foreign dainties, and speed by perpetual change the flight of their otherwise dull and leaden-winged hours:—philanthropists have travelled to communicate and to learn improvements in social affairs and useful arts, to alleviate the sufferings of the captive, and improve the prisoner's hard lot. Such have been seen, and may still perchance be seen, moving over large spaces of the earth's surface, though their travels are few and far between. The world readily applauds the motives and ends of its votaries; and most travellers are like the world, selfish and low in their objects. Yet philanthropy has had its meed of praise, especially when it has risen no higher than this life, and taken no range beyond the bounds of time and space. The christian missionary, from St. Paul downward, must look for little sympathy, for little admiration, from those whose sensibilities are confined within the contracted circle of self, and whose interests and susceptibilities are as completely earthbound as ever miser's heart was by his coffers. But we who are christians must be allowed to claim a place at least for this first, most enterprising, and most excursive of christian missionaries, 'above their history, above their 'fable;' we must be allowed to set him forth like the angel seen in the Apocalypse 'standing in the sun;' or more appropriately, like that other angel which John saw 'flying through the midst

'of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach to them 'that dwell upon the earth.' His career was one of surpassing and imperishable glory. Though he sought not honor of men, yet because he directed his unwearied and self-denying efforts to the salvation of men and the glory of God, he has attained a renown which shall endure for ever, and raise him high in immortal blessedness, when all the heroes of this false and fugitive world shall be forgotten.

The sublime object at which the apostle and his fellow laborers aimed, identified them in their hopes, their efforts, and their sufferings with the Son of God himself. Embarking in his cause, and influenced by his love, they went forth upon an enterprise of surpassing magnitude and difficulty, but of unbounded beneficence. They had received a high behest; they engaged in an errand, as they rationally and conscientiously believed, of supernal grace. Human difficulties were not considered, natural obstacles were disregarded. They believed, yea *felt* themselves, girt with omnipotence, the special heralds of that supreme authority which bade them go. The world lay all before them. Wherever they turned, they saw thousands and tens of thousands of busy, sinful, miserable mortals, intent upon the vain, unsatisfactory, but still repeated drama of this life, from which one after another, generation after generation, they went out unblest and hopeless. These myriads almost without end they contemplated by the light of the christian revelation, as sitting in darkness though destined to immortal existence, held by degrading and debasing superstitions, the slaves of every vice that can be named. With all their wealth, their literature, their science, and their eloquence, these hosts of nations were yet sold under sin, and were as abject in their moral feelings as miserable in their anticipations of futurity.

In tracing the history of the propagation of christianity under this distinguished and extraordinary leader, we are struck with two things; *first*, the universal opposition it had to sustain from the ancient superstitions, from the deep-rooted prejudices, and even from the intellectual habits of mankind; and, *secondly*, the sharp and startling contrast which it presented, in its entire construction and contents, to the prevailing and most venerated theories of religion which it proposed to assail and supersede.

We shall offer a few words upon each of these observations. 1. It is a proof of the malignant and immoral character of those theories that, differing as they did materially from each other, they all agreed in their resistance to the light of truth; they all came forth in the violence of burning rage, and with the utmost combination of their strength, to crush the intruder, and resent the insult offered to their divinities. At first, indeed, the men were looked upon as insignificant fanatics; the matter was treated

with contempt, and the tolerance with which heathens had treated each other's superstitions, was for a time extended to the new sect, which was viewed as only a variety of Judaism, a system which had long since ceased to create any alarm or jealousy among the priests and oracles of polytheism. But after a time, the totally different spirit and aspect of christianity, as essentially proselyting, and already making head with a rapidity and boldness that surprised and mortified the idolaters, became better understood. The distinction was forced upon the heathen world by observing that the Jews were the first to take alarm, and array themselves against the advances of christianity.

All sects and parties were, therefore, made one in opposing the gospel, though it brought to its defence no violence, marshalled no armies, and trusted to no shield and buckler but the righteousness and truth of its morality, the reasonableness and obvious advantage of its doctrines and consolations. It only sought to shower benedictions upon mankind. Yet all were unanimous in resisting its progress, and that too by means which could not be employed in its defence. Its friends were called to sustain the fury of a world in arms, a power which seemed to threaten its speedy extermination. The advocates fell, but the cause advanced. Its enemies triumphed in the conflict with individuals, but their success against the men proved their defeat and discomfiture in the argument. Though this fact has been often noticed by writers on the evidences of christianity, yet we doubt whether it has been so fully discussed as it deserves.

The success of the gospel under all the circumstances of the case appears to us to afford a very powerful argument in support of its divine origin; for we cannot conceive of any system accomplishing the triumphs which every where attended it, and in the face of that formidable array of difficulties, unless it had avouched itself alike by its adaptation to the nature of man, and by the most commanding miracles wrought in its behalf. Let but the fact be duly weighed, that christianity in its early struggles never won a single convert by coercion; that its entire success was achieved in harmony with the reason and free will of man, and that even its most inveterate foes were frequently transformed into devoted advocates; and further, that this was its uniform course in every distinct nation, repeated again and again, age after age, and we shall have an argument in favor of its divine authority which can neither be answered nor rationally resisted. Let the opponents of christianity explain these facts, in all their force and fulness, if they can, upon t
sition that christianity was an imposture. T
attempt of Gibbon has utterly failed, even with t

false assumptions, the exposure of which has indelibly fixed upon his name the charge of malignant prejudice, sophistical logic, and historical dishonesty. His polished shaft recoiled against himself, and no volunteer from the same camp has ever dared again to take it up.

2. Attention may be directed to the marked contrast, in point of moral principle, abstract truth, rational statement, and general consistency, excellence, and completeness of theory, which the gospel afforded, when brought into comparison with those various systems of polytheism and idolatry with which it had to compete and conflict for the mastery over human nature. Those systems were characterized by absurdity, immorality, and inconsistency. They exhibited no distinct notions, but were full of confusion, fluctuated continually, and labored fruitlessly after just and rational views of the universe. They set up gods many and lords many, but among all their authorities there was no harmonizing will, no presiding supremacy, no controlling power. To the intellect and heart of man they presented no commanding, no elevating, no pathetic, no paternal view of Deity. The entire soul of man was never brought under those prostrating, purifying, and ennobling views of the universal Creator and Lord, which were essential at once to its improvement and its happiness. But, on the other hand, the vices of man's own nature were all immensely reinforced by the patronage and sanction they received from the practice of the deities. The Pantheon was but peopled with sinners, male and female, of a ranker and more gigantic growth; and all the ideas of earth were but magnified and aggrandized into the Olympian hierarchy, by the fictions of poetry and the machinery of miracle and apotheosis. The whole conception, though a sublime effort of the diseased imagination of mankind, formed but a crude and despicable system of theology, as discreditable to the infinite majesty and excellence of God as pernicious to the highest interests of mankind. It was a substitution of fancy for reality, of falsehood for truth, of the merely *finite*, distorted and distended into a vast and illusive inanity, to supply the place of the really *Infinite*, which no effort of reason had been able to reach, and no vigor of imagination to conceive.

Christianity burst upon this confused and putrefying mass like a ray of divinest radiance shot from the eye of God himself; revealing alike the exalted source from which it emanated, and the chaos on which it fell. It was not merely a mirror held up before the hideous visage of idolatry, but it was like an orb of condensed and focalized light piercing to the very *penetralia*, and searching all the inward hidings and retirements in which polytheism had entrenched itself. To the mass whose element was darkness, and who lived and battened upon the fruits of idolatry, it became an insupportable annoyance, but to

multitudes it was made the power of God to salvation. It dissipated their ignorance, elevated their degraded affections, inspired the hope of immortality for which they had pined, and renovated as with a fresh spring of life all the powers and aspirations of their nature. Heathen superstition had been full of fear and terror. It had exacerbated rather than assuaged the consuming fever of man's heart, by the license it gave to sin. But christianity applied a powerful remedy. It proffered both a pardon and a cure. It cleared up man's view of the Deity and his government, by presenting both a just God and a Saviour. Every system of idolatry had proved but a scheme of Satan's devising—to indulge and strengthen the worst passions of human nature. But christianity proclaimed eternal enmity to moral evil. It held no truce with rebels against the divine government and authority; it offered no soothing palliative to guilty consciences; and presented neither spectacles nor promises to feed or amuse prurient imaginations,—but led at once the guilty and miserable who were penitent, of whatever nation under heaven, to that only place where peace and hope could dawn upon their spirits—the footstool of their offended Father and Sovereign.

All human systems had proved palpably inadequate to minister to man's consolation in seasons of affliction, and when his spirit, driven from things seen and temporal, looks within itself for the well of water springing up unto eternal life. Then their insufficiency and emptiness had been painfully felt; they were proved by their unhappy and disappointed votaries to be dreary and fruitless as a desert, comfortless and shelterless as the top of a rock. But the religion of Jesus Christ gave to the future a fixed character, and caused it to cast its shadows and its beams beforehand. Human hopes were taught by it to penetrate beyond the boundary of human existence; they took hold upon the infinite and the eternal. They descried the pathway through the wilderness of this life, and into the gate of immortal blessedness. Man felt that in believing the gospel he rested upon omnipotence, and drew down divine strength to enable him to tread that path with alacrity, and vanquish all the enemies that disputed his progress. The gospel opened to his contemplation a world of wonders, and spread before him a field of discovery, a mine of spiritual, moral, and religious truth, which gave play to his intellect, and brought all his faculties into a new sphere of thought and feeling, rich with instruction, improvement, and delight. What a day of pure and heavenly light thus burst upon the Gentile nations! What a tide of inestimable blessings did this river of God convey to the barren shores of this apostate world!

Yet was the enterprise of overthrowing and eradicating idol-

atry one of infinite difficulty, toil, and peril to the devoted agents whom providence called to the task. They girded themselves to this tenfold more than herculean labor, with a self-devotement, a spirit of heroism and of cheerfulness which, had it risen no higher than patriotism, would have won for them the admiration of the world through all human generations. Poetry and genius would have woven their laurels, and epics rivalling the Iliad would have celebrated their deeds. But they were *philanthropists*, philanthropists of the highest class and sublimest principles; and, because they followed the Prince of philanthropists, they were doomed to persecution and contempt from the world which they labored to bless and save.

Even the church, which term ought always to have signified their successors, not by the ceremony of ordination, but by an indubitable inheritance of their christian spirit and christian principles, has not done them justice, and has certainly failed to perpetuate their character, though glorying in their names and invoking their sanction. Too often the sarcasm of the Italian painter has been undeniably applicable, who represented Peter and Paul in an altar-piece with alarmingly red faces, and when asked his reason by the bishop of the place, replied that they were blushing for their successors.

The degeneracy of those who vainly boast that they have come in the place and with the authority of the apostles has proved the chief stimulus to infidelity. For had all the followers resembled the leaders in this cause, there would have existed little need at the present day to indite elaborate treatises upon the christian argument. The records of primitive christianity, verified by its living examples, would have adequately attested its truth and authority. The ancient church, however, is not to be estimated by the standard of the moderns, and it is still necessary for the defence of the gospel to refer gainsayers to the incontestible verity of the only authentic document. Tradition is corrupt and worthless from its very source. And in the present day there is stronger reason than ever for repudiating its dogmas. The record alone can avail to purify the church and fortify it against the assaults of infidelity.

Dr. Paley, in his Horæ Paulinæ, constructed an argument as convincing as it was novel, and few writers on the evidences have done better service than he did by this ingenious essay. It is not left for us to pronounce its eulogy or bring it into notice. The work by Mr. Tate, to which we now call attention, is in fact an attempt to perfect Paley's treatise, by contributing additional light to the orderly arrangement of the travels and labors of Paul.

The author's plan will be best learned from his own expla-

nation, a part of which we shall here transcribe from his introduction.

'When Dr. Paley remarked, in his *exposition of the argument* of the Horæ Paulinæ (p. 9, as here reprinted), that his own subject, in that work of unrivalled merit and originality, had never been proposed or considered in the same view before, it is much to be lamented that he did not advance one step further in his reflections. It might have occurred to his mind, that neither Ludovicus Capellus, nor Bishop Pearson, nor Dr. George Benson, nor Dr. Lardner, in the continued history of St. Paul's life, which each of them had written, made up from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles joined together, could have given the whole of that history under its only true and natural aspect. They were not qualified to give it so; inasmuch as not one of those authors, however successful as to some of the epistles, had been fortunate enough to take the whole of them in that just succession which Dr. Paley's own labors in the Horæ Paulinæ have so admirably contributed to point out and establish.

'If happily for the cause of sacred learning Dr. Paley had thus reflected, he must have felt that a great desideratum, therefore, remained: and if he had then bent the powers of his mind to the task, such a complete narrative, in a correct and clear arrangement of all the materials for it, might have been the result, as would have left nothing to regret in that great line of apostolic literature.

'But what is the consequence now? Numerous and important as the points are, bearing on the apostle's personal history, which have their incidental illustration in the Horæ Paulinæ; yet for want of some collective retrospect to exhibit the points so gained in a distinct line of view, the value of his admirable work is even yet perhaps imperfectly estimated, while the further task, to carry out those great beginnings of the Horæ Paulinæ into something like a regular narrative, after the lapse of fifty years, is left for other hands, however inferior, to execute.

'In the pursuit and execution of a design arduous enough, as a christian and as a scholar, I have, with God's blessing, honestly done my best. The faithful labor now of some years has been assiduously devoted to the employment; and it would be an affectation of humility to dissemble the hope that these efforts will be found not to have been bestowed in vain.

'It must be immediately seen, that in tracing my course through the Pauline epistles, Dr. Paley's chart has been steadily kept in view; but it will be evident also, that I have not failed to take accurate observations of my own. On this point, indeed, every attentive reader is enabled to judge for himself. The passages in the Horæ Paulinæ are referred to more frequently, perhaps, than the occasion may always demand, and the texts from the New Testament are produced or quoted with similar exactness. The object of the work, in whatever degree it is satisfactorily effected, will be to exhibit in a clearer light than before the series and succession of the labors and writings of St. Paul in every stage of his apostolic course, and to develope the cir-

cumstances of every person and place at all important, with which the Acts or the Epistles represent him connected. In speaking thus largely, however, of the design on which these pages are occupied, as a solemn protest against misrepresentation, let me now declare, that I do not believe one fact in the least affecting the historical evidence of christianity, much less one word of truth necessary to the salvation of its followers, remains in these days, or can remain, for human ingenuity to discover and demonstrate. And yet so long as ever the christian student shall take an interest in contemplating the truths and evidences of our common faith, no sincere attempts like the present to improve the clearness and consistency with which it may be historically viewed, will ever be unnecessary or even be unwelcome.

'My plan of proceeding in this work is easily seen on the inspection of its contents. The Acts, of course, constitute the basis of the sacred narrative; while such facts and circumstances, omitted in the direct history or slightly touched only, as can be supplied from the epistles, in the place which invites their insertion, are duly incorporated with the Acts. But this is generally done in a manner so plain, and favorable for consulting and verifying, that the reader can instantly refer to the particulars concerned, and judge on inspection for himself. The use which is here made of 'undesigned coincidences' to complete or qualify passages in the apostolic history, forms a very essential part of the work, as the references to the Horæ Paulinæ will sufficiently show. Something also will be found to be done, where the coincidences, when seen, are direct and obvious enough; and that, in some cases, where, without close and patient investigation, the light thrown from one passage on another could not have been elicited. Additions of this latter kind, when they occur, must be left to the reader to appreciate. . . . .

'On the subject of *chronology* some further account of what has been done may naturally be expected. And here let me say very candidly, that the task of chronological research, strictly so called, I have regarded, not as lying out of my way, but as a very fit subject for separate inquiry. I have set myself, therefore, to investigate and determine the series and succession of the principal events in the line of apostolical history, without making any attempt to calculate exactly the period of time betwixt every one great point in that line and every other. It may not be always true, but in this department of sacred narrative it can hardly, I think, be denied, that the *succession* of events, if once ascertained, may throw light on the calculation of *intervals*; while no intervals, that I can see, are yet by a general agreement so certainly defined as to afford a safe clue for ad usting the succession, where that is otherwise matter of dispute.'

Mr. Tate presents to his readers, first, six chronological tables of the principal events in the life of the apostle. He arranges his journeys under four progresses, each of which occupies one table, with the exception of the third, which on account, we suppose, of the fulness of the incidents, is divided into two; so occupying the first five tables with the four pro-

gresses, the sixth table presents the thirteen epistles which bear the name of Paul, in their just order of tim and place. The seventh and last table includes miscellaneous articles on questions arising out of the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, such as the following:

The posteriority of the Council of Jerusalem in Acts xv. to the journey related in the Epistle to the Galatians, chap. ii. 1—10, shown by the total discrepancy of the two narratives.

On the early date of the Epistle to the Galatians.

On the *vision* and the *thorn in the flesh.*

On the Corinthian transactions, as Timothy and Titus are concerned.

On Luke, his gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles.

On the question of Paul's visit to Spain.

On the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This latter article is, we conceive, out of place, since as Mr. Tate agrees with most other scholars in attributing it to the apostle, it might without any impropriety have been placed in the chronological table of the epistles.

The author adds what he calls an *index of persons and places;* of course only of some persons and some places mentioned in the history; but they include most of the principal persons, though only four places are noticed—Illyricum, Jerusalem, Malta, and Troas; and these not for the sake of describing them, but of noticing how often and on what occasions they were visited by the apostle. The selection of these appears rather capricious. The apostle's visits to many other places equally entitled them to be included in the list.

But it is not our intention to dwell on these minor matters. The entire work is one of so much importance and value, both in reference to a continuous history of the apostle Paul, and the completion of Dr. Paley's original argument, that we hesitate not to give it our warmest commendation. It is a clear accession to our biblical apparatus, and will form an important article in all future introductions to the study of the New Testament.

It is, however, of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of taking from it any extract that could prove interesting to our readers. It forms a continuous narrative in the words of the sacred text, with only such connective portions and explanatory paragraphs, as were necessary to satisfy the reader that the author had good reasons for placing particular events and narratives in the order in which they are found.

The great excellence of the work consists in the discovery which the author has made of the time and order of nearly all the events and transactions of this great missionary's life. The effect of this arrangement is to throw light upon some ques-

tions which before involved great difficulty, and altogether to strengthen the argument for the authenticity of the Acts and the Epistles of Paul, by proving what Paley denominates the *undesignedness* of the various coincidences discovered between the formal history by Luke, and the occasional correspondence of the apostle with his friends, both in their corporate and individual capacity.

As to the special importance of Mr. Tate's labors, it is incumbent to observe that they must be estimated in conjunction with the argument of Paley. He has succeeded in making out a more complete narrative than his learned and acute predecessor. The strength of the argument derived from the obvious undesignedness of coincidences depends upon the degree with which they exclude, not only the appearance, but the very possibility, of design. In proportion, therefore, as they are subtle, indirect, circuitous, or complicated, so are they valuable. The more remote and the more deeply imbedded in the tissue of the narrative, the more convincing are they as evidence of truth. 'Broad, obvious, and explicit agreements,' said Paley, 'prove 'little; because it may be suggested that the insertion of such 'is the ordinary expedient of every forgery.' The occurrence of such may be expected in genuine writings, but then they form no test by which genuineness may be ascertained. The chief stress of any argument of this nature results from the proof that such coincidence was undesigned, and either was not likely to be, or could not possibly be, matter of previous arrangement. The strength of the proof is always according to the evidence which excludes design.

As we find it difficult or next to impossible to make any citations from Mr. Tate's work which would enable our readers to judge of its value for themselves, it behoves us to be the more explicit in recommending its perusal to all persons who are either interested in the evidences of christianity, or in the general elucidation of the apostle Paul's life and writings. They will find this a book of invaluable reference when any difficulty arises as to the order of events, or any question as to obscure allusions and other matters connected with the Epistles and the Acts. Mr. Tate has contributed some valuable critical observations on particular expressions. Altogether we are delighted to receive such an important addition to the Horæ Paulinæ.

There is only one suggestion which we wish to offer to the learned author. In publishing Paley's work in connexion with his own he has compelled his readers to purchase both. As Paley is already in every theological library, he ought to have left those who wish to have his own work the option of purchasing it apart. At present they must pay for both Tate and Paley—or not read Tate. Why should they be constrained to

purchase Paley for the sake of Tate, when they already possess the original work upon which Mr. Tate's is founded? We trust the author will accept our hint, and in case of a second edition, which will no doubt soon be required, print his own work alone.

Art. III. *Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home.* By Miss Sedgwick. 2 vols. London: Moxon. 1841.

MISS SEDGWICK is well known to many of our readers as an American authoress of considerable celebrity, some of whose works have been reissued from the British press, and are obtaining an extensive circulation amongst our people. She visited the 'old world' in 1839, and the volumes now before us consist of letters written during her residence in Europe, to her friends at home. Miss Sedgwick's literary reputation, aided by the numerous letters of introduction which she is understood to have brought to this country, obtained her ready access to the best society in London, which she has described with a fidelity and liveliness that can hardly fail to win the confidence, while it ministers to the pleasure of her readers. Her personal demeanor is reported to have been inartificial and unpretending,—the outward expression of a mind which respected itself too highly to violate truth for the sake of effect, and was too keenly alive to whatever was beautiful or grand, to stoop to any of those exaggerations of phrase by which inferior writers endeavor to supply the absence of real feeling.

The letters are written in an admirable temper, with just such prepossessions as an intelligent American may be expected to entertain. There is no pretension about them, but they nevertheless furnish information which to American readers must be full of interest. 'I forewarn you,' she says to her correspondent in her first letter, 'not to look for any 'statistics from me—any 'valuable information.' I shall try 'to tell you truly what I see and hear; to 'chronicle,' as our 'friend Mr. Dewey says, 'while they are fresh, my sensations.'' To this rule Miss Sedgwick strictly adheres, and there is in consequence a freshness and individuality about her volumes not frequently met with in the hackneyed ways of authorship. She landed at Portsmouth, July 4, 1839, and was strongly moved by the historical associations which occurred to her memory. 'When I touched English ground,' she says, 'I 'could have fallen on my knees and kissed it; but a wharf is

'not quite the *locale* for such a demonstration, and spectators 'operate like strait jackets upon enthusiasm, so I contented 'myself with a mental salutation of the home of our fathers, the 'native land of one of our dearest friends, and the birthplace of ''the bright, the immortal names' that we have venerated 'from our youth upward.' Miss Sedgwick was much struck with the aspect of what she beheld. 'Every thing,' she remarks, 'looks novel and foreign to us: the quaint forms of 'the old, sad-colored houses; the arched, antique gateways; 'the royal busts niched in an old wall; the very dark coloring 'of the foliage, and the mossy stems of the trees. We seemed 'to have passed from the fresh, bright youth to the old age of 'the world. The form and coloring of the people are different 'from ours. They are stouter, more erect, and more san-'guine.'

Amongst her letters of introduction Miss Sedgwick was fortunate enough to have one to Captain Basil Hall, which was delivered with some hesitation on account of the prejudices which, in common with her countrymen, she entertained against the English officer. Captain Hall, however, completely redeemed himself in her estimation by the most polite and unremitting attentions, which are recorded with the frankness of an ingenuous mind. 'What a host of prejudices and false 'judgments,' Miss Sedgwick remarks, 'had one day's frank and 'kind intercourse dispersed to the winds—for ever!' We could wish that our countrymen were more disposed to meet the prejudices of foreigners, whether personal or national, in the same spirit of courteous gallantry.

We pass over the sketch which is given of our author's lionizing at Portsmouth, as also her trip to the Isle of Wight, with which she was thoroughly charmed, and her impressions of the miniature beauties of which she expresses herself wholly incompetent to convey to her correspondent. 'Call it Eden,' she exclaims; 'call it 'Paradise; and, after all, what conceptions have we of those terræ 'incognitæ. The Isle of Wight, they tell us, is a miniature of 'England. It has the exquisite delicacy and perfection of a minia-'ture by a master hand.' Something was no doubt due to her sudden transition from ship-board to this lovely garden, the secluded and modest beauties of which are not destined, we fear, long to escape the profane hands of the rude intruder. Before repairing to London Miss Sedgwick visited Winchester Cathedral, and in her notice of this splendid memorial of by-gone days, opens up to us a class of emotions of which, from long familiarity with the monumental records of the past, we are almost wholly ignorant. America is utterly destitute of such historical associations—the connecting links between the past and the present,—the outward and visible proof of the truth of

those records with which the student of history is familiar. We are not, therefore, surprised at the powerful emotions which such edifices raise in a cultivated American. They speak to the eye, and there is a vividness and graphic force in their language, to which the most eloquent descriptions cannot attain. But our author shall speak for herself.

'The chief object of the excursion to us was the Cathedral, which is the largest in England. A part of it is of the Saxon order, and dates from the seventh century. What think you of our New-World eyes seeing the sarcophagi containing the bones of the old Saxon kings —the Ethelreds and Ethelwolfs, and of Canute the Dane; the tombs of William Rufus, and of William of Wykeham; the chair in which bloody Mary sat at her nuptial ceremony; besides unnumbered monuments and chapels built by kings and bishops; to say nothing of some of the best art of our own time, sculpture by Flaxman and Chantrey? Their details were lost upon us in the effect of the great whole; the long-drawn aisles, the windows with their exquisite coloring, the lofty vault, the carved stones, the pillars and arches—those beautiful Gothic arches. We had some compensation for the unconsciousness of a lifetime, of the power of architecture, in our overwhelming emotions. They cannot be repeated. We cannot see a cathedral twice for the first time, that is very clear!

'I was not prepared for the sensations to be excited by visiting these old places of the Old World. There is nothing in our land to aid the imperfect lights of history. Here it seems suddenly verified. Its long-buried dead, or, rather, its dim spectres, appear with all the freshness of actual life. A miracle is wrought on poetry and painting. While they represented what we had never seen, they were but shadows to us; a kind of magic mirrors, showing false images; now they seem a divine form, for the perpetual preservation of the beautiful creations of nature and art.

'It happened that while we were in Winchester Cathedral service was performed there. I cannot tell how I might have been affected if it had been a more hearty service. There were the officials, the clergyman and clerk, a choir of boys, and, for the audience, half-a-dozen men, three or four women, octogenarians, or verging on the extreme of human life, and ourselves. I confess that the temple, and not He who sanctifies it, filled my mind. My eyes were wandering over the arches, the carvings, the Saxon *caskets*,' &c., &c.—Vol. i. pp. 27, 28.

Arrived in London, Miss Sedgwick repaired, of course, to the Tower, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, and other objects of curiosity. The hours spent in Westminster Abbey are represented as having 'more sensations in them than months of 'ordinary life.' 'It is worth crossing the Atlantic,' she remarks, 'to enter the little door by which we first went into the 'Abbey, and have your eyes light on that familiar legend, 'O ''rare Ben Jonson.' And then to walk around and see the 'monuments of Shakspere, Spenser, Milton, and other inspired

'teachers. You have strange and mixed feelings. You approach 'nearer to them than ever before, but it is in sympathy with 'their mortality.' Miss Sedgwick was 'grievously disappointed' in St. Paul's, than which, she says, 'a more heavy, inexpressive 'mass can hardly be found cumbering the ground.' We demur to this judgment, but will not be tempted into an architectural digression. The most interesting portion of Miss Sedgwick's letters from London consists of sketches of some of our literary men, with whom she met in the quiet intercourse of social life. The following is her account of a breakfast party at the house of the author of the *Pleasures of Memory.*

'We had the pleasure of a breakfast at Rogers'. Your long familiarity with his poetry tells you the melancholy fact that he is no longer young; a fact kept out of your mind as far as possible on a personal acquaintance, by the freshness with which he enjoys, and the generosity with which he imparts. I have heard him called cynical, and perhaps a man of his keen wit may be sometimes over-tempted to demonstrate it, as the magnanimous Saladin was to use the weapon with which he adroitly severed a man's head from his body at a single stroke. If so, these are the exceptions to the general current of his life, which, I am sure, flows in a kindly current. K. told me he met him one winter in Paris, where he found him enjoying art like a young enthusiast; and knowing every boy's name in the street he lived in, and in friendship with them all. Does not this speak volumes?

'He honored our letters of introduction by coming immediately to see us, and receiving us as cordially as if we were old friends. He afterwards expressed a regret to me that he had not taken that morning, before we plunged into engagements, to show me Johnson's and Dryden's haunts, the house where our Franklin lived, and other classical localities. Ah! this goes to swell my pathetic reiteration of the general lament, 'I have had my losses!'

'His manners are those of a man of the world (in its best sense), simple, and natural, without any apparent consciousness of name or fame to support. His house, as all the civilized world knows, is a cabinet of art, selected and arranged with consummate taste. The house itself is small—not, I should think, more than twenty-five feet front, and perhaps forty deep, in a most fortunate location, overlooking the Green Park. The first sight of it from the windows produces a sort of coup de théâtre; for you approach the house and enter it by a narrow street. Every inch of it is appropriated to some rare treasure or choice production of art. Besides the pictures (and 'What,' you might be tempted to ask, 'can a man want beside *such* pictures?') are Estrucan vases (antiques), Egyptian antiquities, casts of the Elgin marbles decorating the staircase wall, and endless adornments of this nature. There are curiosities of another species,—rare books, such as a most beautifully-illuminated missal, exquisitely-delicate paintings designed for marginal decorations, executed three hundred years ago, and taken from the Vatican by the French—glorious robbers! In a catalogue of his books, in the poet's own beautiful

autograph, there were inserted some whimsical titles of books, such as 'Nebuchadnezzar on Grasses.'

'But the most interesting thing in all the collection was the original document, with Milton's name, by which he transferred to his publisher, for *ten pounds*, the copyright of Paradise Lost. Next in interest to this was a portfolio, in which were arranged autograph letters from Pope and Dryden, Washington and Franklin, and several from Fox, Sheridan, and Scott, addressed to the poet himself. Among them was that written by Sheridan, just before his death, describing the extremity of his suffering, and praying Rogers to come to him. But I must check myself. A catalogue raisonné of what our eyes but glanced over would fill folios. I had the pleasure at breakfast of sitting next Mr. Babbage, whose name is so well known among us as the author of the self-calculating machine. He has a most remarkable eye, that looks as if it might penetrate science, or any thing else he chose to look into. He described the iron steamer now building, which has a larger tonnage than any merchant ship in the world, and expressed an opinion that iron ships would supersede all others; and another opinion that much concerns us, and which, I trust, may soon be verified—that in a few years these iron steamers will go to America in seven days!

'Macaulay was of the party. His conversation resembles his writings; it is rich and delightful, filled with anecdotes and illustrations from the abounding stores of his overflowing mind. Some may think he talks too much; but none except from their own impatient vanity, could wish it were less.

'It was either at Mr. Rogers', or at a breakfast a few days after at Mr. R.'s sister's (whose house, by the way, is a fair pendant for his), that we had much Monkbarn's humor, from worthy disciples of that king of old bachelors, on the subject of matrimony. H. said there had been many a time in his life when he should have married, if he could some fine day have walked quietly into a village-church, and met at the altar a lady having come as quietly into another door, and then, after the marriage service, each have departed their separate way, with no observation, no speculation upon the engagement, no congratulations before or after. Rogers, who seems resolved to win the crown of celibiat martyrdom (is there a crown for it?), pronounced matrimony a folly at any period of life, and quoted a saying of some wicked Benedict, that, 'no matter whom you married, you would find afterward you had married another person.'

'No doubt; but, except with the idealizing lover, I believe the expectation is as often surpassed as disappointed. There is a generous opinion, for a single woman, of your married fortunes!'

—Ib. pp. 70—74.

Miss Sedgwick was specially gratified by her interview with Joanna Baillie, whose dramatic productions are probably less known amongst the readers of the Eclectic than their merits deserve. The allusion to Lady Byron at the close of the follow-

ing extract does nothing more than simple justice to that amiable and accomplished lady.

'I believe, of all my pleasures here, dear J. will most envy me that of seeing Joanna Baillie, and of seeing her repeatedly at her own home; the best point of view for all best women. She lives on Hampstead Hill, a few miles from town, in a modest house, with Miss Agnes Baillie, her only sister, a most kindly and agreeable person. Miss Baillie—I write this for J., for we women always like to know how one another look and dress—Miss Baillie has a well-preserved appearance; her face has nothing of the vexed or sorrowing expression that is often so deeply stamped by a long experience of life. It indicates a strong mind, great sensibility, and the benevolence that, I believe, always proceeds from it if the mental constitution be a sound one, as it eminently is in Miss Baillie's case. She has a pleasing figure —what we call lady-like—that is, delicate, erect, and graceful; not the large-boned, muscular frame of most English women. She wears her own grey hair; a general fashion by-the-way here, which I wish we elderly ladies of America may have the courage and the taste to imitate; and she wears the prettiest of brown silk gowns and bonnets fitting the beau ideal of an old lady; an ideal she might inspire if it has no pre-existence. You would, of course, expect her to be, as she is, free from pedantry and all modes of affectation; but I think you would be surprised to find yourself forgetting, in a domestic and confiding feeling, that you were talking with the woman whose name is best established among the female writers of her country; in short, forgetting every thing but that you were in the society of a most charming private gentlewoman. She might (would that all female writers could!) take for her device a flower that closes itself against the noontide sun, and unfolds in the evening shadows.

'We lunched with Miss Baillie. Mr. Tytler, the historian, and his sister were present. Lord Woodhouselee, the intimate friend of Scott, was their father. Joanna Baillie appears to us, from Scott's letters to her, to have been his favorite friend; and the conversation among so many personally familiar with him naturally turned upon him, and many a pleasant anecdote was told, many a thrilling word quoted.

'It was pleasant to hear these friends of Scott and Mackenzie talk of them as familiarly as we speak of W., B., and other household friends. They all agree in describing Mackenzie as a jovial, hearty sort of person, without any indication in his manners and conversation of the exquisite sentiment he infused into his writings. One of the party remembered his coming home one day in great glee from a cock-fight, and his wife saying to him, 'Oh, Harry, Harry, you put all your feelings on paper!'

'I was glad to hear Miss Baillie, who is an intimate friend of Lady Byron, speak of her with tender reverence, and of her conjugal infelicity as not at all the result of any quality or deficiency on her part, but inevitable. Strange this is not the universal impression, after Byron's own declaration to Moore that 'there never was a better or

even a brighter, a kinder, or a more amiable and agreeable being than Lady B.' '—Ib. pp. 74—77.

Carlyle, Hallam, and Sidney Smith are briefly sketched in a manner which may not be uninteresting to such of our readers as are acquainted with their writings, but have never had an opportunity of personal intercourse with these distinguished men. The sketches are slight, and want filling up, nevertheless we transcribe them for the information of our young friends, who are naturally interested in all that pertains to the appearance and manner of such men.

'I may say that we have scaled the ladder of evening entertainments here, going from a six o'clock family tea up to a magnificent concert at L—— house; and the tea at this home-like hour was at Carlyle's. He is living in the suburbs of London, near the Thames; my impression is, in rather an humble way; but when your eye is filled with a grand and beautiful temple, you do not take the dimensions of surrounding objects; and if any man can be independent of them, you might expect Carlyle to be. His head would throw a phrenologist into ecstasies. It looks like the 'forge of thought' it is; and his eyes have a preternatural brilliancy. He reminded me of what Lockhart said to me, speaking of the size of Webster's head, that he 'had brains enough to fill half-a-dozen hats.' Carlyle has as strong a Scotch accent as Mr. Combe. His manner is simple, natural, and kindly. His conversation has the picturesqueness of his writings, and flows as naturally, and as free from Germanism, as his own mountain streams are from any infusion of German soil. He gave us an interesting account of his first acquaintance with E——n. He was living with his wife in a most secluded part of Scotland. They had no neighbors, no communication with the world, excepting once a week or fortnight, when he went some miles to a post-office in the hope of a letter or some other intimation that the world was going on. One day a stranger came to them—a young American—and 'he seemed to them an angel.' They spoke of him as if they had never lost their first impression of his celestial nature. Carlyle had met Mr. Webster, and expressed a humorous surprise that a man from over the sea should talk English, and be as familiar as the natives with the English constitution and laws,

> 'With all that priest or jurist saith,
> Of modes of law, or modes of faith.'

'He said Webster's eyes were like dull furnaces, that only wanted blowing on to lighten them up. And, by the way, it is quite interesting to perceive that our great countryman has made a sensation here, where it is all but as difficult to make one as to make a mark on the ocean. They have given him the soubriquet of the 'Great Western,' and they seem particularly struck with his appearance. A gentleman said to me, 'His eyes open, and open, and open, and you think they will never stop opening;' and a painter was heard to exclaim, on see-

ing him, 'What a head! what eyes! what a mouth! and, my God! what coloring!'

'We had a very amusing evening at Mr. Hallam's, whom (thanks to F., as thanks to her for all my best privileges in London) I have had the great pleasure of seeing two or three times. But this kind of seeing is so brief and imperfect, that it amounts to little more than seeing the pictures of these great people. Mr. Hallam has a very pleasing countenance, and a most good-humored and playful manner. I quite forgot he was the sage of the 'Middle Ages.' He reminded me of ——— ; but his simplicity is more genuine; not at all that of the great man trying to play child. You quite forget, in the freedom and ease of the social man, that he is ever the hero in armour. We met Sidney Smith at his house, the best known of all the wits of the civilized world. The company was small; he was i' the vein, which is like a singer being in voice, and we saw him, I believe, to advantage. His wit was not, as I expected, a succession of brilliant explosions, but a sparkling stream of humor, very like —— when he is at home, and i' the vein too; and, like him also, he seemed to enjoy his own fun, and to have fattened on it.

'He expressed unqualified approbation of Dickens, and said that 10,000 of each number of Nicholas Nickleby were sold. There was a young man present, who, being flushed with some recent literary success, ventured to throw himself into the arena against this old lion-king, and, to a lover of such sport, it would have been pleasant to see how he crackled him up, flesh, bones, and all.'—Ib. pp. 85—88.

We close our extracts from this part of Miss Sedgwick's volume with the following group.

'I have met many persons here whom to meet was like seeing the originals of familiar pictures. Jane Porter, Mrs. Opie, Mrs. Austin, Lockhart, Milman, Morier, Sir Francis Chantrey, &c. I owed Mrs. Opie a grudge for having made me, in my youth, cry my eyes out over her stories; but her fair, cheerful face forced me to forget it. She long ago forswore the world and its vanities, and adopted the Quaker faith and costume: but I fancied that her elaborate simplicity, and the fashionable little train to her pretty satin gown, indicated how much easier it is to adopt a theory than to change one's habits. Mrs. Austin stands high here for personal character, as well as for the very inferior but undisputed property of literary accomplishments. Her translations are so excellent that they class her with good original writers. If her manners were not strikingly conventional, she would constantly remind me of ——; she has the same Madame Roland order of architecture and outline, but she wants her charm of naturalness and attractive sweetness; so it may not seem to Mrs. A.'s sisters and fond friends. A company attitude is rarely any body's best.

'There is a most pleasing frankness and social charm in Sir Francis Chantrey's manner. I called him repeatedly *Mr.* Chantrey, and begged him to pardon me on the ground of not being 'native to the manner.' He laughed good-naturedly, and said something of having

been longer accustomed to the plebeian designation. I heard from Mr. R. a much stronger illustration than this of this celebrated artist's good sense and good feeling too. Chantrey was breakfasting with Mr. R., when, pointing to some carving in wood, he asked R. if he remembered that, some twenty years before, he employed a young man to do that work for him. R. had but an indistinct recollection. 'I was that young man,' resumed Chantrey, and 'very glad to get the five shillings a day you paid me!' Mr. B. told a pendant to this pretty story. Mr. B. was discussing with Sir Francis the propriety of gilding something, I forget what. B. was sure it could be done, Chantrey as sure it could not; and 'I should know,' he said, 'for I was once apprentice to a carver and gilder.' Perhaps, after all, it is not so crowning a grace in Sir Francis Chantrey to refer to the obscure morning of his brilliant day, as it is a disgrace to the paltry world that it should be so considered.

'I have seen Owen of Lanark—a curiosity rather from the sensation he at one time produced in our country, than from any thing very extraordinary in the man. He is pushing his theories with unabated zeal. He wasted an hour in trying to convince me that he could make the world over and 'set all to rights,' if he were permitted to substitute two or three truths for two or three prevailing errors; and on the same morning a philanthropical phrenologist endeavored to show me how, if his theory were established, the world would soon become healthy, wealthy, and wise. Both believe the good work is going on —happy men! So it has always been; there must be some philosopher's stone, some short-hand process, rather than the slow way of education and religious discipline which, to us, Providence seems to have ordained.'—Ib. pp. 92—94.

In our author's account of the manners of English society there is much shrewd observation and accurate pencilling. She writes in a spirit perfectly friendly, does full justice to whatever excellencies she noted, yet detects some blemishes to which our self-esteem renders us insensible. One of the chief advantages attending the perusal of such a work as the present is, the impartial view which is given of ourselves,—the un-English aspect under which we are assisted to look at our own habits and manners, the general condition of our society, and the points of attraction and repulsion which our character presents to foreigners. It is doubtless somewhat mortifying to our national vanity to learn that we are not quite perfect; yet it becomes us to be grateful to the instructress, who, by wise counsels conceived in much kindness, puts the means of self-improvement within our reach.

'I have seen nothing here,' remarks Miss Sedgwick, 'to change my opinion that there is something in the Anglo-Saxon race essentially adverse to the spirit and grace of society. I have seen more invention, spirit, and ease in one soirée in a German family at New York, than I have ever seen here, or should see in a season in purely American

society. An Englishman has an uncomfortable consciousness of the presence and observation of others; an immense love of approbation, with either a shyness or a defiance of opinion.

'Thoroughly well bred people are essentially the same every where. You will find much more conventional breeding here than with us, and, of course, the general level of manners is higher and the surface more uniform.

> 'Society is smoothed to that excess,
> That manners differ hardly more than dress.'

They are more quiet, and I should say there was less individuality; but from a corresponding remark having been made by English travellers among us, I take it the impression results from the very slight revelations of character that are made on a transient acquaintance. There is much more variety and richness in conversation here, resulting naturally from more leisure and higher cultivation. But after all, there seems to me to be a great defect in conversation. The feast of wit and reason it may be, but it is not the flow and mingling of soul. The Frenchman, instructed by his *amour propre*, said truly, '*Tout le monde aime planter son mot.*' Conversation seems here to be a great arena, where each speaker is a gladiator who must take his turn, put forth his strength, and give place to his successor. Each one is on the watch to seize his opportunity, show his power, and disappear before his vanity is wounded by an indication that he is in the way. Thus conversation becomes a succession of illuminations and triumphs—or failures. There is no such '*horreur*' as a bore; no such bore as a proser. A bore might be defined to be a person that must be listened to. I remember R. saying that 'kings are always bores, and so are royal dukes, for they must not be interrupted as long as they please to talk.' The crowning grace of conversation, the listening with pleased eagerness, I have rarely seen. When Dr. C. was told that Coleridge pronounced him the most agreeable American he had ever seen, he replied, 'Then it was because he found me a good listener, for I said absolutely nothing!' And yet, as far as we may judge from Coleridge's Table-Talk, he would have been the gainer by a fairer battle than that where

> 'One side only gives and t'other takes the blows.'
>
> —Ib. 100—102.

The following refers to a feature of our society, which is too anomalous permanently to consist with the advancement of the public mind in intelligence and liberalism.

'The system of ranks here, as absolute as the Oriental *caste*, is the feature in English society most striking to an American. For the progress of the human race it was worth coming to the New World to get rid of it. Yes, it was worth all that our portion of the human family sacrificed, encountered, and suffered. This system of castes is the more galling, clogging, and unhealthy, from its perfect unfitness to the present state of freedom and progress in England.

'Travellers laugh at our pretensions to equality, and Sir Walter Scott has said, as truly as wittily, that there is no perfect equality except among the Hottentots. But our inequalities are as changing as the surface of the ocean, and this makes all the difference. Each rank is set about here with a thorny, impervious, and almost impassable hedge. We have our walls of separation, certainly; but they are as easily knocked down or surmounted as our rail-fences.

'With us, talents, and education, and refined manners command respect and observance; and so, I am sorry to say, does fortune: but fortune has more than its proverbial mutability in the United States. The rich man of to-day is the poor man of to-morrow, and so vice versa. This unstableness has its evils, undoubtedly, and so has every modification of human condition; but better the evil that is accidental than that which is authorized, cherished, and inevitable. That system is most generous, most christian, which allows a fair start to all; some must reach the goal before others, as, for the most part, the race is ordained to the swift, and the battle to the strong.

'But you would rather have my observations than my speculations; and as, in my brief survey, I have only seen the outside, it is all I can give you, my dear C. I have no details of the vices of any class. I have heard shocking anecdotes of the corruption prevailing among the high people; and men and women have been pointed out to me in public places who have been guilty of notorious conjugal infidelities, and the grossest violations of parental duty, without losing caste; and this I have heard imputed to their belonging to a body that is above public opinion. I do not see how this can be, nor why the opinion of their own body does not bear upon them. Surely there should be virtue enough in such people as the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Duchess of Sutherland, to banish from their world the violators of those laws of God and man, on which rest the foundations of social virtue and happiness.'—Ib. pp. 107—109.

From England our author proceeded to the continent, and as her route lay along the highways of Europe, we shall not detain our readers by transferring to our pages her descriptions of the scenery she witnessed, and the habits and condition of the people amongst whom she journeyed. Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy have been so frequently described by modern tourists, that we may pass over this part of Miss Sedgwick's volumes with slight notice. The following will be interesting to all who are acquainted with the writings of one of the most eminent philosophic historians of Europe.

'Towards evening, K. and I drove out to M. Sismondi's. He resides at Chesne. We drove away from the lake on a level road, past pleasant villas, and in face of Mont Blanc; thickly veiled his face was though, and, as we are told, he does not show it, on an average, more than sixty times a-year. After a pleasant drive of a mile and a half, we reached M. Sismondi's house, a low, cottage-like building, with a pretty hedge before it, and ground enough about it to give it an air of

seclusion and refinement. On the opposite side of the road, and withdrawn from it, is a Gothic church, shaded by fine old trees; and before it is the Salève, and Mont Blanc for a back-ground. I envied those who could sit down on the stone benches in the broad vestibule of the church, with these glorious high altars before them. It pleased me to find Sismondi's home in a position so harmonizing with the elevation and tranquillity of his philosophic mind. As we drove up the serpentine approach to his door, I felt a little trepidation, lest I might not find a friend in my long and intimate correspondent—a natural dread of the presence of a celebrated man; but I had no sooner seen his benignant face, and heard the earnest tones of his kind welcome, than I felt how foolish, how pitiful was such a dread; and that I might as well have feared going into the sunshine, or into the presence of any other agent, however powerful, that is the source of general health and happiness. To our surprise, we found we were expected. Confalonieri is in Geneva, and, expecting to intercept us, has delayed for some days his return to Paris.

'After an hour we came away perfectly satisfied. Not a look, a word, or tone of voice had reminded us that we were meeting for the first time. We seemed naturally, and with the glow of personal intercourse, to be carrying on the thread of an acquaintance that we had been all our lives weaving. I can say nothing truer, nor to you more expressive, than that the atmosphere of home seemed to enfold us. You would like to know how M. Sismondi looks. I can tell you that he is short, stout, and rather thick; that he has a dark complexion, plenty of black hair, and brilliant hazel eyes; and then you will have just about as adequate a notion of his soul-lit face as you would have of the beauty of Monument Mountain, the Housatonic, and our meadows, if you had never seen the sun shine upon them or the shadows playing over them. I sometimes think it matters not what the original structure is, when the character is written on it, and the golden light of the soul shines over it. It is a very common opinion, but is it not an erroneous one? that you cannot form a correct opinion of an author from his works. Nine-tenths (ninety-nine hundredths?) of authors, so called, are mere collectors—*rifacitori*—ingenious makers of patchwork. An original writer writes with earnestness and sincerity. As Titian is said to have ground up flesh to produce his true coloring, so their works are a portion of their spirits; the book is, in fact, the man.....

'Sismondi rarely dines out, and 'has not,' Madame S. says, 'in his life drunk a half-glass of wine beyond what was good for him;' and surely he has his reward in a clear head and unshaken hand. He is sixty-seven. Madame S. expressed her regret that he was so near the allotted term of life, while 'he had yet so much to do.' 'I wish,' she added, playfully, 'that I were nineteen, and my husband twenty-one.' Sismondi replied, that he should not care to live his life over again; 'it had been so happy, he should not dare to trust the chances.' We in our rash love would have exclaimed, 'O king, live for ever!' forgetting that he will for live ever without 'the chances.'.....

'K. and I walked out this morning to breakfast with the Sismondis.

It was scarcely nine when we sat down to the table. He breakfasted on curd and cream, and on these delicate articles Madame S. says he expends all his *gourmandise*. Nine is not late now (October 6), and he had already written three letters and several graceful stanzas for some lady's album. It is by these well-ordered habits of diligence that he accomplishes such an immensity of work. And with all this labor his mind is as free, as much at ease, as if he had nothing in the world to do but make his social home the cheerful place it is. He spoke in terms of high commendation of Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, but he thought Mr. P. had painted his heroine-queen *en beau*, and he went on to express his detestation of her bigotry, and his horror of its tremendous effects. We women contended for her conjugal and maternal character. 'And what,' he asked, 'had she done for her children but educate a mad woman?' Madame S. reminded him of Catherine of Aragon. 'But she,' he said, 'was not Isabella's daughter.' We all smiled, and I said that I was glad to find him at fault in a point of history. 'Ah!' he replied, 'history for me is divided into two parts: that which I have written and forgotten, and that which I have not written and have not yet learned.'.....

'I asked if the working classes here were making progress. He said 'No; on the contrary, there was less development of mind than fifty years ago, for then there existed a law, now annulled, forbidding a master-workman to employ more than two journeymen. Now the tendency of things is make great capitalists, and to reduce the mass of men to mere 'mechanicals.' As to progress with the peasantry, that was quite out of the question.' What a strange and death-like condition this seems to us! When I think of the new, the singularly happy condition of our people among the working classes of the world, I am vexed at their solemn, anxious faces. If they have all outward prosperity, they have not that cheerfulness of the countenance which the wise man says betokeneth the prosperity of the heart. There is something wrong in this—some contravention of Providence.'

—Ib. pp. 249—255.

We take leave of Miss Sedgwick with the most hearty goodwill, and with a sincere desire that all our tourists, whether American or English, may imitate the spirit in which she has related to her 'kindred at home' what she saw and heard in the Old World. It is surely time that the mean spirit of detraction in which many have written should be abandoned. Neither the Americans nor ourselves can gain any thing by the reputation of the other being diminished; while each may be benefited by a fair and candid exhibition of the character and habits of its contemporary. To misrepresent the institutions or to caricature the manners of a great people, for the purpose of misleading the judgment of our own countrymen, is one of the most serious offences which can be committed, and should be marked by the reprobation of every well-constituted mind.

Art. IV. *The Biblical Cabinet: or Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library.* Vols. I.—XXXI. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark.

BEFORE the appearance of the Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet, we had long felt the desirableness of such a series. When, therefore, it actually started into existence, it was hailed as the auspicious harbinger of a brighter day in the progression of biblical literature. Here was the commencement of an exegetical library for the intelligent divine, which would constantly excite a taste for profounder study, and foster the nascent predilection for critical inquiry in our native land. Great gratitude is due to the publisher for undertaking a work not likely soon to be extensively popular—a work of sterling and staple material, fitted to command the confidence, and to challenge the assent, of every right-hearted student of the Bible. We fear, however, that he has not been well sustained in his disinterested efforts to diffuse a better taste; but that oft desponding, he laments the failure of a generous experiment, on whose success he had calculated with overweening confidence. Britain had done comparatively little for the advancement of philological studies, and it was perhaps too much to expect that she should be speedily awakened to a right appreciation of their severe exercises. Her taste had been scarcely formed for them. Her spirit had no yearning towards them. In hermeneutical science, too, she had been slumbering, whilst other nations were running the career of an honorable and hallowed zeal for the better understanding of the word of God. Was it probable, then, that the scientific apparatus of a people habituated to such inquiries should be welcomed by her as a valuable gift, or received with cordial affection? Thus the mental habits of the British nation augured little success. But it were idle to conceal or to palliate the fact, that the management of the Biblical Cabinet has been marked by several defects. Let us plainly and candidly allege, that it has not sustained a character brightening and improving by time. It can hardly have escaped the notice of the most unreflecting, that little progressive improvement has marked the entire series. And yet this was a matter of easy accomplishment. It was what the readers had a right to look for; and when disappointed an equal right to complain of. What, then, is the reason that obliges them to give expression to feelings of dissatisfaction with its management? What induces them to pronounce over it a decision less friendly and favorable than

they could wish? The following we believe to be the chief particulars in which it is defective.

First. The volumes composing it are very unequal in merit. To plead, indeed, for a perfect equality in excellence, were Utopian. There must be inequalities in works written by different authors, and upon different topics. The same degree of merit does not attach even to the individual writings of the same author. But, whilst several volumes belonging to the Cabinet are well selected, and amply deserving of their place in it, there are others which ought not to have been introduced. Thus *Ernesti* on the New Testament, *Pareau* on the Old, *Planck's* Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation, *Tholuck's* Commentaries, are all entitled to their position; whilst *Umbreit, Witsius, Tholuck's Sermons,* and other treatises that might be named, are not of such permanent value as to recommend their transference from the German or Latin language into our own, much less to assign them the place occupied in the Cabinet. Surely Tholuck's Life and Sermons do not comport with the list of treatises intended to be embraced; whilst Witsius' Lectures on the Lord's Prayer are inferior in critical analysis, as might have been anticipated from the time at which they first appeared. We readily concede that the theology of the latter is sound and systematic; tinctured with scholasticism withal, which the pious divine found to be fashionable, and relished accordingly. Umbreit, again, though profoundly learned, is too erratic and speculative to undertake an able exposition of Job; for he sets about his task somewhat in the style of one who developes an oriental fable. Nor has the translator appended notes explanatory or corrective, but simply confined himself to the drudgery of rendering into English the words and phrases of the original.

Secondly. The best commentaries have not been uniformly chosen. Thus *Calvin* is not the best on Galatians, *Steiger* on the first Epistle of Peter, or *Billroth* on Corinthians. The German and Latin languages supplied better than these; and they should therefore have given place to more valuable authors. It is true that none of them is without merit. Due praise is willingly awarded to each. *Calvin* had an acute and powerful intellect; but his philology was not of the highest order. *Steiger* was a young man of great promise, and nobly did he set himself to refute the antisupranaturalism of Wegscheider; but his mind was hardly matured for the task of commentary. Billroth, too, was learned; but ought not to be called an able theologian. Still there is a difficulty in procuring German commentaries whose theology exactly squares with what the standards of the Church of Scotland, or the articles of the Church of England, pronounce sound and pure doctrine. And yet many

may be evangelical notwithstanding. They may set forth the essentials of the christian religion, such as the deity of Christ, his atonement and intercession, with man's recovery and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, without exhibiting those minute opinions on which christian churches differ. Let it not be conceived that adherence to any creed, however lengthened, should be sufficient to stamp the seal of orthodoxy on the brow of a commentator. Although, therefore, there may not be expositions in German to suit in all points the creed-formed taste of established churches; there may be evangelical commentaries proceeding from able and pious men, that ought to be translated into English. If they be not produced in the spirit of a vain *antisupranaturalism*, explaining away miracles, and resolving prophecy into shrewd conjecture—or if they be free from the invention of *mythi*, we should leave a few objectionable matters to the good sense of the christian student, without casting aside an entire volume, however excellent as a whole. Or, if any object to this as insufficient, let him separate the chaff from the wheat in pointing out its worthlessness—let it be faithfully exposed as unprofitable and pernicious; but cast not away both together; for in so doing you will lose much that is worth possessing, and recklessly abandon, it may be, the pure grain of the sanctuary. Let the aberrations of learning be held up as warnings to deter from the folly of philosophizing upon the Bible, or from the pride of pronouncing sentence in matters too high for human intellect to scan—too sacred for human presumption to invade. These are some of the uses to which the unsound portions of many German books, otherwise valuable, might be applied; without necessarily depriving the intelligent student of their multifarious contents. No poison would thus insinuate itself into the mind—it would lose its venom and its hurtfulness—while the literary giants of the continent would dwindle down before our view as frail and fallible men, equally in want of the teaching of the Spirit with ourselves, and all the more necessitous, in proportion to the extent of their attainments, and the depth of their lore. Humility generated by a calm view of their lapses, would bid away the rising thoughts of self-importance so inimical to the better feelings of christian abasement. It tends much to level the fancied greatness of human accomplishments to contemplate the hallucinations of those who toil incessantly to ascend the heights of a proud pre-eminence in literature, and toil not in vain; for, whilst they may be always learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth so far as it is *practically received and felt;* the meanest peasant, on whose soul science has never shone, may clearly and cogently perceive its primary claims not less to a celestial origin, than to an instant submission.

With these sentiments, we should not fear to clothe with an English dress some of the best works of neological writers; not, indeed, such as were written expressly to defend a most erroneous system, but rather to illustrate the books of Scripture, and therefore less objectionable, than if it had been the avowed object to uphold a favorite but fallacious mode of interpretation. We say, so far from entertaining fears, we should rather hope that compositions of this kind might be *profitably* corrected or *beneficially* refuted. Every attack on the inspiration of the sacred writers has hitherto redounded to the *reality of the fact*, by calling forth the counter-arguments of the more potent friends of truth. And, although we have no sympathy with that chivalrous spirit which carelessly flings down its arms before the daring demeanor of presumptuous reason, contented to yield where it is the more necessary to stand up for the gospel's sake; yet we have as little leaning to the sickly timidity that lives in alarms of its own creation.

5. Thirdly. Volumes have been occasionally introduced into the Cabinet which do not harmonize with its acknowledged character. Thus *Gess on the Revelation of God in his Word*, is too popular and brief to satisfy the wants of the scholar. One of *Krummacher's* works has been numbered as a volume belonging to the series, which all will admit to have been sadly misplaced; for this pious and imaginative theologian belongs to another class of authors than that embraced in the Cabinet; and however much we admire his elegant fancy and breathing piety, we cannot praise the correctness or sobriety of his expositions. *Lisco* on the Parables, though generally judicious, is not such a treatise as could have been desired. It wants fundamental investigation, as far as the nature of the subject will allow. We question, too, whether it be a wise proceeding to make up volumes of miscellaneous articles, chiefly reprinted from the American Biblical Repository and the Repertory. The former is possessed and read by the majority of persons interested in the progress of the present 'Library.' But there are some American productions which might well be transplanted; especially *Exegetical Essays by Professor Stuart on Future Punishment;* a volume that presents a valuable specimen of hermeneutical investigation on a theme intensely momentous. There, the reader may find a thorough antidote to the philosophical speculations of the Unitarian and Universalist, who set aside the statements of Scripture without ceremony, as being opposed to the amiable reveries of the human heart. *Herder's Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* might be added, in the English translation by Professor Marsh, although it is now imperfect, desiderating notes and references to adapt it to the present state of our knowledge.

Fourthly. Some of the volumes are not well rendered into our language. We do not say that the laborious translators have often mistaken the sense of the originals. We bring against them no sweeping charge of gross unacquaintedness with the German language. Some of them, however, are manifestly deficient in acquaintance with its minutiæ or nicer idioms; and might have produced versions less uncouth, and a style less Germanized. Inelegance characterizes the labors of a few, who seem incapable of transfusing the force and beauty of the German into our own tongue. It requires long and diligent study before the ability to accomplish a good version be produced. Let the inexperienced translators take a lesson from *Marsh's Michaelis*, frequently comparing the original with its English costume; and they will learn the excellencies and mysteries of a finished version.

In these brief remarks upon the defects of the Biblical Cabinet, we have been anxious to state our opinion as candidly and faithfully as possible. We have a great desire to see the work as excellent and perfect as it ought to be. Be it far from us to complain without cause, or to censure without reason. When the interests of sound learning, the reputation of our theological literature, and the soundness of our national judgment is at stake, we are anxious that our defects should be as few as possible in the eyes of the most competent judges in other lands. We wish to see no stain upon our sacred literature, but to look upon it ascending with onward progress to a high and noble elevation. Rather should we have spoken in terms of unmeasured commendation, had a conscientious regard for truth admitted; since it is painful to dwell upon the faults, and to spy out the minor errors, which some are solicitous to find and feed upon. Had we been less anxious for the continuance and prosperity of the valuable series, we should have said less respecting its defects. It is just because we are impressed with the conviction of its importance to the cause of biblical learning, that we have ventured to give utterance to our sentiments, in order that the whole may hereafter challenge the unhesitating approbation of the ablest scholars. Alive as we are to the necessities of an age like the present, when the pulpit gives forth so little exposition, and the religious press re-echoes the trite sayings of hereditary pietism—when doctrinal truths are so unsubstantially inculcated from the high platform occupied by the preacher as to leave the mass of the people unfed with the strong meat of the gospel, and lean in their forms of spiritual manhood—we seek their removal by the application of successful remedies. Such features cannot be contemplated but with unquiet spirit, as they pass before

the view in shadowy mood, indicative of feebleness and frailty.

There are several suggestions which we would now propose. Should they be adopted we are quite confident of the success of the work.

First. The general superintendence of the whole ought forthwith to be entrusted to some competent scholar. It is matter of regret that this was not done at first; else so great inequality would not have been exhibited. By committing the entire selection to an individual, it will be pervaded by greater unity and excellence—treatises of doubtful propriety will be excluded, and works of primary interest alone presented to the public. We take it for granted that the management would be invested in safe hands. No second-rate individual should be selected; but one universally known to possess learning, judgment, and piety, combined with a philosophical spirit and liberal heart. Except these qualifications be found in the same person, he will be so far deficient in ability for the active superintendence. Neither should any *antipunctist* be entrusted with it, in the land of waning Hebrew literature where it is published; for the obvious reason, that he cannot be a good Hebraist. Nothing will tend to raise the character of the series more, than the adoption of such a suggestion. Conversant with German biblical literature as well as English, the editor will feel his reputation at stake, and exercise a sound discretion in choosing such able volumes as are often consulted by the masters of criticism.

Secondly. There ought to be more commentaries on the Old Testament, since it is less understood than the New. In itself, too, it is certainly more difficult; requiring a patience of study and an oriental apparatus which few possess. The number of those who thoroughly comprehend the Hebrew Scriptures is small; and the learned interpreter should devote himself more to this department, in the hope of enlightening the obscurities by which it is extensively enveloped, or of disclosing the beauties that lie far distant from the eye of the carnal and indolent. Why should we not have parts of *Rosenmüller's Scholia*, such as those on the Book of Psalms, translated; as also *Tiele* on Genesis, a sensible and judicious commentary, though pervaded by far less learning than that of *Tuch* the neologian, which followed it?

Thirdly. Treatises on particular subjects, such as contain able and independent investigations of topics important in themselves, ought to be frequently selected. Fundamental discussions of an exhaustive kind should by all means be brought forward. These constitute the nutriment which satisfies the mind, convinces the understanding, and affords the richest repast to the intellectual powers. They leave little room for un-

easiness or craving after second courses; but commend themselves to the approbation of the finished scholar. As an example, may be mentioned *Hemsen's Leben Pauli*, published by Lücke, in which is given a more satisfactory account of the life and labors of the great apostle than in any other volume that can be put by its side. Of the same character is *Hengstenberg's Christologie*, translated by Keith, in which the Messianic passages of the Old Testament are expounded with great learning, and defended against all objections with successful effort. It is only to be regretted that the style is heavy, and the arguments unattractive from the mode in which they are stated.

Fourthly. We would not object, as already intimated, to several works by neologians, provided they were edited by a good scholar in our own country, and accompanied with masterly notes by way of correction, refutation, or addition. Even *Gesenius on Isaiah*, a book which no scholar can dispense with, might be rendered into English. With all its sad perversions and infidel views, it contains such valuable matter, that it might be introduced to the notice of British theologians. Let its neology be fairly seen and fully met—let the flimsy infidelity of a system which those who talk about so much, know so imperfectly, be plainly presented in all its naked deformity; and we shall learn to be less afraid of its fancied power and insinuating mischief. The *Geschichte der Hebraischen Sprache und Schrift* of the same scholar, deserves to be translated, as standing at the head of similar treatises in Germany, provided sound learning and superior skill were brought to bear upon its errors. The same remarks are applicable to *De Wette's Einleitung*, of which the student cannot be ignorant without inconvenience, notwithstanding the objectionable views it contains. We are aware that the cry of heresy would soon be raised by the appearance of such works in the Biblical Cabinet, in spite of the necessary accompaniments with which it behoves them to be sent forth. The hunters of heterodoxy, who arrogate to themselves the privilege of denouncing every thing which does not square with their narrow creed, would fall upon them with merciless rancor, as though the theological world were about to be inundated with a flood of infidelity sweeping away the ancient and venerable landmarks that our fathers of hallowed memory set up. And yet we should be contented to allow them to rave; knowing that an enlightened and enlarged theology will triumph over every obstacle; and that raising the war-cry against something called *rationalism*, without at the same time opening up its character, only awakens the curiosity of numbers, or tempts them to regard as formidable, the foolish utterances of depraved humanity. We have no fear for the truth of God, by whatever weapon it be assailed; neither do we belong to the

timid adherents of creeds, who judge of every thing by its conformity with a human system, rather than its agreement with the holy Scriptures; and limit their reading to that which exactly harmonizes with their own belief. If error be abroad that threatens to undermine the fabric of revealed truth, and to destroy its holy battlements, let it be openly confronted: but let not men cry out against it as vile and pernicious, without knowing its nature, or permitting others to understand its peculiarities. And here we would suggest the propriety of including in the series, descriptions of the various grades and names which theological systems have received in Germany. We hear of *naturalism, rationalism, supranaturalism*, &c., without affixing distinct ideas to the terms. It is by no means easy to ascertain their peculiarities and distinctions, varying as they do, at different periods, and in the terminologies of different authors. Even Rose and Pusey do not furnish clear statements of the systems thus technically denominated. We must have recourse to the Tittmanns, the Bretschneiders, the Hahns, the Wegscheiders, and others, for a description of the features by which they are marked. It is well to attach right notions to such words, since they are so common in Germany as to occur at every step, and so usual, moreover, in some of our own theological productions. We know the vague and indefinite ideas which many entertain concerning them. Hence the student of sacred literature ought to be acquainted with their distinctive peculiarities. Some treatise accordingly, such as *Hahn's Commentatio de Rationalismo, qui dicitur, verâ indole*, &c., should be translated into English, with additions from other writers, for the purpose of throwing light upon a topic of painful interest.

Fifthly. The publisher should endeavor, if possible, to intersperse among the volumes of the Cabinet suitable treatises from English writers. Few, indeed, are capable of composing such works among us; but there are still some. Comparatively low as is the state of biblical literature, there are yet those whose writings prove them competent to traverse the same departments as Vater, Gesenius, Hupfeld, Ewald, De Wette, and others of the like commanding elevation. Could any of them be induced to compose able works in unison with the plan and objects of the Cabinet, a pleasing variety would be exhibited, and the British mind contrasted with the speculative genius of the German.

It is high time to raise the tone of this 'library,' which, so far from disparaging, we mean on the whole to commend. The period has arrived for a 'new series,' improved in character, if not in appearance also. As it has proceeded, its value has not advanced; and we fear that a perfunctory public has not done

half its duty in encouraging the enterprising publisher to continue it with spirit and success. Still we cannot but believe that it would be better supported did it issue better works. The increasing excellence of its contents would attract the attention and engage the cordial sympathy of the best friends to sacred learning; whilst the youthful students of Scripture would learn to regard it as a sort of national work amply deserving their best support. Perhaps the place of publication has a somewhat injurious influence upon it; for we know the stiff front of the Established Church of Scotland, which smiles on nothing in theology but the phrases and moulds of its antiquated creed. Probably, too, the publisher fears the watchword of heresy, when his volumes are tried by documents as fallible in their composition as any which Germany produces. But if he be disposed to adopt the suggestions now offered, he will find that there is a goodly number in our land prepared to respond to his undertaking, and to waft it prosperously on the tide of a steady favor. There are men who will help to bring it much more prominently before the rising youth of our colleges; we allude to such as are entrusted with the interests of education, and imbued with an ardent love of religious truth. It will commence a new career of success with auspicious omens, and rise in importance as it increases in circulation. The very existence and energy of such an organ, encouraged by the masters of colleges and the tutors of academies, will cause the interests of sacred literature to thrive. Youth trained for the ministry will be furnished with suitable implements, neither shall they be ashamed of the paucity of their attainments. Fundamental works, elucidative of the holy Scriptures, will produce marvellous effects; and the higher criticism be duly appreciated. Shallow theology will not always be in vogue, nor will men continue to feed on husks. There must be something more than a theological sentimentalism to touch the tender emotions—the intellectual powers must be strengthened for grasping the gigantic principles of the Bible, and for spreading them out before the public in their comprehensive forms. The most learned perversions of holy Scripture must be overthrown with learned weapons: for if the advocates of antisupranaturalism see nothing in their opponents save a drivelling and dubious science, they will look upon their religion as the offspring of imbecility, or the child of enthusiastic ignorance. We request our readers, therefore, on behalf of such a work, to make it more efficient by their counsels, and more extensively useful by their personal influence. It deserves to be encouraged much more abundantly than it has been. Let not its philological character be so forbidding as to blind them to its importance, or cause its value to be overlooked. It is a reflection

somewhat sad to the pride of English scholarship, to be obliged thus to repair to the continent, and to borrow its treasures; but until treatises equally valuable and equally good be produced at home, we should not be ashamed to drink at the fountains opened up in other lands. And if, when they are brought as it were to the very door—when they are transferred into our own country, and accessible to all—we turn aside with loathing or with negligence, it is a melancholy token of the ignorance which walks abroad among us, and tarnishes even the service of Jehovah with its unseemly presence. It demonstrates to all who have learned to look abroad over the field of theology with purified vision, that there is still much leaven to be purged out ere substantial and satisfying food be relished by the ministers of the word. To believe that the Scriptures are not destined to be better understood than now, or that the lights of modern criticism are only fitted to dazzle the eye without penetrating the mind and informing the judgment, is the characteristic of egregious ignorance, folly, and indolence. Man has not yet fathomed what it is given him to explore even here; human learning, so much separated from the interests of religion, has yet to concentrate its best and highest energies on the book of God; and may we not hope that obscurities will be removed, truth brought out in living simplicity from the place of its abode, and the genuine interpretation of Jehovah's revealed will set forth in its transcendent value. Till then, let us diligently employ the means and helps at our disposal for discovering the right sense of every thing biblical, 'not as though we had already attained, either were already perfect.' Reaching forth to large and liberal attainments in all that pertains to theology, let us continue to advance with unabated ardor. It is a noble and dignified science—its origin heavenly, its aims pure; let us not cramp its fair features by seeking to persuade ourselves that it has already reached its summit of perfection; but press forward with persevering progress to its high ascent, where we may gaze upon the faint and far-distant radiance of that celestial intelligence, in which the rapturous spirit longs to be enshrined.

Art. V. *The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh.* By John William Bowden, M.A. In two vols. 8vo. London: Rivington.

THIS is one of the numerous works published during the last ten years by the new school of divinity which has its centre at Oxford. This school has been much overrated in every way. It has not displayed the amount either of learning or of genius for which it has obtained credit: and if for the praise which has been ceded to its piety and good intentions, there had been substituted a more vigorous censure of its wilful superstition, its manifest dishonesty, and its haughty and insolent intolerance, the censorship would have been much more in accordance with the nature of the case.

In the kind of learning which the tastes of these gentlemen dispose them to cultivate, it is possible to make an imposing show at no great cost. The obsolete accumulations of this nature are abundant. Very learned selections may be readily made from such sources, and with the slight advantages of a somewhat new form and style, and of application to the complexion of the times now passing over us, materials which seemed to have served their only purpose very long since, may be made to carry with them the appearance not only of being very grave in their import, but of being entitled to the claim of novelty. Men who know a little of Greek, and can read Latin with some fluency—no marvellous attainments—and who are tolerably versed in the works of authors who have read much more in those languages than themselves, need not be at a loss for the means of indulging in a vain show after such a fashion. If the pedantry of this sort, which has been displaying itself so long, has not been exposed by truly learned men as it might have been, the new school may thank the very absurdity of their system for their escape. There is your grave fop as well as your laughing fop; your fop in matters ecclesiastical as well as in matters which obtain at Almack's; but mere foppery is not a thing about which men of sense are much disposed to trouble themselves even for the sake of correcting it. Hitherto, the older devotees of this school have found their principal converts in that section of the clergy whose youth furnishes some apology for their folly and waywardness. The good sense of the laymen of the Church of England has sufficed to penetrate the folly of this scheme from the beginning. Had it been otherwise, it would not have been left to a solitary mind at Ongar, a mind not within the pale of the Church, to bring the force of a

real scholarship to bear upon its want of honesty and its pitiable arrogance.

On the matter of honesty, we must confess that we have seen too much of the disingenuousness by which all controversy has been disfigured, to be greatly surprised at any thing we meet with in that shape. The notion, that the maxim which teaches that the end sanctifies the means, is peculiar to the church of Rome, is one of our fond mistakes. The root of that maxim, as of every thing else embraced in the system of popery, is in the tendencies inseparable from our fallen nature. The politician acts upon it, consciously or unconsciously, with very rare exceptions; and the religious controversialist is in special danger from it. In one view, the goodness of the end may seem to present a sort of security for the goodness of the means which will be employed in relation to it. But the results of experience are not to that effect. On the contrary, the more the mind is impressed with the sacredness or importance of the end, the more are men in danger of finding excuses for adopting doubtful, and too often clearly forbidden means for the sake of it. Indeed, it is a common artifice for men to vest their particular objects with this character, in order that the greatness of the interest, said to be at hazard might be made to lend a sort of justification to the unauthorized expedients resorted to in its favor. The salvation of the state is admitted to be the supreme law, and men often persuade themselves that the salvation of their own party schemes is the same thing with the salvation of religion, and that to the safety of religion every other consideration should be subordinate.

Enough has come out in the pages of the British Critic, since that journal has become the organ of Puseyism, and in other works of the same description, to show that in taking up the forms of the middle age, these men have not failed to imbibe its spirit. The monkish air which it has been their pleasure to assume, is found to be allied both with the cruelty and the craft so natural to the monastery. Mr. Newman is, we suppose, by way of eminence, the saint of this school; but let any man read his No. 90, and the exposure of his capabilities in the way of chicanery in a late number of the Edinburgh Review, and he will see at once the school in which these saints have acquired their morality. If men can deal thus with the articles of their own Church, which are in their own tongue, and in every body's hands, who can set bounds to their misrepresentations when dealing with the most recondite sources of ecclesiastical history? Were their learning admitted to be as sound as it is ostentatious, their character for honesty is gone—gone at least with all sober thinking men of every communion.

Many profess to regard this class of persons as sincere, while

rejecting their doctrine as untenable and absurd, and deploring its influence on the unwary as most pernicious. We must be permitted to say, that we have no great faith in that kind of sincerity which allows a man to assign a religious reason for doing what his natural conscience must assure him is morally wrong. The conviction, too, may be in a sense sincere, while the process through which the mind has passed in order to reach it has been very insincere. Saul of Tarsus, and no doubt such men as Torquemada and Loyola, partook of this kind of sincerity. But when a man's opinions are of a kind to hold out the promise of power and emolument to himself, and to menace his fellow men with the evils of plunder and oppression, it may behove us to weigh this concession to sincerity very carefully before we make it. Men's convictions are often the result of a habit of mind in which the wish is allowed to become 'the 'father of the thought.' In such instances, the most sincere conviction may be a choosing of darkness rather than light, and for the reason which the Teacher who knew what was in man has assigned.

What can be conceived more grateful, to a certain class of minds, than the kind of investiture which these high Church principles would throw about the christian priesthood. Let a clerk be one of the greatest dolts the county might supply, and let him be one of the greatest knaves to boot, if he has been assuredly inducted to his parish cure by means of certain prescribed ecclesiastical forms, and if he is found to be observant of certain conventional rules of propriety, he is there as a species of ecclesiastical sovereign. To him alone it pertains to receive tithes, and other ecclesiastical offerings. He alone is the authorized expounder of Holy Writ. By his hands alone can the sacraments be duly administered. It is with him to open so that no man can shut, and to shut so that no man can open. He is as a delegate of the Divinity to the people about him. To resist, is to become impious; to fail in obedience, is to fail in respect to all the virtues of salvation. How beautiful is this theory—how rich in promise! Toryism has been defined as a love of unearned emolument and power; and how potent are the claims of this scheme of ecclesiastical Toryism! How must it commend itself to the host of incapables, who are obliged to feel that insignificance is certainly their portion, if their only hope of ascendancy over their fellow men is to depend on their being really superior to them! How natural that the swarm of parsons in embryo, at Oxford and Cambridge, should wish this golden vision to be true; how very unnatural to suppose, that in persuading themselves that it is true, they have been observant of the rules of mental honesty. The sincerity of opinion is always liable to suspicion in proportion as bounty operates in

its favor. Does Job serve God for nought?—was the question of an enemy, but of an enemy who knew human nature, and who knew the force of the query which he uttered. We repeat, therefore, that it behoves us to cede the praise of sincerity very cautiously, in favor of opinions which commend themselves to the selfish passions of those who hold them, at the manifest hazard of right and liberty in society at large.

That such right and liberty would be invaded by the sect adverted to, if they possessed the power of so doing, is beyond doubt. The maxims which they avow, and the changes which they describe as those which they would fain see accomplished, are sufficiently definite to free this point from all obscurity. It is true that in their language on this subject there is nothing of violence. It is calm, brief, and determined—such as inquisitors are said to use when seated at their tribunal. It is full of the pride which counts not upon discussion or resistance, which stoops not to reason, and is prepared to crush the obdurate, according to its preconcerted manner, and without pity. It would give the bishop not only his court, but his castle; and that he might deal the more effectually with delinquents, would vest him with a civil as well as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction. We are told, indeed, for the present, that liberty of worship, in some sort, should be continued. But enough has been said to show that the toleration of dissent would terminate with the first day of their power to put an end to it. If we could regard this mania as likely to become powerful beyond the ranks of the clergy, we should account the gravity and coolness with which it gives utterance to the most intolerant maxims, and the perfectly contemptuous air with which it passes over all notice of the objections which might be urged against its assumptions, as the feature of its character which must render it most alarming. The catholic historian, Dr. Lingard, has described proceedings instituted by an assembly of English clergy in the time of Henry the Second, against some Albigensian heretics who landed in this country, and from what we remember of the narrative, the death of the sufferers from torture, cold, hunger, and nakedness, is described without the slightest expression of sympathy; but the historian appears to feel much for the clergy whose hard lot it was to have their patience tried, and at length wholly exhausted, by a protracted examination of prisoners so little worthy the episcopal notice! In like manner our Oxford episcopals would count it an evil day in which they should be obliged to listen to any statement of a dissenter's opinions, much more to the reasons of them. Even that demand, however, on their patience and condescension, they would possibly submit to, if understood as the preliminary to our being hanged, or something like it.

The author of the volumes now before us would probably account such a representation of his party as unauthorized and uncharitable. But we must be allowed to assure him that we could expect no better things than these from any body of men holding the principles which his book inculcates, and placed in circumstances to admit of those principles being acted upon freely and fully. That ideal unity and uniformity, which has so powerfully fascinated the imagination of Mr. Bowden, is a mere fiction of the brain, which no sober man can hope to see realized on earth. Nor is that all. Attempts to realize this scheme have done more, from age to age, to repel the generations of men from christianity, than has been done by all other causes to attract them towards it. It is in pursuit of this phantom that churchmen have practised frauds, and perpetrated deeds, which have made their name a suspicion and a loathing with countless multitudes of mankind. Nor have these multitudes consisted necessarily, as Mr. Bowden is wont to insinuate, of the most depraved portions of society. As commonly, and perhaps more commonly, the reverse has been the fact. The following passage, from the introduction to Mr. Bowden's volumes, will indicate the complexion of the work which he has given to the public.

'The reformation of the Anglican church in the sixteenth century, however necessary, however beneficial, was a sudden and convulsive change; nor is it any disparagement to its leading principles or essential character to say, that, as such a change, it could not fail to be attended by a variety of incidental evils. One, and that perhaps not the least important of these its undeniable but unavoidable consequences, has been the disposition which it has induced among us to disregard our connexion, as churchmen, with the past. Though old truths were, during the era of the reformation, preserved, old associations and habits received a violent shock from the rapidity of its progress; and it has in consequence come to bear to our eyes the appearance of a much more fundamental change than, in itself, it really was. With the times antecedent to that great event we now seem practically to imagine, that we have little or no religious concern: our interest in the annals of our Church commences with the reign of Henry the Eighth, and the notion generally entertained of her character and position, during many centuries before that monarch's succession, is compounded of a broad and general impression of the errors and corruptions of modern Rome, and of a vague belief that all these evils, in all their fulness, were dominant in our island from an epoch virtually immemorial. Though we still speak of Cranmer, of Ridley, of Latimer, as reformers of our Church, the general tone which we use with respect to them rather accords with the supposition that they were her founders; we conceive them to have composed rather than to have remodelled, our ritual and liturgy; to have discovered rather than to have purified the faith we profess. And hence it has come to pass

that of all departments of historical inquiry, none has been of late more generally disregarded by us than that which would lead to an acquaintance with the varying fortunes of the church catholic and her defenders, in England or elsewhere, during the long lapse of time between the age of the primitive church and that of the divines of Edward and Elizabeth. That this interval was one of perpetual struggle, difficulty, and anxiety to the church, even the most superficial acquaintance with the secular annals of christendom would suffice to inform us. But, accustomed as we are to the unfounded notion of our English Church's recent origin, we omit to keep in mind the fact that she, as a branch of the church universal, is in some degree involved in the fortunes of that divinely founded institution throughout the world; and that it was our cause, no less than their own, which the champions of the Church have in all successive ages defended against the ever-renewed and ever-varying assaults of her adversaries. We therefore feel but little interest in contests with which, as we imagine, we have no personal concern; and cannot realize to ourselves the fact that the reformation, so far as it may be regarded as a struggle between ancient truth and modern error, was itself but the fruit of those earlier struggles which we slight, and of those labors which we depreciate; inasmuch as our Anglican fathers could never have been called to the high office of defending the faith and purifying the church, had not both the one and the other been preserved and handed down to them by the successful efforts of those who, in various times and under various circumstances, had fought the great battle before them.'—pp. 1—3.

We may admit, in accordance with this passage, that one effect of the reformation of the sixteenth century was, to produce a marked severance between the christianity which was called into prominence during that interval, and the christianity of the ages preceding. It was almost inevitable, if the work was to be done at all, and especially if it were to be done speedily, that it should be accomplished as by a kind of wrench, and be in some degree overdone. In England, however, scarcely any thing of this excess occurred. The fault with us was much rather in the opposite direction. It was the great error of the English reformers to bequeath to us a powerful and opulent hierarchy, which, in the main, has proved the great bulwark of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny through every age from that to the present. But admitting the existence of the alleged excess, is there no way of correcting it without adopting anew almost every thing belonging to the priestly domination and debasing superstitions of the middle age? Because the Tee-totaller is thought to push his notions of temperance to extremes, must the man who so thinks take care to intoxicate himself every day as the best means of counteracting such extravagance? With all reverence be it spoken, it is, as we think, just a folly of this sort with which these Oxford prodigies

are chargeable. To correct the supposed excesses of Protestantism they have become papists. Millions have died within the pale of the Roman church, with the reputation of being good catholics, who have been much less papistical in their principles, language, and feeling, than these men. That there was piety in the middle age, and piety with which we ought to sympathize, notwithstanding the errors mixed up with it, every intelligent and devout mind readily admits. But it is another thing to be so smitten with a fondness for priestly power as to be prepared to seek it by a return to the besotting superstitions of the middle age, rather than lose it as the effect of the enlightened piety of our own better days.

Mr. Bowden has spoken in this passage of the English hierarchy during the middle age, as not partaking of the errors and corruptions of modern Rome, in their fulness. If his meaning in this respect is what it appears to be, no error can be more palpable. The christianity of Canterbury during those ages, and the christianity of Rome, were, in all important respects, strictly identical. The christianity of England was, from the first, unhappily, an importation from Rome; and was, of course, imbued with superstition up to the level to which that evil had then attained in the capital of the papacy. It took its first complexion from Rome in the age of Gregory the Great, and it continued to receive its complexion from that quarter to the age of the reformation. The church of England was more subservient to the papacy than the churches of France or Germany, and was distinguished in nothing from the most abject slaves of that power, except as not uniformly recognizing the temporal sovereignty claimed by the popes, and as sometimes hesitating to yield the required reverence to other matters of personal prerogative claimed by the more ambitious of the pontiffs. But the general doctrine of the English clergy was as false and pernicious as Rome itself had learnt to promulgate; and the popular superstitions which they fostered were every wit as debasing as Italy itself could have exhibited. If our author does not know this, it is only another proof among many, that the sect which has undertaken to put us all right on such matters, has a good deal to learn before it will be duly competent to the office which it has assumed. Nor is it true, as intimated by Mr. Bowden, that the popery of the council of Trent was a systematized corruption compared with the popery of the middle age. The reverse, indeed, is the fact, as the natural consequence of the purifying action of protestantism on the system to which it was opposed. We may add also, that Mr. Bowden is equally mistaken in supposing, as he seems to do, that the scriptures were made familiar to our Saxon and Norman ancestors in their own tongue, and with consent of the

church. Wycliffe, indeed, gave his countrymen a complete translation of the Old and New Testaments, but the paraphrases or translations by other hands were limited to small portions of the volume, and were not made with the slightest design of giving them an indiscriminate or general circulation. The mention of these points, as arising within the first six or eight pages of Mr. Bowden's work, will be sufficient to indicate that we might find ample space for the exercise of a corrective criticism on these volumes, if we were disposed to go fully into their contents.

But we do not conceive that we should be making the best use of our own space, or of the time of our readers, by pursuing such a course. Mr. Bowden, however, has brought considerable research to the subject of which he treats. His materials are judiciously selected, and skilfully arranged; and his style, though often so diffuse as to become wearisome, is grave and flowing, embracing that mixture of simplicity and elaboration, which is observable generally in the writings of his party. But the subject is one that can hardly be made interesting, except to persons of a particular, or we may perhaps say—a perverted taste. The first volume consists almost entirely of details relating to the intrigues, violence, and barbarism which are supposed to have had some relation to the great struggle which filled the whole life of Gregory VII. The object of that struggle was to secure to churchmen independence of the civil power, without their relinquishing any portion of the secular emolument derived from that source. So far, indeed, did the ambition of Gregory extend, that he claimed, in virtue of his office as the successor of St. Peter, to be the supreme lord of all the nations, as well as of all the churches of christendom, princes and prelates being alike his children, and bound to do his parental bidding. That the clergy, as the members of this spiritual and universal monarchy, might be stimulated to the pursuit of such exclusive and lofty purposes, the celibacy of their order was now to be strictly enforced. The claim to independence would of course be resisted, more or less, by every crowned head in Europe, and by some with their utmost force; while the question of the celibacy of the clergy would not fail to marshal the passions of a large portion of that order against the will of their accredited chief. But Gregory, after surveying to the full the difficulties before him, resolved to subdue them. It was this resolve, and the vigour with which it was prosecuted, which has made the name of Hildebrand a proverb for boundless ecclesiastical ambition. Mr. Bowden, with the confidence which has characterized the movements of his sect, has undertaken to show, that this most ambitious of priests was, in reality, one of the most devout of mankind; that the good in

him greatly outweighed the evil; and that all his errors were such as to admit of abundant extenuation. We think that his industry and talent might have been much better employed. Nor can we congratulate him on having prosecuted his object with any eminent measure of success. Our estimate of the character of Mr. Bowden's hero is not changed. Gregory could set forth the schemes of his ambition as the mission of heaven, could cite scripture in support of such showing, and could profess to be deeply afflicted by the necessity which imposed upon him the duty of being engaged so prominently in fighting the battles of the Lord and of the church. But who does not know that this was the constant language of the pontiffs, and of all the great militant churchmen throughout the middle age? It was only as they availed themselves, after this manner, of the sanctions of the invisible, that they could hope to subdue the visible to their pleasure. It is saying little to allege, that the great patron of the celibacy of the clergy was himself chaste; and that the man who lived to the indulgence of such lofty passions, could place the inferior tendencies of his nature under some control. The path of successful ambition must always be more or less marked by such sacrifices of the less, for the sake of the greater. Mr. Bowden has not assigned any thing to the virtues or piety of Hildebrand, which, in such men, may not be as readily the effect of mere policy. Admitting that there was some element of sincerity in the mind of Gregory from the beginning, and, as often happens in such cases, that the assumptions, by means of which he practised upon others, at length became an element of deception to himself, we are still obliged to regard him as the victim of his own proud and selfish passions, and as a memorable example of the depraved, more than of the virtuous in human nature.

But it must be regarded as a curious sign of the times, that such men as Thomas à-Becket and Hildebrand should have become ecclesiastical favorites with a large class of our own churchmen; that this sort of favoritism should be thus openly avowed; and that the state should be expressly told, that its province is to act as the servant of the church, and not as its patron. What effect this choice display of arrogance is to produce on the mind of our church and state liberals remains to be seen. What is learnt slowly is often learnt surely; we can only say, that the lessons acquired by our Whig statesmen on this subject seem to be acquired very slowly indeed. We repeat it as our conviction, that if the sect, whose principles are inculcated in these volumes, were only powerful enough to do after its own heart, it would soon put a complete end to all liberty and to all religion: in the place of the former it would substitute the tyranny of feudal churchmen, and in the place of the latter the illusions of a frivolous and degrading superstition.

Art. VI. 1. *Journal of Civilization.* Parts I.—III. No. 1 to 11. London: 8vo., 1841.

2. *The Friend of Africa.* No. 1 to 10. London: 8vo., 1841.

3. *Speech of Lord John Russell, at a Dinner given to his Lordship by the New Zealand Company, the 11th day of January.* Colonial Gazette, 1841.

4. *Letter to Lord John Russell respecting the New Zealanders.* By the Rev. MONTAGUE HAWTREY. London: 12mo., 1840.

5. *Extracts of the Aborigines Protection Society.* Vol. II. No. 6, June, 1841.

CONSIDERING the degree of interest which has, within five years, been exhibited for the aborigines of some of our colonies by powerful individuals not heretofore remarkable for active sympathy in their behalf, and that this new zeal, if duly fostered, might be extended to them all with the happiest results; it is reasonable to look to the earlier and more prominent advocates of the good cause, for suitable efforts to engage, through the agency of the press, the still heartier support of the public on its side. Without that support success can never be complete; and whilst the press is indispensable as one great means for commanding it, the recent favorable position of the cause itself, so far as the capabilities of colored people have been proved, will justify the most earnest appeals. The success actually gained by humane endeavours to advance colored men in particular cases, and the decisive adoption of the ways of civilized life by them in those cases, have set at rest the old dispute, upon the possibility of a legal, social, and equal amalgamation of the most diverse races, blacks with whites, under ordinary circumstances. Thus, for instance, the *proverbially brutal* Hottentots are, at last, not only good soldiers in the British army, and good laborers in the service of colonists, and good christians at the missionary stations; but having obtained a little land of their own, with a fair degree of political justice, they are become good farmers, good citizens, and even good peace officers. Thus again some 20,000 of the border tribes, from beyond the Cape frontiers, have, since the *non-intercourse* laws were repealed in 1828, come into the Cape colony as useful laborers, and among them many are gradually acquiring fixed property, whilst some return to their tribes with fruits of their honest toil, and improved in civilization. Again, whilst this page is being written, the free and advanced Africans of Sierra Leone are, for the first time, voluntarily migrating to the West Indies; and the agent in one of the ships in which

they went, Mr. Hamilton, a naval officer of much experience in *Africa*, has made a report on the subject, noticed in the following terms in the Colonial Gazette, a London journal of good reputation:—'It seems as if there was a sunny break in the 'dark horizon of the West Indian fortunes,' says the editor in reference to this *new* supply of civilized laborers direct from Africa; and he adds wisely:—

'But from the West Indies and their fortunes, momentous as that question is, the consideration inevitably extends to the much larger question of the social destiny of the wronged African race. It cannot be denied, that even the scanty data furnished by these reports have given very strong enforcement to the reasoning which sought in America the regeneration of that race. In America it has been forced into juxtaposition with civilization; but hitherto it has been kept in so debased a condition, that it has not been able to testify the advantage which it has really derived from the contact. Relieved from that oppression, it is not slow to prove that it can make very rapid advances towards amendment. Of that fact Mr. Hamilton gives some striking testimony, drawn from the eminently free colony of Trinidad.

''On landing at Trinidad I beheld, for the first time since the emancipation, the laboring population, and was surprised at the neat and almost elegant appearance of the people. I could scarcely have thought it possible to metamorphose the abject persons whom I had seen ten years ago as slaves, into any thing so neat and creditable. The assembled throng in the catholic cathedral at Port of Spain was particularly attractive: all shades and colors of humanity were here in juxtaposition, and it may be said without disrespect, that the advantage of dress might be disputed by the colored classes; not only were their dresses handsome, but the mode of wearing them was far beyond what could have been expected. Not only in Port of Spain and on Sundays were the people well clothed, but the same remark may be applied to their appearance in the ordinary days of the week; and even in the cane-fields and about the works the women would attract attention by their neatness and appearance.'"*

An enumeration of many more such instances would be easy; and the task of contrasting the rising barbarian with the oppressed and hunted savage, will prove an equally effective and grateful occupation. Instead of wearisome attacks upon the oppressor, the triumphant exhibition, year after year, of improving tribes, now escaped from oppression, must justify the most sanguine hopes of their friends, by proving the erroneousness of the estimate formed of them by their enemies.

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* Of the immigrants, the Trinidad Gazette of May 11, 1841, says, 'They are very intelligent, and evidently, in point of civilization, a century in advance of the unfortunate beings who have occasionally been landed here from captured slave-ships.'

Unhappily, advantage has not been taken to improve the disposition of many to admit the force of these things; and the result is, a general complaint of the lukewarmness of the public. They who take the lead, most commendably in some respects in this cause, complain of lukewarmness, which really springs from their own neglect of proper means of raising active sympathy towards it. Instead of using such means vigorously, they have not only left the public without light respecting remedies which required more discussion in order to be effectual, but have permitted the most appalling facts to remain almost utterly in the dark, thus destroying the last hope of redress, and leaving Parliament without the means of enlightened legislation.

This charge is made upon good grounds and with great reluctance; and the sole motive for making it is, the belief that it marks an error exceedingly easy to be repaired, however fatal the effects of neglecting to repair it.

In regard to one vast country of uncivilized men, capable of being most beneficially influenced by suitable relations with Great Britain, and which country indeed is claimed to be, according to the law of civilized nations, a British dependency, it has been stated by an eloquent speaker, that recent fearful occurrences there, which ought to have caused a *vibration throughout christendom*, were passed over *almost in a whisper*. (*Speech of Dr. Harris at the Hull Anniversary Missionary Meeting, June* 1841.)

This statement was strictly justified by the fact; and the reproach involved in it strikes home to a numerous body of good men, who cannot surely long remain insensible to the claims which such a cause has upon their most active sympathy. These excellent men have fallen into a common mistake. Feeling rightly themselves, they have confounded the strong and ready sympathy of *their own wide circle* with that UNIVERSAL RESPONSE to which they never made a suitable appeal.

'*A deep and general interest is felt throughout the country*,' says the Rev. Mr. Ellis in 1839, in the preface to his History of Madagascar, in reference to the very same events which, *in June last*, drew from Dr. Harris, better informed by two years' more experience of the sad scenes referred to, the foregoing acknowledgment. The whole case of Madagascar is, indeed, full of instruction; and, taken in all its parts, and carried carefully over the whole period of thirty years, during which Great Britain has possessed a commanding influence there by the conquest of Mauritius in 1810, it illustrates every point that bears materially upon the great problems, how barbarians are to be improved by the influence of civilized states, and how civilized states may the most satisfactorily deal with barbarians. A

brief recapitulation of the history of British relations with Madagascar, will show what course ought to be pursued in a new crisis that has just arisen in the chief of the native governments; and it may be said without reserve, that without a proper effort to *enlighten* the public upon the subject, that crisis will only lead to a repetition of oft repeated horrors. At present events occur unceasingly throughout the world of the most painful interest to our colonists, and to their colored neighbors, although those events pass almost unheeded, cost us whatever they may—much often in money—but far more in outraged humanity, and in our national honor. The torrents of blood shed in South Africa, on the part of *whites* as well as blacks, in the *last four years*, not fewer than 12,000 having been massacred on both sides, including hundreds of women and children; and the miserable cases of the Rev John Williams, and of Captain Croker, of the royal navy, in the South Seas, with many late disasters attending our intercourse with the aborigines in all the Australias, where the whites and blacks are massacring each other in turn; and some governors, not only putting law at defiance, but all of them, and the home Government too, grossly neglecting the proper system to end these abominations,—these undeniable facts are but samples of scenes to be met with in all quarters. They may not be worse in themselves than the events of former periods, but the distinction is plain;—these things all happen in *our* days, when we flatter ourselves we are become better men than our forefathers; but when the truth is that we are, at this very moment, throwing away all their experience by being content with the measures of which that experience demonstrated the insufficiency.

The case of Madagascar, we repeat, particularly bears out our proposition. It is even more neglected than other countries involved in this question; and as it is replete with instruction upon the whole matter, as well as of urgent present interest, a better illustration could not be selected for the details necessary to establish the object of this article.

The cession of Mauritius and its dependencies in 1810, gave to Great Britain, by the European law of nations, territorial rights in Madagascar,* which various motives have induced the

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* 'This island is somewhat larger than Great Britain and Ireland, containing an industrious, intelligent, and semi-civilized population, amounting, there is reason to believe, to between four and five millions.'—*Narrative of J. J. Freeman and D. Johns*, 1840, p. 2.

'The population of Madagascar has generally been supposed to amount to about four millions. . . . From a census taken in the time of King Radama (in 1827), it may be stated at from four and a half to five millions.

government silently to give up. Our commercial interests in the same country are preserved to this day; and they daily become more and more extensive. The obligations, too, of humanity, imposed by our ancient connexion with that country, have been distinctly recognized within the last thirty years, although those obligations have not been discharged with fitting discrimination and perseverance. Under our influence the export of slaves to any British or French colony has ceased; and

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The basis of this census was the returns of the officers of districts that there were upwards of one million of houses in the country, with an average of five persons in each house. This estimate comprised the four chief divisions of the people—the Hovas at 750,000, the Sakalavas, Bezanozeno, and Antsianaka at 1,200,000; the Betsileo at 1,500,000; and the Betanimena and Betsimisaraka at 1,000,000. *'This amount of population is evidently less than the island has contained at former and not remote periods of its history.'—History of Madagascar by the Rev. William Ellis,* vol. i. p. 113, 1839.

Mr. Ellis's reasons for this last opinion are the extent of embankments in districts once cultivated, and ranges of deserted villages, especially among the tribes recently conquered by the Hovas; and the great preponderance of the female sex. The soundness of these reasons, and the fact that the population of Madagascar has greatly diminished, have been confirmed to us within a few days by a French physician, who passed many years in the island, and in the neighboring seas. That gentleman has referred us to the following passage in a French narrative of 1670, which alone sufficiently accounts for the decrease, so far as one sort of European influence is concerned. After a succession of combats, in which *the priest of the mission* led the way with a crucifix to encourage the French, the author quoted says, 'A horrible carnage was made of our enemy's troops. Almost all of them fell. Of 10,000 men not a sixth escaped. No prisoners were taken. For six days afterwards more than 150 villages were burned; and more than 1000 souls, men, women, and children, perished in them. Four thousand cows were carried off. Being followed by above fifteen of the enemy, we took four, of whom three were ordered to be stabbed on the spot, the fourth, who confessed himself to be a relation of the chief against whom the war was made, had his hands and ears cut off.'—*Voyage de Madagascar, par M. de V. Paris,* 1722, pp. 220—238.

To this mode of killing the natives, we add, from the same book, a description of the course taken to starve them. 'We set out upon a *foraging* expedition among a tribe 200 miles distant from Fort Dauphin, where we remained six months. Every day was passed in collecting slaves and cows; and half of the booty was given to our native allies. We took back 13,800 head of cattle, without losing a single man. The governor had one-tenth for his share; the party one fourth, or sixty-six head to each soldier, besides an allowance of five pounds of meat daily. This spoil shows the abundance of cattle in the country.'—Ib. pp. 64—66.

Mr. Copland says that Benyowsky estimated the number of males in Madagascar in the last century at 2,500,000, which would carry the whole population much beyond 4,000,000. Mr. Copland adds, that the slave-trade 'and still more infanticide, have effectually kept it down.'—*History of Madagascar, by S. Copland, London,* 1822, p. 34.

We have heard doubts expressed by a good authority as to infanticide being practised so *extensively* in Madagascar as greatly to affect the population.

don the profits of slave-selling, a love of old superstitions, and the like, we incline to attribute more weight to the dread of the encroachments of Europeans if they should once acquire a firm domicile in Madagascar. 'They had received,' says Mr. Ellis, (vol. ii. p. 534,) 'very highly-colored statements of British encroachments in India, Ceylon, and South Africa.' That jealousy is traceable in increasing strength in proportion as the Madagasses, like so many other people, have had more and more experience of the evils of European domination. But it has not blinded them to the benefits of European civilization; they are therefore anxious for intercourse with us; and they have again and again urged that direct embassies should be established between themselves and the European courts. Even the usurping anti-reforming government in 1837, sent such an embassy to London and to Paris; whilst several of the minor chiefs have repeatedly sought our protection against the conquering Hovas, who constitute this government, as it did that of Radama.

Violent passions unquestionably prevail among the natives of all ranks; and, above all, the ambition of the more powerful among them has, of late years, made dreadful ravages in the country. But the question returns—how their civilized neighbours, the French and the English, may best give to those passions a proper government, and a safe direction. Hitherto their influence in Madagascar has been immense, although it has been, for the most part, wretchedly applied; and where it has of late been improved in its character, at least by the British, the uncertainty attending this its better exercise has amounted almost to imbecility. Seeing, however, that though our home government and parliament, and above all the public, have no interest but in acting wisely in this case, and in elevating the Madagascar people, however the neighbouring colonists may have thought their continued debasement might benefit themselves, we can only attribute the bad policy that has been followed to profound and general ignorance. We therefore urge that this ignorance be put an end to by bringing all material facts early and fully before the public and the parliament, which will make the government itself appreciate their value, and apply the best possible remedies to all evils.

The case of Haiti offers a still later, and perhaps stronger illustration of the position that the public's notorious ignorance of facts is a crying evil; and in the particular case of Haiti, the friends of the cause itself are themselves to be blamed for the extent of that fatal ignorance. Unfortunately the proof is but too ready at hand. M. Isambert, the first authority in Europe on the subject, has even within a few days solemnly published his belief, that a civil war is on the point of

sue it thirty years longer without any visible change. The wreck of the French settlements passed into British hands in 1810, when our first colonists were cut off to a man in consequence of the gross indiscretion of an English trader. But the neighboring chiefs punished severely the excessive vengeance of the injured native; and their anxiety to continue upon good terms with us was exhibited in their liberal grants of land to the governor of Mauritius, for the renewal of the settlement.

That governor, Farquhar, early saw the advantage of extending friendly intercourse with *all* the chiefs of Madagascar. He encouraged an important native mission sent to Mauritius for the education of some young Madegasses of distinction, and for other purposes. He promoted the abolition of their annual slavery and marauding expeditions to the Comoro Islands, and ultimately made an important treaty with Radama, the powerful chief of the Hovas, for the abolition of the slave-trade. This was accomplished in 1817; but it could not alone effect its object; and grave questions have been raised whether the military strength given to Radama and his successor in consequence of it, did not promote a deplorable system of internal and sanguinary conquests. Probably, however, those conquests would have been pursued by Radama if no treaty had been made with Great Britain. His father was a conqueror without any connexion with us, as his usurping successor became one after that connexion had ceased—the love of domination being one of the vices which this people share in common with more civilized nations. The sale, too, of slaves would have furnished Radama with more money than we stipulated to give him; whilst the absence of this treaty would have weakened the efforts of the missionaries at his capital; just as since it was annulled they have been compelled to retire, and all kinds of violence have increased in Madagascar tenfold.

The efforts of the missionaries, which were thus fostered by the treaty, produced results which are the most remarkable events of their kind in our day. In amount of influence, even under exceedingly disastrous circumstances, the Madagascar missions since 1818 to their suppression in 1834, have few parallels, and no superiors in the modern annals of christianity.

In fact, the treaty of 1817, with Radama, seems to have had but one fault. It stood single, instead of being accompanied by other treaties with all *the other sovereign chiefs of the island*, whom on the contrary the very style of our engagements with Radama, *their enemy*, tended to crush.

But setting aside the consideration of this great mistake, we assume it to be beyond doubt, that the policy of our government in sanctioning the treaty was in itself wise; and we pro-

ceed briefly to trace its history in reference to our present object.

The treaty with Radama aimed at cultivating all the measures which could promote civilization, under the well directed influence of an enlightened and powerful barbarous chief; to abolish the slave-trade; and to substitute legitimate trade for it by means of thus extending civilization. The first clear information of what was well projected by the governor of Mauritius, must have been received in the colonial office in Downing Street in the spring of 1817, although *it was not laid before parliament until nine years afterwards.* The treaty contemplated by the governor in 1816, was made in October, 1817, subject to confirmation by the crown; but it was acted upon from the first; and in pursuance of its provisions an important political British agency was then established in Madagascar, accompanied by the religious mission above mentioned.

Before these negotiations had begun, the contraband slave-trade in these parts increased at Mauritius, in consequence of its legal re-establishment at Bourbon for a limited time by the treaty of 1814-5 with France. But although this, and other concurrent causes, thus tended to promote slavery, it is still certain that the export received a great check from the first steps taken by Radama to execute the treaty. It was, therefore, important that on our part nothing should be done to weaken his exertions. What then is to be said of the actual suspension of this very treaty for more than *two years* by another governor, who had only the temporary authority in Mauritius? It was indeed renewed, although with great difficulty, by the original framer, upon his resuming his government,—the home authorities not appearing at any period to have directly sanctioned this vacillation. But an insufficient knowledge of facts permitted it, and ignorance in Downing Street prevents the ministers forming a sound opinion as to the importance of such *treaties* with barbarous people. Indeed Madagascar is by no means the only country in reference to which they have been undervalued; and the topic is connected with one of the most important questions affecting the interests of aboriginal tribes.

Nor is it necessary for the argument before us, to impute any bad intention to the temporary governor who so unfortunately interfered with the treaty. We say only that his error was flagrant; and it unquestionably occasioned at the time great loss of life in Madagascar, as it has since materially tended to aggravate the fearful calamities of the country,—the persecution of the numerous converts to christianity,—even more sanguinary wars than before,—and other great disorders.

A fresh incident soon occurred in connexion with the treaty,

which was of the same character, and had the same consequences with its suspension. After the governor who originally made it had finally quitted Mauritius, the very able agent he had appointed from the colony to Madagascar died at the capital in 1826, after seven years' effective services, deeply regretted by Radama. To replace him forthwith was plainly of the greatest importance, both to preserve the confidence of the natives and to keep up the chain of just influence over a people thus passing out of barbarism.

Notwithstanding this urgent call for the British representative at the capital of the Madagascar chief, none was sent thither for nearly two years; nor even a substitute, although Mauritius is situated only ten days from the place; and the gentleman who was appointed the next year from England to the post, left it for that colony immediately after landing at one of the sea ports. The intelligence in the *following year* of the decease of Radama reached this gentleman in Mauritius, and he then hurried away to the scene of his duties. Not even a substitute had been sent thither before; and it really seems as if a wrong influence still prevailed, similar to that which occasioned the suspension of the treaty. But if instead of this long delay, the party which adopted Radama's reforms had been supported by a British agent already familiar with those reforms, and enjoying the personal confidence of Radama himself, the opponents of the new system would either have forborne their violent proceedings, or have failed of success. In fact the new agent, late as he arrived, was at the first received with attention even by the anti-civilized government which then usurped the supreme power; and the overthrow of any of the late king's measures was gradual, whilst some of them have been persevered in to this day. It is clear there prevailed a desire to prevent the departure of the missionaries, as well as to persevere in the measures for abolishing the slave-trade; and it was not for many months that the treaty itself was annulled. The agent was also permitted to remain at the capital four months after its termination; and he continued to be well used. Unquestionably a struggle of feelings and of parties was in progress; and this struggle lasted for six years longer, until the missionaries were forbidden to teach christianity, whereupon they left Madagascar.

Pending these events, a powerful French expedition attempted to re-establish the dominion of France in her old settlements, but it signally failed; and the queen, whilst offering *commercial* treaties to the French, firmly refused them an inch of territory.

Various causes are suggested for this resistance to the reforms introduced under Radama's treaty. Without denying that great influence is to be attributed to other motives, such as the jealousy against mere innovation, a disinclination to aban-

don the profits of slave-selling, a love of old superstitions, and the like, we incline to attribute more weight to the dread of the encroachments of Europeans if they should once acquire a firm domicile in Madagascar. 'They had received,' says Mr. Ellis, (vol. ii. p. 534,) 'very highly-colored statements of British encroachments in India, Ceylon, and South Africa.' That jealousy is traceable in increasing strength in proportion as the Madagasses, like so many other people, have had more and more experience of the evils of European domination. But it has not blinded them to the benefits of European civilization; they are therefore anxious for intercourse with us; and they have again and again urged that direct embassies should be established between themselves and the European courts. Even the usurping anti-reforming government in 1837, sent such an embassy to London and to Paris; whilst several of the minor chiefs have repeatedly sought our protection against the conquering Hovas, who constitute this government, as it did that of Radama.

Violent passions unquestionably prevail among the natives of all ranks; and, above all, the ambition of the more powerful among them has, of late years, made dreadful ravages in the country. But the question returns—how their civilized neighbours, the French and the English, may best give to those passions a proper government, and a safe direction. Hitherto their influence in Madagascar has been immense, although it has been, for the most part, wretchedly applied; and where it has of late been improved in its character, at least by the British, the uncertainty attending this its better exercise has amounted almost to imbecility. Seeing, however, that though our home government and parliament, and above all the public, have no interest but in acting wisely in this case, and in elevating the Madagascar people, however the neighbouring colonists may have thought their continued debasement might benefit themselves, we can only attribute the bad policy that has been followed to profound and general ignorance. We therefore urge that this ignorance be put an end to by bringing all material facts early and fully before the public and the parliament, which will make the government itself appreciate their value, and apply the best possible remedies to all evils.

The case of Haiti offers a still later, and perhaps stronger illustration of the position that the public's notorious ignorance of facts is a crying evil; and in the particular case of Haiti, the friends of the cause itself are themselves to be blamed for the extent of that fatal ignorance. Unfortunately the proof is but too ready at hand. M. Isambert, the first authority in Europe on the subject, has even within a few days solemnly published his belief, that a civil war is on the point of

breaking out in that country which ought without new sufferings to have become a great example of African civilization. 'It is urgent,' says M. Isambert, 'that *the truth be known* upon 'the course of public affairs in Haiti since 1825; and especi- 'ally since 1838. . . . Long have I observed in silence 'what has been passing. Nothing have I neglected that could 'excite caution, and I have given advice in every form I could 'devise. But I am at length convinced that effectual warnings 'can only proceed from a more powerful source. I am now 'obeying an irresistible sense of duty in appealing to the press 'to discharge myself from responsibility for what is coming.'

In these few words, which are given in the original below,* in order that M. Isambert's meaning may not be supposed to be unfairly stated, lies the whole case. This excellent man finds out, upon the eve of the explosion, that proper precautions would have prevented the mischief. He says, 'he 'neglected no means of warning.' But surely a *long silence* in such emergencies was a terrible neglect. The explanation of M. Isambert's being so 'long' a *silent* observer of Haitian politics deserves grave consideration; and it is with great deference for him in other respects, that we express our conviction to be this: he has hitherto undervalued the effect of information being *early* and *perseveringly* conveyed to the public upon this subject. His present appeal shows his too late impressions, that public opinion is the true source from which wise policy is to flow; and the British friends of Haiti who now are silent, as M. Isambert *has been* silent, are earnestly called upon to consider whether this error does not demand correction.

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* From the Constitutionnel, a Paris paper, of July 14.

'*Lettre sur la Situation d'Haiti.*

'J'ai les raisons les plus graves de craindre une catastrophe prochaine, ou de voir éclater une guerre civile dans cet intéressant pays. Il est urgent que la vérité se fasse jour sur la direction donnée aux affaires de ce pays depuis 1825, et surtout depuis 1838. Certainement le gouvernement Français n'a pas le droit d'intervenir dans les affaires intérieures du pays, mais principalement parce qu'il est ami d' Haiti, et parce qu'il a des intérêts à conserver, il a le droit de conseil et de représentation amicale.

'Nous faisons les vœux les plus ardens pour qu'il n'éclate pas de guerre civile en Haiti, mais, pour atteindre ce but, dans les circonstances graves où ce pays se trouve, ce n'est pas en couvrant par le silence des fautes énormes, qu'on préviendra des malheurs; voilà longtemps que nous observons les événemens en silence, nous n'avons négligé aucun moyen d'avertissement et de conseil, mais nous avons acquis la triste conviction, et les Haitiens fidèles à la cause nationale dont nous sommes les organes l'ont comme nous, que les avertissemens doivent venir de plus haut pour être efficaces.

'Nous croyons remplir un devoir sacré, urgent, et impérieux, en nous adressant à la presse, car nous ne voulons pas être responsables des événemens.

'ISAMBERT, député.'

It is an aggravation of this neglect, by the friends of the aborigines, that they themselves are by this means kept in ignorance of many important facts, as has been often proved in the affairs of Haiti. Many enlightened and benevolent men must admit their utter unacquaintedness with the fact, so warmly denounced by the late Zachary Macaulay in his French pamphlet on those affairs, that England made a three years' war upon the Haitians during their *first* struggle for freedom; and probably the existence of this able pamphlet is scarcely known to British philanthropists. Again, many other enlightened and benevolent men must admit their utter ignorance of the recent fact of a Haitian diplomatic agent being refused a passage to Europe in a christian ship on account of his color; and it may be asserted safely that exceedingly few benevolent people know that Haitian coffee could be sold in London at half the price of that which we consume in common of the same quality,—although our refusal to take that good, cheap coffee, and other cheap produce, from the Haitians, exceedingly aggravates their difficulties, which, according to M. Isambert, threaten a civil war.

Surely this miserable ignorance should be got rid of. Mr. Wilberforce saw the need of efforts on this head, as is shown by several passages in his biography, but he was entangled by his connexion with the colonial office, as that biography also shows, and so he helped to ruin the cause he had so sincerely at heart; and at this very moment the same official entanglement prevents a powerful section of the philanthropists doing their duty on this particular point.

We appeal, then, to all who have no such unfortunate ties, to concur in measures dictated alike by common sense and humanity, for bringing fully before the public *all* the events which influence the happiness of the colored millions whom they wish to protect, improve, and christianize.

These measures are twofold: in the first place, on the opening of every session there should be laid before parliament all the official details that can be collected from all the authorities in our colonial and maritime world, in any way affecting the aborigines. In addition to the argument from the usefulness of such an exposition of documents, it is to be considered that in principle this exposition is not new in parliamentary usage. For twelve years after the year 1696, it was the practice of the government to lay similar papers before parliament; and they are to be seen in the Journals. The want of the formal establishment and extension of the practice will not be doubted, when it is considered that since 1837 scarcely a line has been communicated to either house upon the aborigines of Africa—not a line upon the Indians of Canada—nothing upon the people of Guiana—

almost nothing upon the aborigines of Australia;* and even of New Zealand, after all the most important efforts made in many quarters to improve our relations with them, so little, that the most interesting questions respecting that people, who are now British, are in a state of the most distressing uncertainty for want of sufficient reports of facts.

Nevertheless, except in New Zealand, where extraordinarily favorable circumstances have hitherto staved off collisions inevitable without a good *system*, events have recently occurred urgently demanding parliamentary intervention—in South Africa, since 1837, the loss of life—white and black—in West Africa, the most interesting of all questions have been raised,—for example, questions of war and peace, and of treaties with the tribes bordering on our settlements; and, lastly, the great question of free migration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies. On one West African question, indeed, respecting *coffee*, two or three pages have been printed, which, in betraying the most disgraceful ignorance in the Colonial Office, account for its indisposition to let the truth be known. In Canada, since 1837, many of the aborigines have been exposed to the worst of all attacks, next to being massacred,—they have been subjected to the process of *removal*, adopted from the practice which in the United States has caused such enormous cost of life and treasure. In Guiana the important difficulty about the *evidence* of the natives, the rejection of which in our courts is an absolute denial of justice in numerous cases between man and man, has been regretted by the governor in a recent proclamation. In South Australia, and in every other Australian colony, it is an undeniable fact, that sanguinary acts of an aggravated character have occurred on both sides. And even India and Ceylon, which offer so much both for warning and for example, upon all aboriginal points, are equally kept out of parliamentary cognizance.

The New Zealand case, too, which in 1838 could, by the excellent disposition of powerful men of all parties, have been so easily and so successfully brought before the *legislature*, has been made matter of what looks sadly like a compromise, in which the interests of the natives are to lose all the guarantees which the bill of 1838 would have secured them. The colonial office in that year resisted the bill and the colonial enterprise, on the ground of consideration for the natives. The same office has now sanctioned the colonial enterprise without requiring in a *bill* the only safeguard that can be devised for them.

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* The disclosures of Mr. Angas to the South Australian Committee last session, prove the necessity of a searching inquiry into this case.

It is wilful blindness not to see that the sole motive for this avoidance of parliament, is the determination to treat the affairs of the aborigines as a colonial office *perquisite;* and the true way to meet an evil of this character is to bring those affairs regularly before both houses, and occasionally into the Gazette.

In the next place, there ought to be published *weekly, monthly,* and *quarterly journals* upon *all* things that concern aborigines all over the world, and upon *all* their relations with civilized man. The public taste has never been indifferent to these topics; and a numerous library could be formed of the books in print and in manuscript, directly bearing upon it. From Shakspere, and before him,* to Cowper and Campbell, our literature bears distinct traces of the attention given to the condition of the savage by the most refined and most brilliant of his fellow-men. Defoe, Swift, Addison, and Pope† were really aborigines protectors. Berkeley was no less illustrious for his fine talents than for his pure benevolence in this field. Johnson joined Adam Smith in denouncing the disregard of human life in the voyage of Captain Cook, who at last was unquestionably himself its victim; and to pass over a crowd of other instances, Granville Sharpe, the father of modern philanthropy *of every kind,* studiously disseminated his humane doctrines in the large schools of London; and the older seat of learning, Cambridge, gave the prize, which Clarkson, the noble follower of Granville Sharpe, won, and thus called the exercise of the intellect in aid of the best impulses of the heart.

The tribes to be benefited by such efforts want nothing so much as a powerful *agency* in Europe to advocate their interests; and what has been said of the utility of the periodical press at home, as the best defence of colonists, is eminently true of the same agent for those tribes. The *impartiality* which may be fairly said to be inherent more or less in all literature, elevates its character; and the rapidity with which printing strips hy-

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* So early as in 1517 a poem was published, in which the interests of the aborigines were distinctly recognized, as will be seen by the following brief extract:—

'But yet not long ago some men of this country went
By the King's noble consent, that new land for to search.
O! what a great meritorious deed it were to have its people there,
Instructed to live more virtuously and know of men the manners,
And also to know God their Maker, which as yet live all beastly.'
The Four Elements (A.D. 1517), by Serjeant Rastel, or Sir Thomas More.

† Pope's fine passage at the close of the 'Windsor Forest,' respecting the connexion of barbarous tribes with Great Britain, is too long to be inserted in this paper; but the trouble of turning to the poem will be well repaid by the perusal of it.

pocrisy of its mask, and exposes the oppressor, gives it inestimable value.

The benevolent societies should take the lead in arranging this scheme of publications; preparing the funds necessary for its execution; and what is at least as important as funds, opening from their boundless correspondence the indispensable stores of facts and opinions now in a great measure lost to the world. What a great man of the seventeenth century, *Gassendi*, said of the Catholic missionaries, is now verified by ours also, upon at least as large a scale, namely, that *their reports are calculated to extend the boundaries of science;* and probably the greater *political* freedom of Protestant missionaries will be found to carry their information into more important branches of human concerns.

It is not proposed that a *general union* of the societies should be attempted for this purpose. But it is believed that the common ground of the press may be trodden with great advantage by all who are zealous in the same cause, however different may be their particular modes of action in other respects. As the anti-slavery convention of June, 1840, comprised many very dissimilar elements, which one object united for the hour most usefully; so, to attain the single immense advantage of *public attention* to the aborigines, the divers members of this body, and even more than they, might agree to combine their resources of every kind for this purpose.

We have cautiously narrowed our illustrations, and their application, to the special ground occupied by what are called the *aborigines*, with their claims upon public sympathy; and we have abstained from examining those vast bearings of the subject which concern other fields of philanthropy, cultivated by the various benevolent and religious societies. We have even more carefully avoided the attractive speculations to which these inquiries into the condition and prospects of the savage and the barbarian, invite the student of general history. This has arisen from the limited space allotted us in these pages,—not from an unwillingness to suggest a new and more important work to those societies, on the one hand, and still less, on the other hand, from a doubt of the advantage of an historical discussion of those topics. We are deeply convinced of the magnitude of the error committed both by philanthropists and writers in neglecting them. With respect to the philanthropists, valuable as are the publications, for example, of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, the prospects of the multitudinous tribes of barbarians connected with civilized men —of the natives of Asia, and of the enslaved millions every where, would be far more hopeful than they are at present, if the zeal of their friends were more and more enlightened; and

if public sympathy were more and more steadily roused by intelligence as well as by good feeling. The *opium* question with China, the foreign sugar duties question, the case of the Rajah of Sattara, and the like, prove the immense importance of spreading far and wide the *timely* knowledge of facts, in order to the formation of sound conclusions upon matters remote from common experience.

With respect to the proper subjects of general history, the omission of the topics now under consideration has been even more remarkable; and a curious catalogue might be made to prove the *deliberate* neglect of those topics by the most eminent writers of all nations. Bacon, Bossuet, Voltaire, De Sismondi, and Professor Smythe, of Cambridge, expressly open them; and then, for most insufficient reasons, lay them entirely aside. Sir James Mackintosh and Herder are, we believe, the only great authors who have shown their due appreciation of the vast importance of these topics. They both, however, failed to follow out their convictions. The main work, therefore, still remains to be done; and we repeat, that to secure its being done well, nothing now is so much needed as the extensive and accurate publication of the periodical works called for in the foregoing pages.

We have not commented upon the works of which the titles are prefixed to this article,—*the Journal of Civilization, the Friend of Africa,* and *the Extracts of the Aborigines Protection Society.* Whilst they indicate satisfactorily a growing appetite in the public for information upon the subject to which they are dedicated, and whilst all of them contain some valuable facts, it is not a spirit of censoriousness that prompts the remark, that they are very poorly calculated suitably to gratify that appetite. The Speech of Lord John Russell opens a better general prospect for the aborigines, in the earnest call of the minister for the colonies for some means to save the country from the disgrace of building up a new and prosperous community, in the instance of New Zealand, upon the ruin of the native tribes. His lordship would have done well to have followed this up last session by furnishing parliament with the materials indispensable to prevent such a melancholy result, which, as things stand, is in a high degree probable. Lord John Russell may still prepare the foundation for a good future; and in the speculations contained in the Rev. Montague Hawtrey's little volume on New Zealand, as well as in some other recent books on the general subject, may be found many hints worth adopting by *the legislature* in the *system* still wanted in order to the elevation of the colored man, and render christian colonization as universally beneficent as it cannot fail ultimately to be great.

Art. VII. 1. *Some inquiries into the effects of Fermented Liquors, by a Water Drinker. 3rd edition revised.* Simpkin and Co.
2. *Digestion.* By ROBERT DUNDAS THOMSON, M.D. J. Snow.
3. *The Curse of Britain.* By REV. W. R. BAKER. Ward and Co.
4. *Bacchus.* By RALPH BARNES GRINDROD. Pasco.
5. *Teetotalism.* By MORTLOCK DANIELL. Dinnis.
6. *Anti-Bacchus.* By REV. B. PARSONS. J. Snow.
7. *The Wine Question Settled.* By REV. B. PARSONS.

WHAT shall we eat, and what shall we drink? are questions immeasurably degrading to the man who propounds them with a view to sensual indulgence; but which ought to be propounded, and solved, with a reference to the health of the body and the mind, to longevity, morals, and religion. The nutriment which best meets the wants, and tends most to the perfection of the various forms of vegetable life, has been studied with laudable industry; and equal diligence has been bestowed on the dietetics of the brute creation; while it seems to have been, by many, taken for granted, that the human constitution requires no such care, to secure for it the highest degree of improvement. Yet no one can doubt that man, considered merely as an animal, is greatly dependent for the enjoyment of life, and for the length of his life, on the kind of sustenance he receives. As little can it be doubted that the spiritual is dependent on the animal part of his nature: and all who are accustomed to mental exertion know full well, that the soul is darkened and crippled by all disorders of the digestive functions. Works like those named first on the list above, are, therefore, to be hailed, as throwing light on a subject of deep interest to every man, woman, and child.

It is admitted, on all hands, that among the gifts of divine beneficence, the vine occupies a conspicuous place: and it would seem scarcely more evident that the bountiful Creator intended that we should pluck and eat the cluster, than that he designed us to drink its expressed and fermented juice. That grapes are given to be turned into wine, appears almost a self-evident truth. When we consider (says Dr. Donovan) how simple and obvious the process is of obtaining wine from the grape, we are led to conclude that the invention of it must be nearly coeval with the existence of that fruit:* and quite true is the affirmation of Mr. Daniell, that the law of fermentation is the

* Lardner's Cyclopædia, Domestic Economy, vol. i. p. 12.

law of God. The yest is provided in ample abundance in the grape, and, almost in spite of man, will convert the must (the expressed juice of grapes) into wine. So far is this process from being the invention of sensual man, that without any effort or skill on his part fermentation proceeds with incredible rapidity; insomuch that the juice as it flows from the grape will often ferment before it arrives at the vat, owing to the pressure and motion to which, when being carried from the vineyard, it has been subjected.* Fermentation is the natural process, which may indeed be prevented, but the prevention of which involves much difficulty. Accordingly it has been found that wherever the vine has flourished, its produce, as a matter of course, has been fermented into wine. That the Creator of all fruits designed it to be so used, would seem at least as evident as his purpose that corn should be manufactured into leavened bread.

Turning to the bible, we find this inference justified. The country given to the 'peculiar people' was distinguished by the abundance and productiveness of its vineyards; and God, who gave it them, represented the wine those vineyards would yield, as among its choice blessings. That the wine press and the wine vat were as common as the threshing floor, was to them a proof of the divine goodness. And when the disobedience of the people called down the judgments of heaven, the wine was withholden as a severe punishment. Great plenty of wine, on the other hand, is employed as a metaphor to shadow forth the better blessings of later times. That the wine of scripture, spoken of in the language of commendation, was the fermented juice of the grape, is a fact which no man of competent information and sound judgment will deny or doubt. The evidence of this fact, both direct and indirect, is far too strong to admit, amongst intelligent men, of any disputation; and inasmuch as God, who not only legislated for the Jews in things strictly religious, but taught them what they should eat and what they should drink, gave them wine for a beverage, the conclusion would seem to be unavoidable, that wine is not poisonous, nor deleterious, but wholesome.

The manufacture of wines and spirits may be explained in the most familiar manner thus:—when the housewife in England has pressed out the juice of her currants or gooseberries, and added a quantity of sugar (because in this climate the fruit is not sufficiently sweet of itself), she further adds to the mixture of juice and sugar a small quantity of yest, and the whole is fermented. By this process much of the sweetness of the mixture is converted into spirit, and the mixture itself becomes wine. In making wine in countries suitable to the growth of the

* Edinburgh Encyclopædia. Article Wine.

grape, it is not necessary to add sugar, because the fruit contains a sufficiency of sugar, or saccharine matter; neither is it necessary to add any thing to produce fermentation, because the grape contains yest. The juice of the fruit is simply pressed into a vat, and left to ferment; and wine is the result. Let us (still avoiding all technicalities) suppose that a little of this fermented grape juice, or wine, were put into a tea-kettle, and placed over a fire, the steam that first escaped would be the spirit which the fermentation had produced; that is to say, it would be brandy. The distiller is one who adopts the best means known, of catching the spirit as it escapes in the form of steam, and rendering it as pure as possible.

The conclusion at which we have arrived, respecting the wholesomeness of wine, leaves quite undetermined the question as to the propriety or impropriety of using distilled spirits as a beverage; for whatever some ardent advocates of temperance may affirm, it remains to be proved that the spirit created by fermentation, and by that process blended intimately with the weightier portion of the wine, has the same effect upon the human system when taken in this combination, as when taken in its distilled state. Two poisons chemically mingled form that wholesome condiment, salt; and, for aught that yet appears, alcohol, when in chemical combination as an element of wine, may operate very differently from the same element when out of that combination. If it be otherwise, then certainly the argument we have used must be allowed to lead to the inference that brandy, used in moderation, is wholesome: but we deny the right of any man, at present, to place brandy and wine in the same category. The slightest difference in the manner of uniting the same elements, will apparently be productive of the most different results; much more will such difference exist where the elements themselves are dissimilar. Analysis has hitherto failed to detect any difference of composition between starch, the most insoluble and tasteless of all bodies, and sugar, one of the most soluble and the sweetest:* and if ingredients, apparently the same in kind and quantity, may be blended into such diverse compounds, it ought not to be glibly asserted that the spirit in its vinous combination is equivalent to the same spirit in its distilled state. Such an assertion is not only unsustained by proof, but is at variance with the evidence already in existence.

'Wine intoxicates less effectually than the quantity of brandy which it would afford on distillation; and for this reason, that the brandy is held in chemical combination, and its qualities are modified by the other combined substances. That the alcohol is thus retained in

* Domestic Economy, vol. i. p. 67.

chemical combination with other matter, by a somewhat energetic affinity, appears by the experiments of Fabroni, who found that if he added ever so small a quantity of brandy to wine, and then mixed with it a large portion of subcarbonate of potash, the brandy was thrown up to the surface, where it formed a floating stratum. But if he did not add brandy, the addition of potash occasioned no appearance of separation of the brandy natural to the wine. The effects of wine, and its spirit, on the animal economy, are therefore different: those of alcohol are sudden, violent, and transitory; those of wine are gradual, gentle, and lasting.'*

'The alcohol in wine, combined in the natural way, when drunk in that state, is not productive of those complaints of the liver, and similar diseases which arise from drinking the brandied wines of Portugal in which the spirit is foreign. This is a remarkable fact.'†

'Spirit drinkers are lean and lanky, winebibbers are unhealthily fat.'‡

In Dr. Thomson's pamphlet are some valuable tables, designed to show the horrible effects of spirit drinking in the British army. England, in pursuance of her false notions of martial glory and extended empire, has not only sent her hardy sons to struggle against every variety of climate, but by teaching them to quaff daily large portions of ardent spirit, and by bountifully supplying them with the burning draught, she has consigned them by thousands to a premature grave.

'The remarkable influence of the abridgment of the quantity of alcoholic fluids, in diminishing the occurrence of liver complaint in India, is strikingly exhibited in the following return from the Cameronian regiment in Bengal:—

Liver Complaints.		Consumption of Spirits.
1832	111	10,000 to 14,000 gallons.
1833	140	
1834	135	
1837	82	2,000 to 3,000 gallons.‖
1838	50	

'The effect of diminishing alcoholic consumption upon the troops in Bengal, is clearly proved by the following table:—

1838	Temperance Society.	Remainder of Regiment.	Sick per cent. of the Society.	Sick remainder of Regiment per cent.
January	1953	2569	2.54	8.15
February	1840	2639	2.27	8.27
March	1542	2879	2.94	8.66
April	1359	3081	5.47	10.28
May	1282	3161	5.24	10.66
June	1364	3065	4.55	10.35
			3.65	10.20§

* Domestic Economy, vol. i. p. 285.

† Redding on Modern Wines, 2nd edition, p. 66.

‡ Digestion, p. 15. ‖ Ibid. p. 18.

§ Quoted by Redding from the British and Foreign Medical Review, January, 1841.

'To exhibit the effect upon the mortality of diminishing the employment of alcoholic fluids, it is only necessary to examine the following table of the troops in Bengal.

Consumption of Spirits.		Mortality.
1832, 1833, 1834	10,000 to 14,000 gallons	76
1837	2,000 to 3,000 gallons	26
1838		22*

Dr. Thomson having thus demonstrated (assuming the correctness of his tables) the deadly influence of ardent spirits, as formerly used among the troops in India, is disposed to infer the injuriousness of all fermented drinks.

'What the effect would have been if total abstinence had been resorted to, it is difficult to predict; but from this table (no. 2) we should be strongly inclined to infer, that sickness in India might be much further diminished if total abstinence were adopted.'†

In another page the author uses more unhesitating language.

'Suppose a hundred individuals were to live on wholesome food, and abstain from all alcoholic fluids; and suppose another hundred, cæteris paribus, were to use stimulating drink, which of the two sets should we anticipate to be most healthy at the end of a given period? We do not believe that there would be two opinions on the subject.'‡

Dr. Thomson's incredulity is unreasonable. Most assuredly there would be two opinions; and not a few would be found holding that opinion which Dr. Thomson repudiates. We confess ourselves to be among the number; and earnestly do we desire that the question should be carefully brought to the test of experiment. Were 200 men, living in the same place, following the same employment, of the same age, and in a good state of health, to be chosen and divided into two companies, one half of them taking nothing alcoholic, and the other half a moderate quantity of pure wine daily, we should, with much confidence, expect the balance of health and longevity to be in favour of the latter; and the more numerous and carefully collected the data from which the decision was obtained, the stronger should we expect that decision to be in favour of the temperate use of the fruit of the vine. Inasmuch as God, who knows us altogether, has represented wine as a great blessing, we cannot but think that its use is conducive to the improvement of both body and soul.

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* Quoted from Forbes' British and Foreign Medical Review, January, 1841, and India Journal of Medical Science, Nov. 1839.

† Digestion, p. 18. ‡ Digestion, p. 17.

It is a curious fact, that, while the population of the United Kingdom has been very rapidly on the increase, and drunkenness has abounded, the importation of wine shows no equivalent increase.

Consumption of Wine in England.

Year.	Population.	Imp. Gallons.
1700	5,475,000	4,935,420
1750	6,467,000	3,245,760 duties being raised.
1801	8,872,980	7,006,310
1811	10,163,676	5,860,874
1821	11,978,875	5,016,569
1832	13,889,675	6,386,687

The anachronism of measuring by the imperial gallon in the years 1700 and 1750, has been incurred in order to render the table intelligible at a glance. From that table it is evident that the people of England in 1700 drank twice as much wine in proportion to their numbers as they did in 1832. The use of spirits during the same interval grew with prodigious and terrific rapidity. From 1780 to 1830, the consumption of British made spirits increased from 873,840 to 7,732,100 gallons; and in the last named year, the fearful total of spirits home made, foreign, and colonial, for consumption in Great Britain and Ireland, was 27,719,999 gallons, being considerably more than a gallon a head for every man, woman, and child.*

It is estimated (says Mr. Baker) that in Britain alone there are no less than 600,000 drunkards. The members of temperance societies have been zealously employed, for some years past, in endeavouring to extirpate this enormous evil. With this end in view, they have set an example of self-denial, in abstaining from the use of all fermented drinks. They have boldly and kindly expostulated with the drunkard, urging him to refrain entirely from the tempting cup; and have let slip no opportunity of remonstrating, sometimes meekly and sometimes angrily, with those who hate drunkenness, but do not practise abstinence from all things intoxicating. That some of their leading principles, as expounded in the publications named above, are unsound; and that in the mode of carrying out those principles there has been *very* much cause for reprehension, is clear enough; but these faults must not lead us to close our eyes on what is good in the objects, exertions, and results of temperance societies. If the purpose to set free the enthralled inhabitants of the West Indies were a noble purpose, not less noble, surely, is the design of emancipating the not less numerous victims of a more debasing servitude. Honor to the men

* Redding, pp. 330, 401.

who, in pursuance of their philanthropic plans, have visited the villages and hamlets of our native land, and penetrated into the darkest and filthiest recesses of our crowded towns and cities, bearing on their lips the words of kindness, of virtue, and of hope. God never permits so large a measure of sincerity in a good cause, as these friends of humanity have exhibited, to be unattended with his blessing; although that sincerity may be, to a mournful degree, encumbered and alloyed by the errors and frailties pertaining to all things human.

The societies formed for the suppression of intemperance have not, perhaps, been more useful in the reformation of the vicious, than in exposing and correcting many of the erroneous notions and absurd customs of men, usually classed with the sober, if not temperate, part of the community.

It is no longer thought that water is a beverage to be taken only when a spirituous substitute cannot be procured; nor is it now doubted that it is possible, when men meet for the purposes of friendship or loyalty, to accomplish those purposes without getting drunk. Reason, and satire, and religion have been brought to bear on the sensuality which had connected almost all the pursuits of pleasure and of business with the habit of drinking; and it is now pretty generally believed that we do not show true hospitality to a neighbor by forcing him to drink when he is not thirsty, nor true kindness to a friend by compelling him to become a sot.

The 'Inquiries into the Effects of Fermented Liquors' are from the pen of Mr. Basil Montagu, and were first published nearly thirty years ago. This interesting pamphlet consists of a collection of the opinions of eminent men respecting the use of inebriating drinks, and is designed to discourage the use of them. It contains maxims and anecdotes, calm reasoning, allegory, and witticisms. It is an amusing book of extracts, with the additional recommendation of unity in its subject. A quotation is subjoined, which we may be allowed to call

A CARD OF INVITATION.

'Sir.—If you please to do me the favor to dine with me, I shall do my best to drink you out of your limbs and senses, to make you say a hundred silly things, and play the fool to purpose, if ever you did it in your life. And before we part, you shall be well prepared to tumble off your horse, to disoblige your coach, and make your family sick at the sight of you. And all this for an opportunity of showing with how much friendship and respect I am *Your humble servant.*' *

Temperance societies have been very useful in fixing public attention on the adulteration practised in both malt liquors and

* Page 41.

vinous. Some substances, indeed, which are added to malt and hops in the manufacture of beer, are probably as wholesome as either of those ingredients; and their introduction, therefore, or disuse, is entirely a question of taste or expense. Some of the ingredients of cheap wine also—cider for example—are not more wholesome. But it is notorious that many men (ungodly men they must be) have reaped large profits by mingling and vending noxious compounds, wherewith to deceive, if not poison, their fellow-creatures. It is more than time that such iniquitous practices brought down on the heads of all implicated in them the full weight of public reprobation. The wretches who will pander to their avarice by throwing India berry, bitter bean, nux vomica, and opium* into the beer which they sell to the public for a wholesome beverage, have no right to complain if they are loaded with the execrations of society. Wine, it would appear, is subject to a similar, though not, perhaps, equally deleterious adulteration.

Early in the last century a duty of £55 5s. 0d. per tun was laid on French wines; while Portuguese wines were admitted at £7 5s. 3d. a tun: and in the year 1756, a monopoly of the wine of Portugal was given to a company. The usual and inevitable results of such legislative folly ensued: and the English obtained, as the reward of their bounty, an article both dear and bad. The great demand thus created for the wines of Portugal brought into the market the whole produce of the vintage; slovenliness in the manufacture was encouraged by the absence of competition; and a similar character was given to every variety of wine, by the uniform and mischievous addition of a quantity of brandy sufficient to destroy the delicate qualities of the best, and conceal the coarseness of the worst. Under such management the produce of an unfavourable season realized about the same price as the produce of a good season; and the same wine has been shipped to England from Oporto at £40 a pipe, and to other countries at £20.†

'The Oporto Company know, what is so well known in France as to be a matter of complaint, namely, that a large quantity of inferior wine pays better than wine of the highest quality. The company, therefore, wished to bring down the fine scarcer growths, and raise up the poorer, and thus kept a medley of a very middling quality. Brandy was the best means of equalizing the two extremes. The wine could not be drunk until the vinous qualities were nearly all gone, and the brandy tamed down, and then the cheat passed off. In the richest country in the world, it is mortifying to discover that at every inn or tavern, where enormous prices are demanded for a bottle

* Library of Useful Knowledge, Art of Brewing, p. 31.
† Redding, pp. 217, 388.

of wine, nothing is to be met with, from the Land's-End to Caithness, but a coarse brandied product of the Oporto Company, which in any other region but this would be flung into the still.'*

Before this company engrossed the trade, very little brandy was ever used; and if it be needful to add any, a couple of bottles to a pipe, when shipped, would answer every purpose of preservation: but to such an extent has this hurtful practice been carried, that from six to fifteen gallons, and even more, of brandy (and much of the brandy of Portugal is very bad) are often artificially mingled with a tun of wine. 'To get rid of this liquid fire, the wine must be kept a dozen years, and ruined in flavour, when it might be drunk in half the time by omitting the brandy.'† The downfall of Don Miguel gave the finishing stroke to this hateful monopoly, and restored the vineyards and wines to the free disposal of the cultivators. It is to be feared, however, that the bad habits engendered will not be speedily uprooted.

'In will be known by and by much more generally what good port wine is; the price must also come down to the consumer. This will be one advantage gained by the downfall of Don Miguel, and the routing out of the monks and friars of that part of the peninsula. May every similar monopoly be speedily swept away in all countries, at home as well as abroad, and true principles of commerce triumph!'‡

A wish to which we add the heartiest amen.

The wines of Spain, which are of about the same natural strength as those of Portugal, have the advantage of being less adulterated with brandy: and the wines of France, which are now accessible to the people of England, (though far less so than is desirable,) have the three-fold advantage of being the most skilfully manufactured, the least spirituous, and the purest of all wines. Let not the reader, however, imagine, as some writers and lecturers on temperance would suggest, that almost all the strength of those wines which are not pure, is derived from the superadded spirit. The addition of alcohol is, indeed, on every account to be lamented, but it is by no means so great in amount when compared with the spirit produced by fermentation, as the zealous advocates of abstinence are apt to represent. Below are some items extracted from a table supplied by Mr. Brande.

	Pure alcohol per cent.
Sherry, average of four kinds . . .	19.17
Port, average of seven specimens . .	22.96
Currant wine	20.55
Raisin wine, average of three specimens .	26.40

* Redding, p. 225. † Ibid. p. 228. ‡ Ibid. p. 232.

The needless addition of spirit to wine is by no means the only adulteration practised: but by means of mixing a little good wine with much that is inferior, and by mingling cider and brandy with wine, other ingredients being thrown in to impart the requisite color, and sometimes the requisite flavor, a great quantity of spurious wine is produced, and palmed upon the people of England for the pure blood of the grape. The skill which has been attained in these illicit manipulations is almost incredible.

'It is said that when George the Fourth was in the high and palmy days of early dissipation, he possessed a very small quantity of remarkably choice and scarce wine. The gentlemen of his suite, whose taste in wine was hardly second to their master's, finding it had not been demanded, thought it was forgotten, and relishing its virtues, exhausted it almost to the last bottle, when they were surprised by the unexpected command that the wine should be forthcoming at an entertainment on the following day. Consternation was visible on their faces; a hope of escaping discovery hardly existed, when one of them, as a last resource, went off in haste to a noted wine brewer in the city, numbered among his acquaintance, and related his dilemma. 'Have you any of the wine left for a specimen?' said the adept; 'O yes, there are a couple of bottles.' 'Well, then, send me one, and I will forward the necessary quantity in time, only tell me the latest moment it can be received, for it must be drank immediately.' The wine was sent, the deception answered; the princely hilarity was disturbed by no discovery of the fictitious potation, and the manufacturer was thought a very clever fellow by his friends.'*

A recipe is subjoined for the manufacture of eight pipes of port.

	Imp. Gall.	£	Imp. Gall.	£.	s.	d.
2 Pipes of Beni Carlos . .	230	at 38	per 115	cost 76	0	0
2 Pipes of Figueras . .	230	45	115	90	0	0
1½ Pipe of Red Cape . .	137	32	91	48	3	6
1½ Pipe of Stout Good Port .	165	76	115	109	0	10
1 Pipe of Common Port . .	115	63	115	63	0	0
Mountain . .	20	60	105	11	8	7
Brandy-cowe . .	20	0	0	0	0	0
Coloring . .	3	0	0	0	3	1
Etceteras: 2½lbs. of salt of tartar and 3lbs. of gum dragon.	0	0	0	0	4	0
Extra allowance for loss by bottoms				3	0	0
8 Pipes Port, 115 gall. each pipe	920 Imp. gall.			400	0	0†

The first six of the ingredients here mentioned are various kinds of wine: the brandy-cowe is the washings of brandy

* Redding, p. 324. † Quoted from 'Wine and Spirit Adulterators Unmasked,' by Redding, p. 339.

casks; the coloring matter is extracted from German bilberries; the salt of tartar is put in to make the mixture crust on the bottle; and the gum dragon to impart a fulness of flavor and consistency of body, and to give the whole a face. The wine thus made up, if drawn off in bottles of the size of sixteen to the gallon, old measure, and adding a charge of 6d. per dozen extra for corks, would cost only 16s. 9d. per dozen!

Temperance societies, as they have directed general attention to those subjects of great public interest which we have referred to, have also set an example which christians would do well to imitate. The members of these societies, in their respective localities, have met often; they have discussed their peculiar tenet, abstinence from all things intoxicating, and provoked one another to zeal and diligence. They have afterwards gone forth to proselyte their neighbors. There has been no shrinking back from an avowal of their opinions. They have gloried in them, and proclaimed them every where. Let christian churches imitate their example. Let their assemblies be freed from much of that formality by which now they are encumbered, and be more adapted than at present they are, to call into exercise whatever sympathies and talents each member may possess, that all may go forth resolved to do something in the common cause—and not only drunkards, but formalists, and fornicators, and thieves, and the profane, would become the subjects of a reformation, not partial but entire, not temporary but permanent. By the manner in which they have worked their half erroneous theory, the members of these novel institutions have shown us how we ought to carry out the doctrine of Christ; and whenever this is done by believers honestly, humbly, and generally, the time of the world's regeneration will have come.

We had designed to expose and reprobate the arrogance and ignorance displayed by not a few of the advocates of total abstinence, especially with a reference to the popular work of Mr. Parsons. We are sorry to say that both the works mentioned at the head of this article, and bearing the name of that gentleman, and which he has protruded on the notice of the public with the loftiest pretensions, are utterly undeserving of the reception which one of them has met with. To this part of the subject the attention of the reader will be again invited, at no distant time.

Art. VIII. *The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell.* By Robert Philip. London: Snow. 1841.

FEW men were more widely known or more generally esteemed and beloved than the subject of these memoirs. His personal qualities were eminently adapted to awaken affection, whilst his sound judgment, unselfish zeal, and transparent integrity, commanded the confidence and respect of all who knew him. The charities of his heart were perpetually flowing out in acts of beneficence towards his species, and where his power was incapable of accomplishing the good he contemplated, his own philanthropy and christian zeal were apparent to all. He was just such a man as the church needed, and the labor he discharged will tell with increasing effect on the best interests of a large section of the human family. The simplicity of his character harmonized beautifully with the higher qualities which composed it, and lent a charm to his social intercourse which has rarely been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed. With these views of Mr. Campbell's character, we were gratified to learn that it was in contemplation to publish his life and missionary enterprises: and now that Mr. Philip's volume is before us, we shall freely avail ourselves of its interesting details, in order to furnish our readers with a rapid sketch of the life of this estimable man. 'The volume,' as Mr. Philip remarks, 'is substantially from Mr. Campbell's own graphic pen.' Mr. Campbell thus details the considerations which induced him to commence a narrative of his life.

'"I never intended to leave behind me the outlines of my life, or even materials from which one might be compiled. I do not recollect of such a thought being for a minute entertained in my mind; which has surprised me ever since I have collected into a kind of focus a number of past occurrences.

'The first time the matter was brought under my review, was when, on a visit to Edinburgh three or four years ago, a judicious friend, and a companion of my youthful years, most seriously advised me to leave behind me a history of my life, as I had been a witness of all the circumstances which led to a *new era* in the kingdom of Christ in that country. Several other old friends urged me to the same purpose during that visit.

'About a year after my return to London, several London ministers urged upon me the same point; merely, I thought, from their seeing some straggling papers of mine in the Evangelical Magazine.

'The matter began to wear a very formidable aspect; for I had no written memorials of former occurrences. No doubt I had referred to many of them in letters I had written to friends during a long series of years; but I had no copies of those letters, and perhaps many of

them were torn to pieces as waste paper. So I was left to recover the whole by dint of mere memory. I mentioned this to brother Philip, who had much experimental knowledge on the subject. He advised me to commence my narrative; and told me I should be surprised how one fact would lead to the accurate recollection of another. I began, and found it exactly as he had said. Many parts of the narrative refer to facts that happened more than forty years ago, and I am confident that they are more accurately recorded than if they had happened only a month ago.'—pp. 3, 4.

His childhood and youth were spent in Edinburgh, where he resided with an uncle, 'a pious and judicious christian, who 'was an elder or deacon of the Relief Church.' His father died when very young, and his mother when he was only six years of age. It was, therefore, a providential circumstance that he was introduced into the house of an uncle, whose sense of religion afforded an effectual protection from many of the evils to which his young charge might otherwise have been exposed. It was not equally fortunate for him that he was sent to the High School of Edinburgh at the time when Nicoll, the boon-companion of Burns, was one of the masters. Young Campbell was committed to his charge, and, as might have been expected from such a teacher, did not make much progress in classical knowledge. His education was proceeding, however, in a manner far different from that which his uncle and tutors designed. Salisbury Crags were far more inviting to the young school-boy than Latin or Greek, and in playing the truant amongst them he probably nourished that love of adventure which characterized his more mature age. He himself was fully sensible of this, 'and was wont to tell with no small glee, that 'his uncle thought him an unpromising scholar, because he was 'fonder of rambling about the Salisbury Crags, or of building 'turf huts, like the Africans, in the garden. Good Mr. Bowers 'used to tell him, with a solemn shake of the head, 'Eh! John, ''John, thae will nae learnin go in nor come out of you.'' The uncle was right so far as mere scholarship went, but there was a higher and a better education in which he was fast advancing, the good fruits of which will continue to be gathered to a distant period. The following sketch of a sabbath-day at his uncle's affords a pleasing insight into the character of that good man, and satisfactorily accounts for Mr. Campbell's intimate acquaintance with the word of God.

'We regularly attended Mr. Baine's ministry on the Lord's day, and the following was the manner in which every sabbath evening was spent at home.

'Immediately after tea, the whole family were assembled in uncle's room, viz., we three brothers, the female servant, and an apprentice.

Each was asked to tell the texts and what they remembered of the sermons they had heard during the day; then a third part of the questions in the Shorter Catechism were asked, to which we repeated the answers in rotation. He then took one of the questions as it came in course, from which, off hand, he asked us a number of questions, for the trial of our knowledge and informing our judgments. The service was concluded by singing two verses of a psalm, and uncle offering a most pious prayer for a blessing on the evening exercises. From the variety that we attended to, we did not weary in the service; indeed, I do not recollect one of us ever yawning during it. This way of keeping the sabbath deeply impressed us with its sanctity. Had I heard a boy whistle, or a man laugh loud, or overheard the sound of an instrument of music from a house, I was actually shocked. We were never permitted to cross the threshold of the door on the Lord's-day, except when going to worship. Some might conclude from all this that we must have been a gloomy, morose family, but the fact was the reverse. Uncle was a cheerful man, possessed peace of mind, and the prospect of a happy eternity! He was a long time ill before he died, and for weeks before he expired his agony was almost intolerable; his moanings were incessant night and day; for years after his death I never heard the mourning of a dove but I was reminded of him. I do not know what his disease was, but I recollect hearing people call it, 'a burning at the heart.'—pp. 26, 27.

We are not surprised to learn that such an example had a beneficial influence on young Campbell and his two brothers. A few years after the uncle's death, he tells us, 'We all made a 'profession of faith in Jesus Christ by becoming members of a 'Presbyterian christian church, and by establishing regular 'worship in the family, morning and evening; and each of the 'brothers taking his turn to officiate by rotation. On after-'wards comparing notes together, we found that reflecting on 'the uniform consistent and upright conduct of our uncle led 'each of us to think seriously about the salvation of his own 'soul.' Such a fact may well encourage the parents and guardians of youth to persevere in well doing, however slight the present influence of their conduct may appear to be. We act for the future, and must be content to wait the season when the fruit of our labor shall be seen. Nothing is so powerful, especially with the youthful mind, as uniform consistency. Temporary excitement may produce its effects, but those effects are usually partial and evanescent. Not so, however, the silent, slow, and imperceptible influence which is exerted over the susceptible mind of youth by a steady continuance in well doing. Its impression deepens every day, and becomes at length so potent as to transform into its own spirit the young observers by whom it is witnessed. Mr. Campbell was, at this time, apprenticed to a goldsmith and jeweller, in Edinburgh, in which capacity he was once sent by his master to the theatre,

to bring home a jewel which had been borrowed by some of the actors. Never having been in a theatre before, he was shocked at the impiety which he witnessed, and preferring rather to pay for the trinket himself than continue throughout the evening in such a place, he returned home without having obtained it. Fortunately, however, for his finances, the jewel was returned on the following day, and the young goldsmith resolved never to enter a theatre again.

His mental conflicts were, for many years, of a very painful order. He struggled hard to obtain tranquillity by the frequency and length of his devotional exercises. 'I felt within me,' he says, 'a wandering, wicked heart, and resolved to root it out. 'I applied myself to this work with the utmost diligence. 'Night and day did I watch its motions, but the more I 'watched it the more wicked did it seem to become.' Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* was his frequent companion at this season; and its influence upon him was far from being advantageous. It led him to rest in what was outward and visible, and beclouded his views of the mode of a sinner's acceptance with God. 'By reading this 'book,' he says, 'I set upon a regular plan for obtaining eter- 'nal life, and strove with all my might to acquire the senti- 'ments and feelings recommended by the author; but I either 'was, or thought I was, completely deficient; consequently I 'never got farther on in the book than that chapter where the 'author takes a solemn leave of the sinner who had not attained 'a certain degree in religion, and requests him to *return* again 'to the first chapter. I always considered myself the person 'alluded to, and consequently with fear and trembling obeyed 'the author's advice. The concern and anguish which brooded 'upon my mind in these seasons are indescribable.' Mr. Campbell remained in this state of mind for about two years, when clearer views and brighter hopes began to dawn upon him. We subjoin his own account of the change which he experienced at this period.

'My relief from this state of bondage was gradually effected by God increasing my knowledge of the revelation he had made of redemption through his Son, by the reading it, and the preaching of it by some of his faithful ministers, and through my becoming acquainted with established christians. I gradually perceived the suitableness of the Saviour's righteousness to answer all my exigencies, and in consequence I obtained, by degrees, considerable peace and hope. But I did not for years after perceive a crucified Saviour to be the *alone* ground of a sinner's hope before God. I did not see that hope in Christ alone produced and maintained evidences of grace, but thought it necessary first to search for the *evidences*, and then to proceed to hope in the atoning blood of Jesus, as a person entitled on this ground

to hope. Thus I placed a life of *sense* before a life of faith, instead of living by faith, in order to possess this sense of enjoyment. This gradually drew off my mind from looking unto Jesus, to pore continually on my own feelings. The consequence was extremely painful. When a good evidence appeared, then I was all joy; but the moment it disappeared, I was all sorrow. In the one case, I thought God greatly loved me; and in the other that He became my enemy: thus considering God to change with my inward feelings.'—p. 36.

As is intimated in this extract, it was not until some years afterwards that he obtained clear and simple views of the grounds of a sinner's hope. His mind was perplexed and led astray by some theological discussions which were then rife in Scotland. They served to confuse his mind, and to keep out of view the one scriptural basis of human hope. Looking in himself for 'tokens for good,' he made the liveliness of his feelings his warrant for trusting in God, and was in consequence perpetually subjected to fits of despondency most painful and detrimental. 'I must tell it to my shame,' he says in 1787, 'that I am often at a nonplus. I can take comfort from 'nothing—heart from nothing, till I perform something myself. 'I cannot look to God but as my enemy, who will have no 'mercy upon me until I perform some repentance or humilia-'tion. This is surely the old covenant spirit.'

This state of things continued for several years, and the language occasionally employed in describing his feelings presents a fearful picture of mental agony. We might say much on this subject, but as the discussions out of which Mr. Campbell's perplexity in great part arose, have ceased to interest the public, we shall pass on to more attractive and useful matters. Mr. Philip has entered into it at considerable length, and has laid open the varying moods of Mr. Campbell's mind more fully, we think, than is either desirable or wise. He appears to have had some misgiving on this point himself, for after referring to the tranquillity and stedfastness which were subsequently attained, he remarks, 'But for this fact it would be more than question-'able whether his paroxysms and vicissitudes ought to be told 'at such length.' It is an interesting fact noted by our author, that throughout the whole of the trying season which Mr. Campbell experienced, 'he never abandoned or abated public 'duty at all, or private devotion long.' At length the hour of his spiritual deliverance arrived. It was at once sudden and complete. He had long been preparing for it by the terrible ordeal through which he had passed, but when at length it came, it burst at once upon him with all the clearness and effulgence of perfect day. The operations of the divine Spirit are frequently carried on in a mode which human sagacity cannot trace. One after another the outworks of depravity are thrown

down, confusion and wretchedness for a season take possession of the mind, and every thing seems to indicate the approach of a crisis which wears only an alarming aspect. But when the crisis is passed, and the events which preceded it, as well as those which followed, are reviewed, it is seen that the storm was but the harbinger of peace, and that the deepest shade of that darkness which enwrapt the soul, was but the appropriate precursor of the light and joy which God in his infinite mercy has shed down upon it. As in other departments of human knowledge, so in this. It is necessary we should see the whole to judge accurately of its parts. The sorrow and self-abasement—the self-reproach and deep prostration of soul which constitute the first indications of a divine renewal, must be associated with the peace, and joy, and full assurance of hope which are subsequently obtained, in order that they may be rightly estimated. Mr. Campbell's account of the way in which he obtained peace in believing is too interesting to be omitted.

'Upon the evening of the twenty-sixth day of January, 1795, the Lord appeared as my *Deliverer*. He commanded, and darkness was turned into light. The cloud which covered the mercy-seat fled away! Jesus appeared as he is! My eyes were not turned inward but outward! The gospel was the glass in which I beheld him. When our Lord first visited Saul upon the highway, he knew in a moment that it was the Lord. So did I: such a change of views, feelings, and desires, suddenly took place in my mind, as none but the hand of an infinite Operator could produce. Formerly I had a secret fear that it was presumption in me to receive the great truths of the gospel; now there appeared no impediment—I beheld Jesus as the speaker in his word, and speaking to me. When he said, 'Come,' I found no difficulty in replying, 'Yes, Lord! thy pardoned rebel comes.' If not the grace of God, what else could effect such a marvellous change? I chiefly viewed the atonement of Jesus as of *infinite* value, as a price paid for my redemption, and cheerfully accepted by the Father. I saw love in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, all harmonizing in pardoning and justifying me. The sight humbled and melted my soul. Looking to what I felt was no *help* to comfort; it came directly from God, through his word.

'The following evening, about nine o'clock, while sitting before the fire, writing to a reverend friend, I had such a charming, surprising view of sovereign, pardoning, redeeming, unmerited mercy, that I was hardly able to bear it. The great doctrines of redemption, as stated in the Bible, opened to my view in a way I never experienced before. I beheld a crucified Jesus nigh me in the word; I threw away the pen, and turned about to see this great sight! I looked stedfastly to the Lamb suffering for me! So much was I overpowered with the magnitude of this discovery of eternal, boundless love and grace in Christ, that I felt a difficulty in breathing.

'This view of my redeeming God in Christ completely swept away all the terrible horrors which had so long brooded over my mind, leaving not a wreck behind, but filling me with a joy and peace more than human—truly divine. I sat pensive, at one time beholding the pit from whence I was redeemed, at another the hope to which I was raised. My soul rushed out in wonder, love, and praise, emitted in language like this: 'Wonderful mercy! why me? what is this? Thanks be to God who *giveth* me the victory through Jesus Christ, my Lord!' Shuddering at sin, as pardoned; wondering that ever I could have been guilty of such transgressions, I continued sitting, wrapped up in silent wonder. For long after, when I thought of my hopes, I leaped for joy—I really had a glad heart. This visitation, also, created an extent of mildness and complacency in my temper that I never felt before. I felt a burning love rising in my heart to *all* the brethren in Christ; with a strong sympathy for all such as were not born of the Spirit. I earnestly breathed after their incorporation into the family of Christ.

'A light shone upon the Scriptures quite new to me. Passages which formerly appeared hard to be understood, seemed plain as the A, B, C. Earthly crowns, sceptres, and thrones, appeared quite paltry in my eyes, and not worth desiring. I felt a complete contentment with my lot in life. I trembled to think of any abatement of my faith, love, and sensibility: it required resolution to be resigned to remain long in the world. Indeed I could scarce admit the idea of long life: I feared the trials and vicissitudes connected with it; but was completely silenced with that noble saying of our reigning Redeemer, 'My grace is sufficient for thee.' I saw I was fully warranted to mind the things of to-day; leaving the concerns of to-morrow to his wise disposal. I felt it easy to introduce spiritual conversation wherever I was, and to recommend Christ wherever I went. I saw that every thing acceptable to God, or comfortable to ourselves, was the product of divine power. I saw the folly and criminality of being too much in company, though composed of the best people in the world. I feel nothing more conducive to internal peace and prosperity than a regular, meek, even walk.'—pp. 109, 110.

Happily for himself his attention was now called off from his own frames and feelings, and was directed to that only Saviour who is the hope of a dying world. This is the great secret of religious peace, and was persevered in by Mr. Campbell through the whole of his subsequent life. At this period he belonged to the Church of Scotland, and there appeared to be no probability of his ever seceding from her communion. The subject is discussed in the course of his correspondence with Mr. Newton, which throws an interesting light on the character of that excellent man, as well as illustrates the progress of Mr. Campbell's mind.

The following is the only instance for which we can find space.

'It would seem that Mr. Campbell had asked him the meaning of the Easter sacrament, in the Church of England; for he says, in 1795, 'I smile at your not knowing the meaning of *Easter*.' 'The venerable Bede, writing in praise of a contemporary, thought himself bound in conscience to close with this censure,—'But, poor mistaken man! he did not keep Easter in our way.' I consider many modern disputes of the like importance.' When Mr. Campbell understood Easter, he said, 'The Scriptures are silent about commemorating the glorious event of Christ's resurrection *once* a year; but instruct us to do so *fifty-two* times, or every sabbath.' Mr. Newton had also commended the Prayer-book to him; not, of course, for the *brevity* of the service, but for the sublimity of certain parts. The truth of the latter recommendation Mr. Campbell felt; but said, in answer, 'Does it not seem just not a little ludicrous, to imagine the apostles carrying a *buik* to pray by?' Mr. Newton said, 'Remember, we never touch this subject again.' And they never did. They both acted wisely in this; for Mr. Campbell had the blood of the *Covenanters* in his veins, and Mr. Newton had been a dissenter. They thus knew each other's secrets too well to push the argument to an issue. They did, however, discuss the general question of episcopacy occasionally; and so pointedly at one time, in reference to the control of bishops over the clergy, that Mr. Newton could only prove his own freedom by his bishop's heedlessness. 'I can assure you,' he wrote, 'that however *strange* some may think it, I am glad, and have much cause to be thankful, that I am what and where I am. I think, with respect to man, *we* are properly the Independents. The bishops in England interfere with us no more than the bishops in Italy, except in requiring us to appear and answer to our *names*, once in three or four years.' 'No questions are asked, nor any fault found by our superiors.' *Lett.* A.D. 1795. A queer compliment to the bench,—Mr. Campbell thought. Mr. Newton added, with more discrimination, 'I am not very fond of either assembles, synods, benches, or boards. Ministers are like flowers, which will preserve their color and scent much longer, if kept singly, than when packed together in a nosegay or posy. Then they quickly fade and corrupt. Their associations, in my judgment, should always be voluntary and free. There are ten or a dozen of us in London who frequently meet. We deliberate, ask and give advice, as occasions arise; but the sentiment of one, or even of the whole body, is not binding upon any. We hear what each person has to say, and then each judges and acts for himself. Thus, though we sometimes differ, we always agree, and live in harmony and love.'—pp. 229—231.

One of the earliest circumstances which tended to alienate his confidence from the Established Church was the promiscuous communion at the Lord's Supper which it admitted. 'It 'was contrary to my conscience,' he says, 'for I began to per- 'ceive from the Bible that a church of Christ,—the meaning of 'which I had never once thought of before,—was a society of 'believers, and not a visible mixture of his friends and enemies. 'But I did not see at the time how I could better myself. I

'saw some societies whose form I approved, but found them 'shut up from the fellowship of all christians except such as 'jumped with them in every minutia.' In this paragraph Mr. Campbell points out a perplexity which has been and still is experienced by many reflecting men, and which deserves more serious regard at the hands of dissenters than it has hitherto received. *We* perceive the radical unsoundness of a state church, but are far from presenting to the view of many pious episcopalians such a conformity to the spirit of Scripture exhortations as they desiderate. Sensible of the numerous deficiencies of their own church, they yet remain within her pale, in utter despair of finding a more perfect way. This may be erroneous and criminal ; it may be the result of prejudice, shortsightedness, or ignorance, but it becomes us to inquire, and that most seriously, whether there is not in some of our modes of procedure much that is adapted to occasion and foster such a feeling. A devout and searching inquiry directed to this point might possibly bring out a result which, however mortifying to our pride, would highly conduce to the extension of a voluntary christianity. The catholicity of the church is as essential to its prosperity as its purity, and Mr. Campbell was therefore right in refusing to join himself with those whose views were so sectarian as he describes. The fellowship of the saints is a *right* claimable by every believer, not a privilege to be conferred or withheld at the option of individuals or of a society.

His alienation from the Established Church was further promoted by some decisions of the General Assembly, which he thought to be indicative of an utter disregard to the spiritual interests of his countrymen. The truth is, that he belonged by natural disposition to the movement party. He came into public life just when evangelical religion was beginning to raise its head in Scotland, and sympathized heartily with its spirit and hallowed purpose. He was too active and zealous, too intent on doing good, and too skilful in devising new modes of accomplishing it, to confine himself within the prescribed limits of ecclesiastical rule. There was no affinity between the elements of his character and the cold, heartless formalism of a state church. Hence arose his estrangement, which, proceeding slowly and, in its earlier stages, unconsciously to himself, ultimately conducted him to those great principles of self-government and voluntary support which form the basis of our church polity.

Mr. Philip has furnished some interesting information respecting the apostolic labors of the Messrs. Haldane, Aikman, and Ewing, in most of which Mr. Campbell took an active part. These gentlemen, particularly the former, were prominent actors

in those religious movements which gave a new character to Scottish piety, by rendering it more evangelical and active than it had previously been. In Scotland, as in England, the state church, while preserving the forms of religion, had suffered its spirit wholly to evaporate. A spiritual lethargy prevailed throughout the land; the very nature of christianity was misapprehended; and formalism and ungodliness were substituted for the humbling and sanctifying faith of the gospel of Jesus Christ. In such circumstances, the Messrs. Haldane nobly consecrated their property and talents to the spiritual benefit of their countrymen. The rectitude of their intention is beyond all question, and that a large amount of good may be traced directly or indirectly to their exertions, is equally unquestionable. Yet truth compels the admission, that they were far from being thoroughly furnished for the work which they undertook. The history of their labors is full of warnings as well as of encouragement, and may be advantageously studied by all who are situated similarly to themselves. It is not our present province to enter into the particulars of their history. Let those dwell upon their errors who can find pleasure in such employ; we prefer rather pointing to the good of which they have been the honored instruments. The following is Mr. Campbell's account of one of the most important of the many measures which these gentlemen adopted for the spiritual benefit of their countrymen. The African scheme referred to was a proposal to bring over some negro children from the colony of Sierra Leone, to be educated in this country, with a view to their returning to Africa as instructors of others.

'About a year and a half after this, I was invited by Mr. Haldane to meet a few excellent christians, who were to sup at his house. At one time there was a short pause in the conversation, when, I suppose, every one was thinking what topic he could start. A Mr. Alexander Pitcairn, who sat opposite to me, said, 'Mr. C., what is become of your African scheme? I have not heard any thing of it for a long time.' Not one present could possibly have imagined that the conversion and everlasting salvation of thousands was connected with Mr. P. asking that question. To which I replied, 'It is put off to the peace!' which created a general smile, as few expected peace till Buonaparte had got the world under his feet. Mr. Haldane asked, from the head of the table, *what* African scheme I had, never having heard of it? This I answered as briefly as I could, but added, 'I had *another* scheme in my head, as important as the African one.' 'What is that?' 'To have a Tabernacle built in Edinburgh.' 'What is that?' asked Mr. Haldane. 'The Tabernacle in London is a large place of worship, supplied by popular ministers, of different denominations, coming up from the country, and preaching for a month. The crowds that it attracts, and the good that has been done, are very great.' All agreed

that such a thing was desirable. 'Who could be got to supply it?' I mentioned Rowland Hill and other English ministers. 'Could a large place be obtained for a year on trial, before proceeding to building?' 'Yes, the use of the Circus may be got for sabbaths; as the Relief congregation, who have had it while their new place was building, are on the eve of leaving it. When I first proposed the Circus, Mr. Haldane turned to a certain lawyer who was present, saying, 'Mr. D., will you inquire about it to-morrow, and if it be to let, take it for a year?'

'It was secured the next day; Rowland Hill was invited; he consented to come; and did come in the month of May or June.—The place was crowded even at seven o'clock in the morning,—and in the evenings, if the weather was good, no place could have contained the crowds that came to hear; they mounted to near the summit of the Calton-hill, where there was a spot resembling an amphitheatre, as if excavated to hold a congregation of 10,000, which number I believe sometimes attended him. On one occasion he made a collection for the City Charity Workhouse. It amounted to about £30, almost entirely composed of halfpence and pennypieces. I think it was taken away in a wheelbarrow. During his stay many were converted, some of whom had been most grossly immoral characters. It made much noise in the neighborhood;—even some soldiers attended a prayer-meeting. A woman, at her own door, was overheard to say to her neighbor, 'O Sir, what will become of us now, when the very soldiers are beginning to pray?'—pp. 164, 165.

It was a singular fact, that not one of the persons present on this occasion was a dissenter. The movement was obviously of a dissenting character. It wore the complexion and breathed the spirit of a voluntary and energetic faith, yet it was taken by men who avowed their churchmanship, and never suspected that they were in a course of secession from the communion and authority of the kirk. The tendency of their measures was from the first seen by many, and could not long be concealed from themselves. Several Independent ministers were invited from England to supply the new place of worship, some of whom preached on the nature and constitution of the church of Christ, and thus diffused, among the persons meeting at the Circus, congregational views of church government, which led by a natural process to the formation of an Independent church, and the choice of Mr. James Haldane as pastor thereof. A large building, capable of containing upwards of 3000 hearers, was subsequently erected at the sole expense of Mr. Robert Haldane, who provided similar places at Glasgow, Dundee, and other large towns. The example thus set has been nobly followed in England by the treasurer of Highbury College, than whom there is not probably a man living who can point to larger and more useful results of the appropriation of his property. To Mr. Wilson belongs the distinguished

honor of having originated many churches which are now sanctifying their several localities, and contributing largely to the religious institutions which adorn and ennoble our times.

Mr. Campbell was at this time engaged in business as an ironmonger, yet his attention was incessantly given to the various schemes, both benevolent and religious, which were then soliciting public support. He was instant in season and out of season, and taxed his strength to a degree which alarmed many of his friends. His labors as a Sabbath-school teacher and itinerant preacher, were in themselves sufficient to occupy the whole time of an ordinary man, while the correspondence which he carried on with different persons eminent for piety and station, in various parts of the kingdom, must have required an economical arrangement of his time of which few men are capable. He accompanied Mr. James Haldane on several preaching excursions, which awakened the wrath of many clerical officials, and were regarded with great apprehension by a large portion of his countrymen. One stickler for holy orders was so scandalized at his presumption as to refer daily in family devotion to his preaching, in such a manner as caused an apprentice to laugh. The lad was expelled from his master's house on this account; and being reproved by his parents for the irreverence of which he had been guilty, replied, 'Hoo could I 'but laugh, when master prayed every sabbath mornin', that a 'red hot poker might be stuck into Johnnie Campbell's throat 'that day, if he presumed to minister in word or doctrine?' On one of his preaching excursions, both he and Mr. Haldane were arrested; but were speedily released,—the impotency of their opponents being only equalled by their malice.

Many of our readers are probably aware that Mr. Campbell was a voluminous writer for the young. He took the lead in this class of publications, and probably contributed more than any other man to the abundant supply with which the market is now stocked. The manner in which he was led to publish his first book for children was strikingly illustrative of the character of his mind; it grew out of the circumstances in which he was placed, and was designed to supply a want which he could not otherwise suitably meet. The facts of the case were these; he had a young cousin, Mary Campbell, committed to his care, whom he was desirous of directing to the profitable consideration of divine truth. For this purpose he put into her hands Janeway's Token for Children, the perusal of which rather alarmed than benefited her, by associating death, in her mind, with early piety. Having afterwards met with a pious address to children, he determined to ascertain, by a fair experiment on his young cousin, whether its length did not render it

unsuitable for the object which he contemplated. Mr. Campbell's own account of this matter is given in these words:

'One day, after dinner, I laid down my desk upon the table to write a letter, and desired her to sit forward to the table, and I should give her a nice book, published entirely for the sake of *young* people like herself. She took it into her hand with great pleasure, and began to read it with avidity. When she had turned over the second leaf, I saw she was surprised that there was not the end of a chapter in sight. She then turned the third leaf, evidently to see if there was an end there. On observing this, I said, 'Go on, Mary, it's very good.' After a little I saw her slyly turn over the fourth leaf, and seeing no end of a chapter, she raised up her arms above her head, saying, 'Am I obliged to read all this at one sitting?' I said, 'No, Mary, you may go to play.' She ran like a prisoner set free from bondage. I was satisfied that *long* addresses would be of no use to children, for God has evidently studied the taste of his creature in the Revelation he has given to them; for almost the whole of it is given in the form of narrative, here a little instruction of one kind, and there a little of another, mixed up with the narrative. I therefore resolved to endeavor to convey to her young mind gospel truths, by mixing them up with short narrative.'—pp. 186, 187.

'On Mary going out to play, I commenced writing the first life in 'Worlds Displayed,' without the most distant idea of its ever appearing in print, and finished it that evening. Next day after dinner I desired Mary to stop, for I had something for her to read; on which I put this life into her hand, and commenced writing at my desk, but, unknown to her, watching her conduct. She read to the end without once looking off the paper, and when done asked me if I had any more? 'No,' said I, 'that is enough for one reading; but if you behave well, you shall have such another to-morrow after dinner.' She asked for it next day, when I had the second life ready. We went on this way for some time, till at length I felt like a *cask* that once had been full, but now emptied of all its contents; when I told her she must begin now and read them all over again. What gave rise to the *publishing* them I cannot now recollect; perhaps it was her showing them to some of her acquaintance. However that was, an edition of 1500 was printed as a little volume, which, in boards, was sold at eightpence; and so *hungry* were parents and others for something of a religious cast to present unto their children, that the whole edition went off in a very short time. I suppose such publications were equally scarce in America, for in about a year after 'Worlds Displayed' was published in Edinburgh, the venerable Dr. John Erskine, minister of Old Greyfriars parish, called and read me a letter that he had received from an old minister in Massachusetts, stating that my 'Worlds Displayed' had come out there, and a large edition had been published, and requesting Dr. Erskine to inform the author for his encouragement. Also a very short time after its publication in Edinburgh, I received a letter from a bookseller in London

wishing permission to print an edition of it there. I did not know till about ten years after, how it was so early noticed there; when I was invited to dine with Dr. Adam Clarke in a friend's house in London, who told me that he was the first introducer of the 'Worlds Displayed' to London. Though I have published many volumes since that time, I have heard more beneficial effects produced by that little *Tom Thumb* volume than by all the others put together. About twenty-five years ago I had eight gospel ministers, and more than that number of ministers' wives upon my list, who told me that their first serious impressions about religion arose from reading that book, and many more have told me the same tale since that time. How many editions it has gone through in Britain and America, I cannot tell, but the number must be considerable.'—pp. 188, 189.

Mr. Campbell was in habits of intercourse with many persons much superior in station to himself, and the volume before us supplies interesting anecdotes of some of the more distinguished of them. The following, respecting Lord Hailes, is curious, and we should much like to see the accuracy of his lordship's statement tested.

'Another of Mr. Campbell's literary friends was the late Rev. Walter Buchanan, of Edinburgh; the friend of Lord Hailes. At his table, Mr. Campbell met some distinguished men, and gathered up many literary anecdotes. One of the latter deserves to be mentioned, because it had much influence in satisfying his own mind upon the perfection of the New Testament.

'ANECDOTE OF LORD HAILES.

'I remember distinctly an interesting anecdote referring to the late Sir David Dalrymple (better known to literary men abroad by his title of Lord Hailes), a Scotch judge. I had it from the late Rev. Walter Buchanan, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. I took such interest in it, that though it must be about fifty years ago since he told it, I think I can almost relate it in Mr. Buchanan's words.

''I was dining some time ago with a literary party at old Mr. Abercrombie's (father of General Abercrombie who was slain in Egypt, at the head of the British army), and spending the evening together. A gentleman present put a question which puzzled the whole company. It was this: Supposing all the New Testaments in the world had been destroyed at the end of the third century, could their contents have been recovered from the writings of the three first centuries? The question was novel to all, and no one even hazarded a guess in answer to the inquiry.

''About two months after this meeting, I received a note from Lord Hailes, inviting me to breakfast with him next morning. He had been of the party. During breakfast he asked me if I recollected the curious question about the possibility of recovering the contents of the New Testament from the writings of the three first centuries? 'I remember it well, and have thought of it often without being able to form any opinion or conjecture on the subject.'

'"Well," said Lord Hailes, "that question quite accorded with the turn or taste of my antiquarian mind. On returning home, as I knew I had all the writers of those centuries, I began immediately to collect them, that I might set to work on the arduous task as soon as possible." Pointing to a table covered with papers, he said, "There have I been busy for these two months, searching for chapters, half chapters, and sentences of the New Testament, and have marked down what I have found, and where I have found it; so that any person may examine and see for themselves. I have actually discovered the whole New Testament from those writings, except seven or eleven verses (I forget which), which satisfies me that I could discover them also. Now," said he, "here was a way in which God concealed, or hid the treasure of his word, that Julian, the apostate emperor, and other enemies of Christ, who wished to extirpate the gospel from the world, never would have thought of; and though they had, they never could have effected their destruction."

'The labor in effecting this *feat* must have been immense; for the gospels and epistles would not be divided into chapters and verses as they are now. Much must have been effected by the help of a concordance. And having been a judge for many years, a habit of minute investigation must have been formed in his mind.'

—pp. 214—216.

It is not surprising that Mr. Campbell should early have adverted to the christian ministry as his appropriate occupation. It is singular, however, that he regarded the first suggestion of this kind as a temptation from the Evil One. 'On sabbath last,' he says, 'I encountered all day and night 'strong allurements from the adversary to follow the ministry. 'The suggestion increased so at night that I could not give 'heed to a sentence of the sermon. I had a desire to be useful 'to my brethren's souls, but I gave the less heed to it because 'it interrupted my hearing of the word.' It was well that he did so for a time, as he was obviously not yet qualified for such a work. Had he entered on it at this period, the result might have been ruinous to himself, and useless, at the least, to others. But the moral discipline to which he was subsequently subjected, brought his spirit into happy harmony with religious truth, and so controlled all the sympathies and energy of his nature as to fit him for eminent service to the church of God. The estimate formed of his piety and talents by those who had the best opportunities of observing them, were shown by the proposal which Mr. Haldane made to him, to proceed on a mission to Bengal. The proposition was favorably viewed by himself, but the opinion of his friends being adverse to its acceptance, it was ultimately declined. He determined, however, on relinquishing business, and devoting himself more entirely to the work of the ministry. The success he met with as a village preacher drew him on, step by step, until he found himself

involved in the serious consideration of what his duty was in the case. He was accustomed to speak of his public exercises, not as preaching but as exhorting. He did so in his communications with Mr. Newton, whose counsel he sought in this most important step of his life. The answer he received from this estimable man is too characteristic to be omitted.

'I know not how you draw the line, in your country, between preaching and exhorting. If I speak when the door is open to all comers, I call it preaching; for to preach is to speak publicly. Speaking upon a text, or without one, makes no difference; at least, I think not.

'I am no advocate for *self-sent* preachers at large; but when men whose character and abilities are approved by competent judges; whose motives are known to be pure, and whose labors are excited by the exigency of the occasion, lay themselves out to instruct the ignorant and rouse the careless; I think they deserve thanks and encouragement, instead of reprehension, if they step a little over the bounds of church order. If I had lived in Scotland, my ministry, I suppose, would have been in the Kirk, or the Relief, or the Secession; and if Dr. Erskine had been born and bred among us, and regarded according to his merit, he might perhaps have been archbishop of Canterbury long ago. Much of our differences of opinion on this head may, perhaps, be ascribed to the air we breathed and the milk we drank in infancy. Thus I have given you my free opinion upon your *knotty* point. I leave others to dispute whether the husk or the shell of the nut be the better of the two. I hope to be content with the kernel.

'But whilst you have a secular calling, it is your duty to be active and accurate in it. Self likes to be employed in great matters—grace teaches us to do small and common things in a great spirit. When you are engaged in business in a right frame of mind, you are no less serving the Lord than when you are praying, exhorting, or hearing.'

—pp. 265, 266.

Convinced at length that it became him to devote himself wholly to the work of the sanctuary, he removed to Glasgow in order to avail himself of Mr. Ewing's instructions, preparatory to a more formal entrance on the sacred calling. He carried with him to the west of Scotland the same habits of active zeal by which he had been distinguished in Edinburgh; instead of confining himself to the dry routine of a student's life, he was perpetually employed in devising schemes of usefulness, which he carried out with an energy and perseverance that secured distinguished success. In connexion with his various labors at Glasgow, we have the following interesting account of a remarkable work of God, among a class of men who at that time were generally neglected by the christian church.

'I remember a young woman calling on me, that I might answer a letter her mother had just received from her son. 'At the time of

my father's death,' said she, 'my brother was a very thoughtless young man—instead of helping her, he sold every thing he could lay his hands on; after which, he left us, and became a sailor; he tells us, that afterwards he was pressed, and put on board the *Barfleur*, of ninety-eight guns; that some society had furnished him and others with a copy of the Scriptures, which he had carefully read, and had thereby been brought to a conviction of the sinfulness of his past conduct, and repentance for it; that he had besought, and hoped he had obtained God's forgiveness, but he could not have peace till he had obtained his mother's also, for the great wrongs he had done her; he also solicited her advice.' It was that I might fulfil this last request that she brought his letter to me. I wrote a letter containing the best counsels I could offer, and sent it off to him, on board the *Barfleur*, at that time lying in Cawsand Bay. In about a fortnight I received a letter from eight sailors, including himself, who had all been affected in the same way, by reading the word of God, and who often met together for reading and prayer; and they requested I should write a letter addressed to them all, as a united band, which I soon did, and sent off; but as the fleet had sailed on a cruise off the coast of France, I heard no more from them for perhaps three months, when a letter did come from twenty-four sailors, to which number the little band had increased during the interval; and these expressed a desire that I should address a general letter to the whole; and if there was any particular book I would wish them to have, that I would mention it in the letter. They also informed me that a similar work had taken place on board the *Thunderer*, and the *Terrible* of seventy-four guns. I did address a letter to twenty-four, and said, that if the fleet should happen to put into Portsmouth, if any of them would call on the Rev. Dr. Bogue, with my compliments, he would most readily do what he could for them, and knew of none more capable of giving advice.

'The peace with France, in 1802, took place a short time after sending off this, and a great part of the navy was paid off, and the seamen scattered in every direction; and I left Glasgow, so I never heard any more of the fruits of that charming display of the grace of God towards those poor sailors.'—pp. 273, 274.

His settlement at Kingsland, in 1803, was remarkably illustrative of the silent manner by which the Great Head of the church accomplishes his designs, in preparing the way for the more extended labors and greater usefulness of his servants. The station had no secular attractions, but it brought him into intimate contact with the religious institutions of the day, and opened the way for his subsequent visits to Africa, by which his name is become so thoroughly identified with one of the most interesting fields of modern missions. We need not dwell on this part of Mr. Campbell's life, as it is the one with which our readers are most familiar. He lived in perpetual activity,—an activity which was the very opposite of idle restlessness, for it resulted in his case from the entire consecration of his mind to

the paramount interests of religion and eternity. He was always active because he was supremely bent on doing good—because he combined with the utmost suavity and tenderness of spirit an entire self-forgetfulness and a hearty appreciation of the value of immortal souls.

His biographer has done wisely in including in the present volume a somewhat extended account of his missionary tours in Africa. These were the great events of his life, for which his other labors were but preparatory, and by which his name will be handed down to posterity as an agent of extensive usefulness to the church and to the world. We are glad also to find Mr. Philip speaking in such terms of warm-hearted and well merited eulogy of Dr. Philip,—one of those remarkable men whom God in his infinite goodness occasionally raises up to enlighten and bless their species. The few opportunites we have had of personal intercourse with Dr. Philip have left upon our minds an impression which we shall never lose—an impression which deepens with our advancing years, and becomes somewhat painful, as the passage of time reminds us of the approach of that period when his divine Master shall call him from the scene of his labors to the enjoyment of his eternal reward.

'His hopes of a successful enterprise were much sustained by his confidence in the talents and discretion of Dr. Philip. It was to him a matter of *wonder,* as well as of delight and gratitude, that the doctor had consecrated himself to Africa; for Mr. Campbell knew and appreciated his influence in Aberdeen, and throughout the north of Scotland. Indeed, those who knew that influence best, wondered most. Some of Dr. Philip's intimate friends, however, knew the cast of his mind and the aspirations of his heart too well to believe that his object was bounded by any thing that lay upon the surface of his mission, or that the office of superintendent had swayed him at all. They did not venture to conjecture what his ultimate object was, nor are they yet sure that he has gained it all, much as his philosophy and philanthropy have won for Africa. The man who could achieve so much, certainly intended far more, and anticipated not a little of the result whilst deliberating upon the experiment. I do not pretend to any knowledge—I possess none—of the process by which he made up his mind to quit the most influential position which the north of Scotland could give to a minister; nor of the calculations he made, or the visions of glory he indulged for Africa; but having grown up from childhood under his paternal eye, and never spending a day uninfluenced by his maxims and example, I have never been surprised at either his choice or his achievements, although often alternately amused and grieved at the interpretations which some men put upon them. None know him so little as those who imagine that he would have gone to Africa, or any where else, in order to be 'a *sort* of bishop,' or merely to *superintend* missionaries. This is the last thing in the world he would submit to, in the sense in which these words have been

applied to his spirit. He would, indeed, wash the feet of any devoted missionary; but he would no more condescend to be his master, than he would succumb to a passionate, or humour a capricious man. Accordingly no man has ever raised his own character, either for wisdom or independence, by railing at Dr. Philip's sway, or by arraigning his policy. That sway saved the missions which Vanderkemp and Campbell planted, and that policy annihilated slavery in the colony; results which would have been defeated, had not the philanthropist braved alike the frowns of power and the freaks of passion.'—pp. 513, 514

There was nothing remarkable in the latter part of Mr. Campbell's life; it was devoted to the unostentatious and quiet discharge of his pastoral duties, and does not, therefore, furnish materials for, neither does it require at our hands, any extended notice. 'The history of the last twenty years of his life,' Mr. Philip remarks, 'apart from his letters, would only be the pic-'ture of any other minister in London, who combines pastoral 'duty with the claims of our public societies.' He declined the request of the directors of the London Mission to visit their stations in the South Seas, though he readily employed a considerable portion of his time in the advocacy of their institution in various parts of the country. He enjoyed remarkably good health until nearly seventy years of age, at which period a serious illness befell him, which alarmed his friends. Rest and change of air happily restored him to the church for a season, but his days were evidently numbered, and were drawing towards their close. He resumed his ministerial labors, but it was with diminished strength, and with less confidence in his own physical capabilities. 'Still his vivacity was not impaired, 'and his spirituality was, if possible, improved. If there was 'now less energy in his sermons and prayers, there was more 'unction, or rather, a new kind of unction. He had always been 'spiritually-minded, beyond most men; but now he was *heavenly-*'minded. Heaven and Africa were, alternately, the dwelling 'place of his spirit.' For some months prior to his decease, which occurred April 4th, 1840, his health evidently declined, without however assuming any alarming appearance until within a very few weeks of that event. The following account of his last illness, from the pen of his colleague and successor, presents just such a view of the state of his mind as the tenor of his life would have led us to anticipate.

'On Thursday, March 12th, he felt very ill, and wrote for advice to his medical friend, Dr. Conquest, who kindly and promptly attended to his request. He rallied a little before Sunday, and, although much pressed to remain at home, he attended public worship in the morning, fearing, he said, 'lest his flock should be alarmed about him.' That service was the last at which he was present.

'The following week his debility again returned, and gradually increased; and I believe he had then a kind of presentiment that he would not recover. I enjoyed many conversations with him during his illness, and noted down some of his expressions as he gave them utterance. They were indicative of extreme self-abasement, and humble reliance on the Saviour of sinners.

'I told him his people prayed very earnestly and affectionately for him. The tears came into his eyes, and he said, 'Oh, sir! I need it; I need it! I'm a *poor* creature.' He said his mind was much harassed by Satan, who told him he had not done *half* what he ought for his Master; and when I said, 'Depend upon it, sir, he would have been very glad if you had not done half what you have,' he replied, 'Ah! but I have not done what I *could*.' Such were the low views he entertained of his labors in the service of Christ. This harassment, however, which in a great measure was attributable to his infirm state of body, speedily ceased.

'On one occasion, speaking of the preciousness of the Saviour, he said, 'Oh! I love to be near the blood of sprinkling;' and talked in an animated manner of the happiness drawn from the consideration of the unchangeableness of Christ. 'All I want,' said he, after we had been speaking of the Saviour's atonement, 'is to feel my arm *round* the cross.' I told him I doubted not it was, and asked him if his heart was not there. He smiled, and said, 'Yes.' I told him then, that I believed his *arm* was too, although a little benumbed with grasping hard. He smiled again, and then spoke of the wonderful love of God in saving sinners by such a sacrifice as that of his Son.

'On Wednesday, April 1st, he took to his bed; and on my saying to him, when I visited him, that I hoped he was happy, he turned to me, and said, 'The *debt* is all paid; the sufferings of Christ have discharged it, and therefore I am free, and have peace with God.' From this time not a cloud obscured his mind. He steadily declined towards the grave, but nothing hung around his setting sun, or cast a shadow upon his hopes for the future.'—pp. 585, 586.

So calm and peaceful was the close of this good man's life; and we could well dwell upon the scene had we not already exceeded our limits. The claims of other subjects compel us briefly to dismiss the present, which we do with an expression of our most sincere and unsectarian admiration of the many virtues which constituted the character of Mr. Campbell. We love to dwell on the records of such a man. They serve to remind us that we are not all selfish and earthly,—that there is yet a grace and loveliness attaching to our nature, when that nature is renewed and sanctified by the Divine Spirit. Mr. Campbell's character was a beautiful compound of the simplicity of childhood with the enlarged philanthropy and holy bearing of christian devotedness.

Of the manner in which Mr. Philip has performed his task we must speak in terms of high commendation. He has produced

a volume which has rarely been surpassed in the interest and value of its contents; one that must serve to enkindle zeal and to give it a wise and a useful direction. The materials furnished him have been happily arranged to exhibit a lucid view of the character and history of his friend, and the connecting observations by which he has worked up these materials, are distinguished for the most part by sound sense, healthy feeling, and a thoroughly evangelical spirit. There is a deficiency of chronological dates, which somewhat confuses the reader, and to which we crave Mr. Philip's attention in the event of a second edition of his book. There are also some cases of expression too familiar, and bordering somewhat on the vulgar, which he would do well to erase. We suppose it is in vain to counsel our author on the peculiarities of his style, as we have done so already on different occasions. He is apparently proof against all admonitions of this kind, which we regret on his own account, but still more so on account of the injurious influence it must have on his permanent usefulness. When an author combines so many excellencies, it is much to be deplored that the range of his influence should be limited by a style so essentially vicious. We say this with all possible good will, and with a due acknowledgment of the important service which Mr. Philip has rendered to religious truth by his numerous publications.

Art. IX. 1. *The Manchester Times, August* 21*st*, 1841.
2. *The Morning Chronicle, August* 17*th*—23*rd*, 1841.
3. *The Patriot, August* 19*th and* 23*rd*, 1841.

THE sneers and taunts of interested adversaries are allowed too much weight when they deter ministers of religion from seeming to be—what their Master was, and what he requires every servant of his to be—the friend of the poor. Not alone in words, but also in deeds, should they indicate their sympathy; and the time of need is the season when their friendship is most tried and valued. Christianity permits not its votaries to procrastinate in the discharge of any duty, and defers not till a future time the obligations of to-day. Promptitude and dispatch, as well as tears and professions, are enjoined by the highest and holiest authority: 'whatsoever thy hand findeth 'to do, do it with all thy might.'

But conventional courtesies and time-honored usages have sometimes imposed restraints, and held back men from mixing in indiscriminate or unprofessional enterprises. The *odium*

saecularium, as well as the *odium theologicum*, has had its cant and deceptive strategy; and drawn its lines and demarcations across paths of benevolence and obligation, in which an enlightened view of duty should compel all Christians to walk. The bugbears which hypocrisy, indolence, and timidity have feigned or fancied, will only disappear before the light of truth and the importunities of mercy. The cloister and the grove are constrained to give up their tenants; the college hall and the monastic shade to resign their pretensions; ministerial etiquette and sacerdotal dignity to humble themselves, when the wailings of pestilence or the ravages of the plague, the lean and lank visage of famishing want, or the tumults and miseries of despair, threaten approaching desolations. It was thus that Aaron *ran* with his censer, to stand between the living and the dead, and that Moses *fell* before the Lord: and we regard it as an omen for good, that so many wise and benevolent men have, by their recent meeting at Manchester, shown themselves to be both inclined and able to discern the signs of the times. Mr. Baptist Noel has lent his sanction and assistance in this critical juncture, by the publication of his 'Plea for the Poor.' He has thus identified himself with the cause of the poor, and has contributed largely to the overthrow of those laws which operate so injuriously both on their social and moral interests.

Happily, this good man occupies no solitary position, and cherishes no singular opinions on the laws which affect the food and commerce of the people. This has been strikingly shown by the ministerial conference recently held in Manchester;—a conference so singular in its character, so unique and noble-minded in its object, as to have riveted the attention of the nation, and to have revived the hopes of thousands who were previously sunk into the wretchedness of despondency and want.

This CONFERENCE, convoked on the 17th of last month in Manchester, and continued till the evening of the 20th, is a movement eminently deserving the attention of senators and politicians. It has been a medium for the expression of public opinion, unusual but singularly appropriate for such a time. Six hundred and thirty-six ministers of religion have, by their presence, in answer to an appeal issued without any authority but the wail of woe, and promising no other reward but the blessing of charity, testified to their people and the world how their sympathies and affections are blended in unison with the suffering and heart-stricken poor. Nearly one hundred more were prevented from fulfilling the like duty, to which they had pledged themselves, by events which they could not control; and eight hundred others have declared their concurrence with the object of the meeting, though prevented by their limited pecuniary means from attending its sittings. Thus, more than fifteen

hundred ministers of religion, occupying distant fields of labour, have spoken out their determination to overturn the oppressive system under which poverty is diffused, commerce prostituted, and moral dignity and social justice are abused before the nations of the earth. The venerable and learned Dr. Fletcher Smith, in his address at the conference, spoke not alone in the name of the brethren then assembled. His statements and reasonings were not the empty declamations of a demagogue, but the calm, lucid, and immutable convictions of an honest mind, powerfully alive to the momentous interests which are involved in the subject under discussion. It would be well for all to give serious heed to his reasonings and expostulations, which breathed a spirit of the purest benevolence, whilst they bore with conclusive point on the eradication of an evil which finds its only semblance of justification in the pecuniary benefit it yields to the richer and privileged class. We should be glad to extract largely from the Doctor's admirable speech, but must restrict ourselves to the following:

'We do not flatter ourselves that our efforts can at once eradicate the prejudices and errors which are the growth of ages, or that we unaided can effect this desirable conviction in minds reluctant and inveterate. But these principles of morality are a part of 'the whole counsel of God,' which we are bound to teach, if we would be 'faithful ministers of Christ.' If we be supine and silent, we shall be partakers of the guilt of the evil that is so fearfully done; and we shall be answerable at the tribunal of God for its consequences. Some of those consequences, long foreseen and forewarned, have burst upon us in a manner, as to rapidity and extent, which may fill the stoutest heart with grief and fear. Are we not then called upon, by our most solemn obligations, to oppose the evil which threatens to destroy us, and to promote the good which is so instrumental of temporal and spiritual benefit? The feelings which are now awakened, the attention which is widely excited, encourage our hopes. An opportunity is given for enforcing this branch of evangelical morals, with prospects of attention and success greater than we have before possessed. What we have taught and inculcated in our own small circles, we hope, by means of this meeting, to lay before our countrymen in a way that will draw their more serious attention, and more effectually recommend the truth to their understandings and their hearts. Some persons may object, that this and its allied subjects belong to the science of politics and political economy, and that it is not befitting to the ministers of religion to give opinions or advice upon them. Against the spirit of this objection I enter my determined protest. It can be advanced by only ignorance or unfairness. What are politics, but the knowledge and practice of the claims of *right* and the obligations of *duty* which belong to men as members of society? Is not this knowledge and practice an essential part of morality? And is there, can there be, any religion without morality? As teachers of religion, therefore, we are bound

to be teachers of politics, and to guard the important subject against errors and abuses. Our object is to teach the politics which flow from piety, the politics of equitable benevolence, the politics of the gospel, the politics of Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Lord. We are deeply concerned that we and those to whom we minister should 'render to all their due; putting to silence the ignorance of foolish men; as free, and not using our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.' We are most earnest to guard all persons, to the utmost of our power, against sedition, treason, rebellion, in any manner of degree, approach, or tendency. Be it also considered, that, while the people have their duties, they have also their claims, just and honorable claims; and that, if these be neglected, 'the cries of the poor ascend' to the Just and Almighty One, who 'will plead their cause.' Also, to borrow the memorable admonition of a lamented Christian statesman—'property and rank have their rights, but they have likewise their duties.' To the higher classes, therefore, even to the highest, we 'have a message from God.' But few of them will give us the opportunity of delivering it. They come not to our places of Christian worship; nor will they allow us to go to them, and tell them of 'justice, temperance, and the judgment to come.' Therefore, if we except writing and publishing, an extraordinary measure, like this assembly, is the only method left for our endeavoring to make the word of the Lord be heard in high places, as well as in low; in towers and palaces, and in the pits and cellars where want and woe, disease and death, and many a form of misery, have fixed their dwelling. It is the violation of religious obligation, by our laws and law-makers, which, working through a course of years, has at length come to a term. Those laws have now reached to an amount of oppression, injury, and aggravated cruelty, which can no longer be endured. The alternative is the abrogation of the iniquity, or the ruin of the nation. Wise and honest men, versed in the inseparable means of public prosperity, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have long foretold this crisis. It has arrived. It brings in its train of terror bodily diseases which will not be confined to the hovel, but will spread over the land, and will mount to the most splendid mansions. A state of freedom from the extreme of misery is ordinarily necessary for the calm reflections and the exercises of piety; but that state is destroyed by hunger and destitution, winter's keen cold, which soon will arrive, famished families, and 'the first-born of death.' Desperation is engendered. The burning discontent cannot be always smothered. We are walking on the fires below. They threaten eruptions. Then will military execution renew its horrors; and the terrible catastrophe will befall us of a revolutionary anarchy, or a stern, revengeful, and unsparing tyranny. Ah! how little do the men reflect who have snatched the morsel of hope from the lips of the famishing millions, what retribution they have been preparing for themselves! In the event of a national convulsion (which Almighty mercy avert!) they will be among the first victims of infuriated revenge. In the righteous judgment of God, often one terrible form of sin is the instrument of punishment to another.'

In passing we must notice briefly the opposition which this ministerial assemblage has encountered. That the journals pandering for party purposes to the diseased appetite or the ignorant prejudices of a class should, by scurrilous jests and ignoble ribaldry, seek to throw ridicule on the conference has not surprised us: nor has this opposition been without its use. The *Times* and other organs have fulfilled the behests of their masters, but more propitious would it have been for monopoly, had the alleged imbecilities and heterogeneous conceptions of the assembled ministers been passed over in silence. The *Times* does not often expend its energies upon a contemptible antagonist, or direct its thunders against a molehill. Its conductors have usually more sagacity. The *Spectator* has been a more insidious foe; its *beau ideal*, for the last four years, a conservative ministry, had interests to be promoted which could only be served by throwing odium on any thing practically good, and identifying wise measures with men who are charged as backsliders. But this service could be best rendered under the guise of radical hostility,—not by a disappointed place hunter, but by a *faithful* and *vigilant* guardian of popular liberty. We leave him to his reward, when it comes. But others have more than surprised us by their morbid sensibility respecting all political movements by ministers of religion. This cry of alarm has been raised by honest and seemingly zealous opponents of monopoly. Mr. Wicksteed of Leeds has acquired some celebrity in this character. He has played off his wit or his wisdom as well against the corn laws as against the ministerial conference; and has rather out-witted the monopolists; since his letter has obtained insertion where discussions on corn monopolies are generally excluded. He has, moreover, shown the necessity, which is felt by many, to acquit themselves of all approval of the laws which restrict the food of the people. We need not enter the lists with him on his *abstract* questions. He has been fully answered by Mr. Hamilton of Leeds, and in some powerful articles in the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Patriot*. But we wish to present the excellent and convincing reply of one whom circumstances only detained from the conference, and whose counsels there would have been appreciated, as his name is had in honor throughout the land. Dr. Wardlaw, in his letter to Mr. Massie, has fully acquitted the conference of improper interference. He answers the charge of political agitation well.

'I should deeply feel, however, that great injustice was done me, were my absence suspected to arise from any indifference respecting the great object of the proposed convention. It is not so. It is far, very far otherwise. Some of my brethren call it a *political* question, and

object to a ministerial convention respecting it on this ground. *That* should not frighten me. Admitting it to be a question of political legislation, I cannot, on that account, regard it as the less a question of *humanity*. Granting it to be a problem of *political* economy, I dare not allow myself to forget, to what a vast extent it is a question of *domestic* economy, most seriously and fearfully affecting the condition of myriads of families, and the families too of those who must ever be the staple of a commercial nation's strength and prosperity. In such a view of it, it can never be out of the legitimate sphere of the servants of that Saviour who, while the great end of his mission was 'to seek and to save the lost,' manifested, in the fulfilling of that commission, so benevolent a concern for the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of a sinful and suffering world; the one in such harmonious and beautiful *keeping* with the other. And why should the political aspect of the question overpower the interest which, as ministers of the gospel, we ought to feel in it a question of humanity? Politics themselves are a branch of *ethics*. Properly viewed, they are the *morals of nations*. They affect the character and the well-being of the world. Indifference to politics, in this view of them, is indifference to their *results*—peace or war—plenty or starvation—virtue or vice—prosperity or declension —security to person, property, and life, or the jeopardy of them all. Surely such indifference cannot be a feature of character which the bible requires, either in christian man or in christian minister. I am no meddler with politics. But my simple reason is, that in doing what I can to diffuse the influence of bible truth, and co-operating with fellow-christians and fellow ministers in the endeavour to leaven the community with its influence, I am doing what I conceive to be my proper part in promoting and ensuring rectitude of principle in the management of public affairs;—not that I regard the management of public affairs as a matter with which, as a minister of the cross, I have no concern. Although holding the essential distinction between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdoms of this world, I yet believe and am sure, that the spread and prevalence of the principles of the one are the best security for the application of right principles in conducting the affairs of the other.'

It was accounted no easy matter to bring together ministers of all religious denominations. They live, it was said, in different worlds—they revolve in different orbits. Their modes of faith have broad demarcations and stern collisions. Even as against the laity they have no common interest. They are more closely tied to their several churches than to their class. The notion of calling them together was a bold conception. So thought one of the gentlemen invited, but who was 'compelled to decline by 'the terms of the printed address convening the assembly.' The Rev. Hugh M'Neil, thus replied, 'In what you call our sectarian 'differences are involved all the eternal truths of the christian 'religion; truths from which *alone* can emanate any thing deserv-'ing the name of christian charity. To admit the possibility of

'meeting on the ground of *christian* charity without reference to 'christian truth—nay, on the express condition of laying aside 'for a while all that many among us consider to be God's own 'word would, in my opinion, be to countenance the infidel 'liberalism which implies that revelation is useless, without hav-'ing the honest boldness to say so.' Yet since the charity which christianity enjoins is a virtue commendable whenever it is exercised, and is no less obligatory where revelation has been rejected, than where a high pretension to its sanctions is assumed: since it is only then in legitimate exercise when it 'seeketh not 'its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not 'in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth'—where can so appropriate a sphere be sought for its display as where the hungry are to be fed, the naked to be clothed, and the fatherless and the widows are to be visited in their affliction? The contemplation of such a work, and the impulse of so hallowed a motive, sufficed to suggest and call out the energies by which this conference was convoked. No lower considerations could have been congenial with the prayers and precepts of the gospel, and no stronger inducements could be derived than are presented by the condition of a bread-taxed people. We therefore join in the generous exclamation—'What can be feared from this precedent of 'mercy? It rises above the sphere of dogma into that of charity, 'and breathes a purer air, while it occupies a loftier position. 'May such be the synods of futurity whenever they are held!' Laymen have had reason to be jealous of convocations, but they cannot refuse to honor the men who as ministers of religion gathered in the cause of humanity. The majesty of heaven is insulted, the first laws of nature are violently and *legally* set aside; while injustice, in its most cruel wrongs, is meted out to the creatures of God by men who loudly boast of their religion. 'Bread tax,' it has been said, 'is a blight on the world's har-'vests. *It* is the blast and the shower that level with the 'ground the poor laborer's hopes. Monopoly diminishes crops, 'and prevents harvests. Nature allows the cultivators of a dis-'tant soil to grow corn for the operative here; their interest 'prompts them to do it; but monopoly forbids. It creates an 'artificial barrenness there, and a corresponding artificial scar-'city here. To pray against rain, and not act against monopoly, is 'to serve heaven in word and insult heaven in deed. On the 'ministers of religion it devolved to vindicate her name from 'this profanity.' But the moral influences of the corn-laws remained to be developed, and the evidence of their operation arranged and displayed. With the ministers of religion are found peculiar facilities for such purposes; they see much more clearly into such arcana than mill-owners or landlords. The physical pressure on the industrious, and the moral alienation

ch that pressure impels, are subjects of their daily contact, e occasions of constant apprehension and solicitude. row the *ipsissima verba* of the eloquent writer who so asoned this question in the *Morning Chronicle*—

ey can trace the agency of the system from the enhanced rents duke to the enforced crimes of the destitute. They can note e prohibitory duty is levied on kindly feelings and moral cul- It has been seen before 'how wretches hang that jurymen may but they have seen how wretches are made that mortgages may foreclosed. The slave-trade received its death blow by the ex- of the horrors of the middle passage. Let those who are d explain in detail to the world the foul and fearful scenes l in the slave-ship of monopoly, by those who, if they do not in man, yet extort their gains from the daily bread by which wills that man should live.

rasteful cupidity robs the industrious population of many millions, tet its gain of thousands. A powerful class abuses the sacred n of legislation to tax the helpless, and perpetrate injustice by ns of law. The party obligation of defending iniquitous privi- nerates sophistry and misrepresentation, and perverts the minds ould enlighten and instruct public opinion. Religion incurs by the interest of its established teachers in a tax on bread. or man has less work, lower wages, and a smaller loaf; all treams from the same fountain. A gulf yawns in society, which rses and threats can overpass. The few are demoralized by and selfishness; and the many, by helplessness, vindictiveness, speration. Class is alienated from class, and country from '. If this be not a moral and religious question, what is? What fit to rebuke these growing evils as that which once preached eousness till the sordid oppressor trembled? What topic so apt e the exertions of those who preach 'peace on earth,' as that until settled, forbids all peace, and tramples upon all bonds of except brute coercion? Not by irregular and isolated efforts, one strong and united appeal does it become the ministers of to denounce this most irreligious state of things, and stay the

In their combination they have a moral power far greater e mere multiplication of their individual influence. The spirit idence speaks through them, and promises an answer to the for daily bread.'

moral phenomenon, at once unique and imposing, pre- by this ministerial convocation, is now a matter of , and will become a subject of history. A great experi- hazardous in the esteem of some and obnoxious in the ension of others, has been tried and found practicable. g together, not to define doctrinal mysteries, to enforce ations, enact ceremonies, or promulgate creeds, but to and denounce oppressive laws, and plead for the poor e needy; and having for their object justice and charity,

the members of it have discharged their solemn trust, in the
maintained the character of their convention to be 'christian
'the broadest and most practical sense of the word, christian
'the most christian sense.'

The proceedings of the conference are not yet before the
world with such detail as warrant those who did not mingle
in its discussions to pronounce a final judgment on the con-
clusions arrived at. Yet we cannot defer, beyond the pre-
sent moment, a few statements. When the official report
appears, an opportunity may arise for further discussion. Our
judgment cannot be maturely formed merely from the fact
that upwards of 600 ministers of religion assembled, and that
800 more would have joined them but for financial obstruc-
tions; neither can we sufficiently appreciate the case of the
country from the *viva voce* statements of the assembled minis-
ters. Five hundred returns have been made by benevolent men
who have explored their own locality, solicited the information
of poor law guardians, or their clerks, examined the condition
and elicited the opinions of the poor and suffering children in
want, and the *private* feelings of the hungry and emaciated
laborer. These documents speak solemnly and fearfully to the
heart of the patriot and christian, and are adapted to awaken
apprehensions which may well make the calmest mind to trem-
ble. They unveil a picture of destitution and wretchedness
which cannot long consist with the peace of society, and open
up scenes of moral degradation which reflect a character of the
grossest impiety on the system from which they spring. The
evils thus disclosed are too wide spread, and too deep seated,
to admit of removal by any partial remedy; neither will they
admit of any delay, for their virulence increases every hour,
and threatens, unless instantly eradicated, to corrupt and ruin
the great mass of our working population. We look forward
to the publication of the evidence thus collected, as of great
importance to the future progress of this good cause, and shall
take the earliest opportunity which occurs after its appearance,
of directing to it the attention of our readers.

It may be useful that we present a brief epitome of the pro-
ceedings at Manchester during the conference. Some of the
most zealous friends of the movement were prevented by per-
sonal or relative indisposition from attending: such were Drs.
Leifchild, Reed, and Wardlaw. Others by engagements which
they could not supersede, or circumstances which they had not
antipated. Drs. Raffles, Campbell, and Harris were absent
from no hostility on their parts; and very many others who
were confidently expected, and who most heartily sympathized
with their brethren, were prevented from giving their attend-
ance. The members of the conference, which was held in the

the Town Hall, Manchester, were admitted by ticket, and were seated in the body of the large hall so as to have easy access to the platform, and presented an imposing and august appearance. An assembly of senators could more command the attention and admiration of the spectator. The conference opened its sittings on Tuesday the 17th, at ten o'clock. Dr. Cox being called temporarily to the chair, a provisional committee was appointed to nominate chairmen, committee, and secretaries. During their absence, the question of prayer was started, and Dr. Vaughan requested to lead the devotion of the assembled ministers. A difficulty connected with this subject had been felt by the preliminary committee, and it was afterward revived when the chair was taken for the day. The decision adopted by the conference left individual ministers to follow the course deemed by them most appropriate. Such deference seemed advisable from the variety of denominations assembled. Several Quakers, about twelve Roman Catholic priests, and twenty-five Unitarian ministers, a few Swedenborgian ministers, and more than twelve Methodist Association preachers, between twenty and thirty New Connexion Methodists, nearly fifty Scotch Presbyterian Dissenters, two hundred Baptists, and three hundred Independent ministers, besides a small number of clergymen of the established churches of England and Scotland, were present. The provisional committee reported the result of their consultations, and the following list of office-bearers was proposed and adopted.

PRESIDENTS OF THE FOUR DAYS.

Tuesday—Rev. Thomas Adkins, of Southampton.
Wednesday—Rev. William Chaplin, of Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire.
Thursday—Rev. F. A. Cox, LL.D., D.D., of Hackney.
Friday—Rev. Thomas Spencer, A.M., of Hinton, Bath.

SECRETARIES.

Rev. J. W. Massie, M.R.I.A., Salford.
Rev. William M'Kerrow, Manchester.
Rev. Richard Fletcher, Manchester.
Rev. William Bevan, Liverpool.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

This general or executive committee is composed of all the ministers named in the four following

SUB-COMMITTEES.

Sub-committee of Resolutions, to prepare propositions, motions, addresses, &c. :—The Revs. Richard Fletcher, Manchester (secretary); Thomas Scales, Leeds; J. Acworth, Bradford, Yorkshire; J. Kelly, Liverpool.

Sub-committee to communicate with gentlemen of the press, to conduct the publication, &c.:—The Revs. J. W. Massie, Manchester (secretary); Dr. Clunie, Manchester; John M'Farlane, Glasgow; Carlisle, London; T. G. Lee, Manchester.

Sub-committee of Documents, Statistics, &c.:—The Revs. W. M'Kerrow, Manchester (secretary); J. Gwyther, ditto; Dr. Pye Exeter; A. Harvey, Glasgow; J. Robertson, Edinburgh; A. Brice Paisley; J. Burder, Stroud; T. Thomas, Pontypool; J. C. Mi Bradford.

Sub-committee of Executive, to whom shall be referred all matters of difficulty arising during the sittings of the conference:—The Rev. J. W. Massie, Manchester (secretary); W. Shuttleworth, J. L. Pr J. Thornton, J. Griffin, Francis Beardsall.

The business was opened by the Rev. T. Adkins, of Southampton, in an address which elicited marked approbation, when the Rev. Dr. Pye Smith followed in a speech which we have already characterized, and to which we cannot too pointedly direct the attention of our readers.

The preliminary arrangements which had been made by the Manchester ministers, and the motives by which they had been actuated, were detailed by the Rev. J. W. Massie, from whose speech we had intended to extract largely, but that the crowded state of our pages forbid.

The afternoon of Tuesday was employed in addresses on the general questions involved in the corn-laws. Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., was admitted as a deputation from the Anti-Corn Law League, and, as counsel for the cause, stated the question to the conference in an eloquent and forcible manner, exposed the injustice and injurious nature of the restrictive laws, which oppress the poor and are driving the country to the eve of ruin. The impression which he produced was a strong conviction of the impolicy and cruelty of all enactments which prevent free trade in the food of the people, and an earnest desire that they should be speedily and entirely abrogated. The Rev. F. Fast, of Birmingham; T. Spencer, of Hinton; J. Sibree, of Coventry; A. Baird, Moderator of the Secession Synod; and ten other ministers from Sussex, Sheffield, Manchester, Forfar, Yorkshire, Wales, Leicester, and Nottingham, delivered to the convention speeches teeming with facts regarding the poor of the most thrilling interest. The feelings of the conference were excited and deeply agitated by disclosures of the poverty and wretchedness which the several speakers, as eye-witnesses, made; not a few were overwhelmed in sorrow, and with tears of sympathy evinced the effect of these disclosures. Toward the close of the sitting it was ascertained that the Earl Ducie was

ient, and when requested by the chairman to address the ference he frankly complied.

I came here,' remarked his Lordship, 'for the purpose of learning, not of teaching. I came to hear from the mouths of those who be supposed to be the best judges, because they have seen most of misery of the laboring population.... I have for many years been opinion, that the corn laws as they exist are extremely oppressive the laboring population, and injurious to every branch of society. I been a monopolist—had I been one of those who had voted for ging an additional price on the bread of the poor man, I am quite that the testimony laid before you to-day by the reverend gentle- who have spoken, would have been enough to persuade me that I been in the wrong; it would have been enough to persuade that I should retract those opinions. But my opinions have been ays those good old-fashioned whig opinions, that that government the best which gave the greatest amount of happiness to the great- number of its subjects. I am satisfied that the present corn laws not acting in that way. Gentlemen, I am aware that discussions the corn laws, and on the general principles of freedom of com- rce, are looked upon by many as a merely political, or rather I uld say an entirely party question. But I look on the question in very different point of view. It is not in my mind a question whe- r Lord Melbourne should preside over the government of the coun- , or whether Sir Robert Peel should preside over its interests; but is a question deeply involving the morality of our population. I lieve that to take an active part in the suppression or alteration of existing corn laws is to do much towards education—towards in- easing morality and the spread of religious instruction throughout e land. These are the motives by which I am guided in the line of nduct which I shall pursue as regards the corn laws; and, although e party with which I shall most probably vote in the house in a few ys will be but small, I shall then see those on whom you may de- nd. It gave me the greatest pleasure to hear the Rev. Mr. Spencer eak in the way he did of Lord Radnor, than whom there is no an to whom the country owes a deeper debt. He, with the Earl itzwilliam, are not actuated by party spirit—their support of the inisterial project is founded on the purest of grounds. I know they el as you all feel—as all the ministers of religion whom I have tened to with so much pleasure to-day—that the happiness, and oral position, and religious instruction of the community, depend uch on the corn law question. As regards what I have heard to-day, ere are many arguments used by the opponents of this question— ough, indeed, in parliament I have heard but two—one of them the llacy regarding wages, and the second, which is equally false, is, that uch land will be thrown out of cultivation if the corn laws be re- aled. Indeed, it was boldly stated, that one-third of the land of is country would be thrown out of cultivation. I have been for any years a practical agriculturist. I have been thrown much amongst em; and although there is a great misapprehension amongst them as

to their real interests, I believe a greater body of practical agriculturists is with us than many suppose. I can only add, from my own experience in agriculture, from my own knowledge, and what I can glean from those whose opinions I consider the best, that so far from an alteration in the present corn laws tending in any way to throw land out of cultivation, the more probable result will be to bring more land into cultivation, and that cultivation, too, of a higher character.'

The proceedings of Wednesday morning were sufficient to mark the growing intensity with which the minds of the members of the conference had entered into the subject. After Mr. Chaplin had taken the chair, Mr. Curtis, from Ohio, was introduced to expound the bearing of the corn laws on the trade and produce of America, and the continuance of slavery in the United States. He discussed the question in a practical and comprehensive manner, and proved that free intercourse between the two nations would be productive of prosperity to both, and calculated to secure continued peace in their intercourse.

It is impossible to survey fully the whole procedure, or analyze the speeches of the various members who followed, proposing or supporting the propositions which had been prepared to be submitted to the conference. The philosophy of free trade, and the history and operation of a restrictive policy, were powerfully and convincingly developed in the addresses of Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Payne, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Berry, Mr. Giles, Dr. Ritchie, Mr. Harvey, and others, who moved or seconded the following propositions:

'1. That this conference, drawn together from various parts of the United Kingdom, having a general conviction of the existence of long-continued and still increasing distress affecting the community at large, and bearing with peculiar severity on the industrious classes, finds this conviction deeply confirmed by various statements and documentary evidence now laid before them, which clearly proves that vast numbers are incapable of obtaining by their labor a sufficiency of the common necessaries of life for themselves and their families.'

'2. That, in the judgment of this conference, the prevailing distress painfully tends to arrest the progress of education, to prevent the exercise of domestic and social affections, to induce reckless and immoral habits, to prevent attendance on religious worship, and to harden the heart against religious impressions.'

'3. That, influenced at once by feelings of sympathy for the suffering poor, with whom their official duties bring them into daily contact, and by a deep interest in the success of the religion whereof they are ministers, this conference feels itself only acting from a strong sense of duty in examining into the causes of the existing distress, and even the example of our Saviour himself, in employing its utmost influence to alleviate or improve it,'

'4. That, in the face of the facts which have come under their

a their own respective neighborhoods, no less than by state-
id before them, the ministers composing this conference cannot
e painful conviction that much of the wide-spread distress of
ent time is attributable to provision laws, inasmuch as they
supply, and thereby enhancing the cost of the common neces-
life, fetter industry, repress enterprise, divert the legitimate
ent of capital, and spread discontent and heart-burning
the land.

That, believing that the laws of Almighty God, as revealed
ord, ought to be the laws of human action, and that any de-
from them, either in individual conduct or in the affairs of
must excite his displeasure; and believing that the monopoly
is anti-christian in principle, this conference will seek the re-
the provision laws, and more especially deprecates their con-
as a great national offence against that Being by whom kings
d princes decree justice.

That the laws which restrict the importation of the prime neces-
life are, in the judgment of this conference, essentially and
ly unjust, and operate with peculiar hardship on the operative
by at once limiting the market for the disposal of the fruits of
or, and raising the price of food, when they are least able to
it.

That, in the undeniable fact of the reciprocal dependance of the
anches of the human family, this conference, recognising the
e provision of the all-wise beneficient Creator for securing
ividual happiness, maintaining their peaceful intercourse, and
g their collective welfare, in consequence feels itself solemnly
declare its uncompromising hostility to those legislative enact-
which prevent the ever-increasing population of this country
changing the products of their manufacturing industry and
ich they are especially enabled to proffer, for the food which
much need, and which other countries are so well able and
ious to give in return for them.

That no effectual relief can be supplied, either by parochial
nts, or the benefactions of private or associated charity; that
ssary remedy for the existing distress is full employment and
e remuneration; and that it is in vain to hope to alleviate the
classes from their present depression, so long as the existing
of provision laws continues to interpose between the bounty of
the necessities of his creatures.

That this conference, deeply interested in the maintenance of
ous benevolent and religious institutions which exist in our
, and which depend for their support on the general prosperity
mmunity, is penetrated with the conviction that the resources of
those institutions have been already materially affected by the
g distress; and fears that, unless that distress be speedily and
ly alleviated, christians, instead of enlarging, must contract
ere of benevolence.'

are the deliberate conclusions which after mature coun-

sel and grave discussion, the conference recognised as the basis of their subsequent proceedings. The principles embodied in these resolutions were clearly and fully established by arguments and facts which precluded all diversity of opinion, and commanded the unanimous concurrence of the conference. The day was well spent on which these great truths were affirmed by the representatives of fifteen hundred churches, to be promulgated to the nation as the testimony of religion against the impious laws which nullify the provision of a merciful Creator, and subject large bodies of human beings to penury and wretchedness.

Not less important was the third day for its proceedings. A deputation of intelligent mechanics, the representatives of skilled labor in every town of the kingdom, was admitted to convey their judgment of the system which taxes food, and obstructs the commerce by which labor is rewarded, and the poor are enabled to provide for their wants. A link of connexion was thus formed between the teachers of religion and the men on whom devolves the conduct of our manufactures, from which the happiest results may be anticipated. With the existence of reciprocal confidence between such portions of the community we may count on energy and co-operation. The case of the handloom weavers was introduced by three of their number; their address was appropriate, and their appearance, destitute of all stage effect, told on the conference with great power. Instead of cheers many tearful eyes saluted the humble sufferers, and showed them the sympathy of the conference. Facts were elicited by a *viva voce* examination of the delegates, which amply confirmed the darkest representations which had been given of the abject distress of the working classes. The full report of this inquiry should be put into the hand of every senator, and circulated by every Anti-Corn Law Association. Lord Ducie, who was present, confessed that he had never before understood the operation of corn laws in reference to spiritual things. So startled was this nobleman, that on the following day he instituted a close and personal inquiry into the representations made, and found them more than verified by respectable manufacturers of the town.

Two other deputations were admitted to the conference, and by their communications served to connect its proceedings with the feelings and views of the productive classes. The Operative Anti-Corn Law Association were allowed to address the conference by a deputation. Their delegates conducted themselves not only with propriety, but so as to add to the impulse of the movement, and to increase their own efficiency and importance. The impression of their written memorial, and of the speech of one of their members, was such as to give courage to the operatives in their prospective engagements. The council of the Anti-Corn Law League

applied for an audience of the conference, and were introduced to the platform. Sir T. Potter and several aldermen of Manchester, with the treasurer, chairman, and other members of the council, appeared as representatives of the league, and having appointed R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., to read their address, remained to testify their deep interest, till the close of the proceedings. Mr. Cobden again spoke on the question of free trade, and dispelled the delusions and sophistry employed by monopolists in defence of their system.

The conference was as anxious to ascertain the exact operation of monopoly in the agricultural districts as in the manufacturing towns, and nearly two full days were devoted to statements from the one as well as the other. There was no apprehension felt that the farmer's laborers found an elysium when bread was dear, or that their wages rose in proportion to the rise of provisions, any more than that the condition of the manufacturing population was not painfully distressing and aggravated in proportion as the price of food was increased and the supply of labor diminished. The whole relation and bearing of the investigation, whether affecting the farmer or his laborer, the production at home or the markets abroad, were deliberately canvassed and examined. Speechifying was not the aim of the members. They had come together on the most momentous subject which could engage their thoughts.

The value of this movement is not to be measured alone by the momentary, and, as some may imagine, the evanescent impression of the conference in convention. The subject has, indeed, been thus prominently brought before the whole country. The journals of every party and every district prove that public attention has been roused and riveted to the consideration of monopoly in food. The tide which rolled on toward Manchester, as the seat of deliberation, has already turned towards the distant regions from which the delegates had come, and the minds of men have been engaged in contemplating the object for which the convocation was called. But added to all this, evidence the most authentic and searching has been placed in the hands of the gentlemen who originated the undertaking, and we are glad to understand that it is already in process of publication, in such a form as to come within the reach, not only of every member of the conference, but of every benevolent person who wishes to promote the success of the inquiry. A condensed and well digested report of the documents and statements which were laid before the convention, will greatly facilitate the object of its sittings. But this report will only extend the knowledge which is already partially and locally possessed. The appalling state of the people has been

laid bare to the apprehension of selfish monopolists. They tremble at the exposure. Mr. Gisborne alluded to these parties when he said—

'It is true, that we are here all agitators together, and our agitation has been denounced in very high places,—at least by those who we expect will be in very high places speedily,—for I have heard men who are expected to be high in office in a short time, state that it was inexcusable to excite the people on the subject of their food. Dry bread, then, is so exciting a subject to the British people, that it must not be mentioned amongst you.—You must not even suggest to the people of England, that any course of legislation can take place under which they should have a sufficient supply of dry bread. I dare say you may tell the working people about such things as stamps and conveyances on real property; but to suggest to them that under any system of legislation they and their families should have a sufficiency of bread for their support; and those who venture to do so, this conference, and the Anti-Corn Law League are denounced altogether, as unprincipled agitators, because they bring this subject before the British public.'

But we must have a regard to others: the suffering and discontented may learn hence a fearful truth—not only that there are others who, like themselves, are discontented, and are well nigh driven mad by oppression—but also that the sober and observant apprehend danger, while the oppressors of the people are quaking for the consequences of their unjust legislation. In this view of the matter, we say it becomes the men of peace, who love their country and dread the convulsions which have deluged other lands, to come forward promptly and prove their patriotism and their virtue, by seeking to stem the rising torrent. It is no longer optional whether measures of relief shall be devised. We say deliberately, the proceedings of the conference not only render it necessary that expression be given to opinion, but imperative necessity requires that something *be immediately done*. A solemn and fearful responsibility rests upon the men who attempt to stifle the inquiry or to suppress the information which has now been accumulated. Political spendthrifts must be reminded of the days when Parisian *sans-culottes* took merciless retribution on the men who had famished their country and trafficked in human misery. If any will be so mad as to attempt to set aside the just and necessary conclusions which facts have forced upon the ministers of religion, they may find, when it is too late, that the altar is no refuge and the throne no sanctuary.

The duty which devolves on ministers of religion is plain. No delay must be permitted. The christian church must be aroused to exert every legitimate and moral influence for our country's good. The proposition to set apart the sixth of September as a day of humiliation, prayer, and fasting is admirable, and will, we hope, be extensively observed in every town and

congregation. Let the monopolists witness the church of God in prostrate supplication, as Moses was when he fell down before the Lord. Let this be the first great act with which to introduce an administration formed to oppress and famish the people. But, moreover, let every separate congregation come before the parliament and the queen. Let every minister, as the leader of his people, and every head of a family, as a citizen and patriot, separately and apart petition the legislature for an utter and immediate abrogation of every statute which robs the poor, curses the land, and dishonors the God whom we profess to serve. Now is the day of deliverance or of retribution.

NOTE ON ART. III. IN THE AUGUST ECLECTIC.

We readily insert the following communication from our esteemed friend the Rev. W. L. Alexander, of Edinburgh, and in doing so beg respectfully to assure him that nothing was further from our intention than 'to insinuate a charge of plagiarism' against him. To all who have the pleasure of Mr. Alexander's acquaintance such a charge would appear simply ridiculous, while the mental independence and original thinking, which his volume evidences, would stamp it with a character of dishonesty abhorrent to our minds.

'*To the Editor of the Eclectic Review.*

Edinburgh, August 18, 1841.

'My dear Sir.

'In the review of my 'Lectures on the Connexion and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments,' with which you have favored me in your number for this month (and for the very friendly character of which I am bound to express my deep obligations), you express an opinion to the effect that lectures iv., v., vi., and vii. in that volume are little more than a *waste* of effort on my part, 'especially after the immortal work of Dr. Pye Smith on the 'Testimony of the Scriptures to the Messiah.''

'I fear that the effect of this remark upon those of your readers who have not perused my lectures will be, to lead them to believe that in the part of the work specified I have done nothing more or else than follow my honored and truly learned friend and predecessor, Dr. Smith. As this is very far from being the case, I trust you will allow me (the question being one not of *opinion* as to the value of my statements, but of *fact* as to the contents of my volume) to place before you some of the leading features of difference between the truly 'immortal work of Dr. Smith' and my own. These I shall class under two heads, as follows:

'I. Subjects largely considered, and passages of Scripture relating

to the Messiah, commented on in the *lectures*, but not in the *Scripture Testimony*.

'Ages of prophecy, with their characteristic peculiarities

'Criteria of the Messianic Prophecies.

'Theory of Accommodation.

'Peculiarities of the Prophetic Style.

'[The three preceding subjects are noticed by Dr. Smith, but only in a brief and incidental manner.]

'Gen. ix. 26, 27; xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18. Ps. xxii.; lxxii. Isa. lii. 13; liii. 12. Ezek. xxxiv. 23—27; xxxvii. 1—28. Dan. ix. 24—27. Hos. i. 10. Amos ix. 11, 12. Joel ii. 28—32. Acts xv. 14—17. 1 Pet. i. 19—21.

'II. Messianic Prophecies translated or explained differently in the *Lectures* and in the *Scripture Testimony*.

'Gen. iii. 15; xlix. 8—12. 2 Sam. vii. 18, 19; xxiii. 2—5. Job xix. 25; xxxiii. 23—28. Ps. xl. cx. Isa. vii. 14—16.

'From these lists it will be seen that the differences between Dr. Smith and me relate to some of the most important parts of the Old Testament prophecies of the Messiah. Many of the passages of most importance to my subject did not come within that of Dr. Smith, and are consequently omitted by him; e. g., Gen. xii. 3. Ps. xxii. lxxii. Isa. liii., &c. In those cases in which I have differed from Dr. Smith in the translation or explanation of a passage, I have always done so with diffidence, and it would not surprise me to find it shown by my critics that where I have thus differed, I have erred. To be told this, however, is very different from being told that I have so slavishly followed Dr. Smith as to have only *wasted* my time in writing four out of the eight lectures of which my volume is composed.

'As I am sure, from the whole tone of the article in the Eclectic, of the friendly feeling of the writer of it towards myself, I feel confident that he will not take ill this attempt to set him right in the matter to which this communication relates. Had his remark not seemed to me to insinuate a charge of plagiarism, or at least of unnecessarily traversing ground that had been already appropriated, I should not have presumed to call it in question.

'I remain, my dear Sir,

'Yours very truly,

'W. Lindsay Alexander.'

Brief Notices.

The True Church Viewed in Contrast with Modern High-Churchism. By Thomas Finch.

Would that all controversies were conducted in the spirit and with the ability which Mr. Finch has displayed in this his masterly refutation of Puseyism and its cognate heresies. We admire his modesty and christian temper; while it is impossible on scriptural grounds to

resist the cogency of his arguments. The author states his object in a few words, namely, 'to take a general view of the true church of Christ according to the New Testament, in contrast with the anti-christian character and tendency of certain high-church principles now so zealously avowed and maintained.' This he has succeeded in accomplishing in a very able discussion of the following topics:—the Theory of Modern High-Churchism—the Church of the New Testament—the Exclusive Pretensions of the English Church—the Conscientiousness of Protestant Dissenters—the Aversion of High-Churchmen to Protestantism—the Authority and Traditions of the Nicene Church—the Efficacy of Christian Sacraments—the Exercise of Charity in cases of Heresy and Schism—the Unity and Prosperity of the Christian Church—the Political Influence of High Church Principles—the Present Duties and Prospects of the true Church.

Among the antagonists of the modern heresy Mr. Finch's principles, as a Protestant and a dissenter, have placed him on the highest vantage ground. His unpretending volume deserves the widest circulation.

The Widow directed to the Widow's God. By John Angell James. 12mo. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. Birmingham: B. Hudson. 1841.

This little work supplies a want which has existed too long. We have 'Guides' and 'Counsels' to all kinds of persons, and almost to every variety of character. But until the present moment, no suitable help had been extended to the disconsolate widow. Mr. James has accomplished a task for which the cast of his mind, and his extended and varied experience, admirably qualify him. The work is divided into three parts. First. Sympathy, submission, instruction, consolation, confidence, benefits of affliction. Second. Scriptural biography of widows. Third. Letters to and from widows. Some of these topics are suitable to *all* cases of affliction; but Mr. James has managed to give many of them a special application to his particular object, with singular ability; and we wish he had done so with all. He has wisely restrained his fancy in the second part, and told the narrative, and brought out the instruction they are designed to convey, in a very natural and interesting manner. Of the 'letters,' we were much struck with that of Mrs. Lewis, giving her widowed mother an account of her own husband's death, and her own feelings and views under the bereavement. It is very beautiful, and full of interest and pathos. Most of the others, as that of Howe to Lady Russell, are too well known to require a remark.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Shortly will be published, under the authority of the Executors, by Hamilton, Adams, and Co., Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the late Mr. William Dawson. By James Everett.

Just Published.

Homilies for the Times; or, Rome and her New Allies: a Plea for the Reformation. By the Rev. John Morison, D.D. This work, which has been delayed by the indisposition of the author, is now with the booksellers.

A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians. By James Ferguson, Minister at Kilwinning. Ward's Standard Divinity.

The True Church, viewed in contrast with Modern High-Churchism. By Thomas Finch.

The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell. By Robert Philip.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Edited by Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Part VII.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part 16.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated. Part VII.

The Hall of Vision, a View of Principles; a Poem in three books: with Minor Poems. By William Leask. Second Edition.

A Practical English Grammar. By Edward Walter Wickes. A new edition.

The Christian Church, a New Tract for the Times. By Samuel Davis, Needham Market. Second Thousand.

Scriptural Illustration of the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh verses of the First Chapter of Genesis, or the Purpose of Christ's Incarnation declared before the Creation of the first Adam. Addressed to MAN, by a Layman of the Established Church.

The Goodness of Divine Providence Explained and Illustrated. By Robert Maxwell Macbrair.

A Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers in the Decision of Controversies existing at this day in Religion. By John Daillé, Minister of the Reformed Church of Paris. Translated from the French and revised by the Rev. T. Smith, M.A. Now re-edited and amended, with a Preface, by Rev. G. Jekyll, LL.B.

Solitude recommended to the Christian Minister. A Sermon preached before the Clergy of Lausanne and Vevay, May 22, 1839. By the Rev. A. Vinet, Professor of Theology in the University of Lausanne. Translated from the second edition, by Augustus Taylor, B.A.

Amenities of Literature, consisting of Sketches and Characters of English Literature. By I. D'Israeli. In three vols.

The North American Review. No. CXII. July, 1841.

The Domestic Dictionary and Housekeeper's Manual. Edited by Gibbons Merle.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. Julius Cæsar.

The Critic in Parliament and in Public since 1835.

Select Poetry for Children; with brief Explanatory Notes. Arranged for the use of Schools and Families. By Joseph Payne.

Sermons by the late Rev. Luke Forster, with a Sketch of his Life by the Rev. John Ely.

Essays by R. W. Emerson, of Concord, Massachusetts; with a Preface by Thomas Carlyle.

Memoir of Mrs. W. W. Duncan (Mary Lundie); being Recollections of a Daughter by her Mother.

Scripture Knowledge for Children, in Questions and Answers. By W. F. Lloyd.

Counsel for the Times; an Address to the Students of Airedale College. By Thomas Scales, of Leeds.

Philosophic Nuts. By Edward Johnson. No. 8.

The Security of Believers; a Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. John Dyer. By Edward Steane. To which is added the Oration at the Grave, by the Rev. Dr. Cox.

The Animals' Friend. No. IX.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR OCTOBER, 1841.

Art. I. *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa; a Journal of Travels in the year* 1838, by E. ROBINSON and E. SMITH, *undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. Drawn up from the original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations.* By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, &c. *With new maps and plans in five sheets.* Three vols. 8vo. London: John Murray. 1841.

GOD has imprinted upon the constitution of society in eastern countries indelible marks of the truth of those sacred records which are given for the salvation of men. With a pen of iron he has written on its frame-work a standing memorial of events the greatest which the world has ever been privileged to witness. The shifting aspect of migratory hordes has not swept away customs and modes of life once prevalent in Arabia and Palestine; for the same features and habits which characterized the patriarchal times, or the later days of our Saviour's incarnation, still continue in unbroken succession. The wildness of scenery and the vagrancy of lawless tribes have not served to efface the permanent lineaments of antiquity; but the overruling providence of God has preserved in customs and ceremonies unvarying traces of his presence and power. In this respect the nations of the west present a remarkable contrast to oriental countries. Here perpetual changes are constantly taking place, from discoveries in the arts, the cultivation of the sciences, and the progression of the human mind towards the full measure of its maturity. Were our simple

ancestors, therefore, to revisit their descendants of the third or fourth generation, they would marvel at habits of life so unlike their own; and the rapid effects of civilization around would fill them with no less wonder. But in the east, centuries roll on, presenting the same unvarying occupations and manners. Rural pictures, and domestic scenes, appear to the eye in unchanging succession; forms of salutation descend from father to son, and are preserved as faithfully, as are the parting counsels of pious parents in the bosoms of their dutiful offspring. Thus the Bible is not left without a continued testimony to its truth; for wherever travellers have penetrated eastward, especially in the localities mentioned by Scripture, they find distinct marks of its faithful portraiture; and however carelessly they may have read its inspired pages before, they are compelled to admit that the seal of truth is visibly enstamped on the unadorned simplicity of every narrative.

The *interpretation* of the Bible has not been so much benefited by the collation of eastern customs as many believe. Hence its importance as an auxiliary to the right understanding of the word of God has been occasionally overrated. It serves, however, to deepen our impressions of Scripture scenes, by enabling us to transport ourselves more easily into mountains and valleys where the saints of God walked, and the Almighty himself descended in awful majesty, or spake in approving accents. This, indeed, falls far short of the vivid enjoyment of such as visit in person the very spots where events of mightiest moment occurred. To them the living associations are doubly present. It is their enviable lot to behold, with their own eyes, places of which they had often read, and around which so many of their holiest ideas had gathered since the sunny hours of childhood. It is theirs to traverse barren sands and rocky eminences consecrated in the memory of believers by the wanderings of faithful servants of the Most High; to survey the resting-place where the checkered story of their earthly pilgrimage ended; and to indulge melancholy musings amid the desolations of temples and cities once hallowed by the presence of the excellent of the earth. They look upon the plains where the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob tarried with their flocks; their feet stand within the gates of Jerusalem, 'the joy of 'the whole earth;' they visit the wilderness where the son of Jesse hid from the face of his persecutor; or survey the bleak mountains on which Saul and Jonathan fell together. But high as is the satisfaction of treading mountains and plains where saints celebrated in sacred records once lived, far higher must be the thrilling interest excited by a survey of the land where a greater than they sojourned. Jesus himself was born in Judea—in it he performed his miracles—its towns and villages were blessed

with the gracious words that proceeded from his lips; its lone places witnessed the fervent prayers of the divine suppliant; but chiefly the city of the great King was hallowed by his presence, though doomed to destruction by the infatuation of his enemies. Scripture scenes of sadness and of joy, and events of solemn grandeur or of softer benevolence, the christian traveller alone can adequately realize, as he muses upon them with the Bible in his hand, perusing the narrative on the spot to which it refers. But for those whose eyes have never looked upon the glorious mountains and rugged landscapes of Arabia and Judea, it is left to follow the descriptions of intelligent eye-witnesses, contented to gaze upon the faint shadow which flits across the field of their vision, even whilst suppressing an intense longing to survey for themselves such sacred localities as the Spirit of God has condescended to embalm in the living shrine of the heart. The stranger, indeed, has defiled splendid monuments erected by the piety of kings and nobles, treading down their glory in the dust; but the wilderness and the desert remain—temples and towers, of which the book of God tells, have fallen beneath the ravages of time and the assaults of fierce barbarians; but the very spots on which prophets and apostles stood are dear to the bosom of the believer; yea thrice precious is the remembrance of Immanuel, *God with us.* Our wonder therefore is, that the number of travellers in Palestine and the adjacent countries is not much greater. If men actuated by the mere love of gain can cross the burning sands, and endure the inhospitable clime of India; shall it be said of the christian, that he is touched by no enthusiasm of a higher cast to look upon Nazareth, and Bethlehem, and Tiberias, and Jerusalem, from which salvation has gone forth throughout the earth to gladden the millions of its perishing population with a holy joy?

The object of Dr. Robinson was not to illustrate the Scriptures by collecting and recording eastern manners, but chiefly to contribute to the advancement of biblical geography. He was not prompted by a curiosity which loves the romance of visiting strange lands; but rather by a desire to gaze upon localities with which the Bible had taught him to associate mighty and marvellous revelations. Some journey afar to advance the interests of science—to ascertain the natural productions and features of distant provinces—to explore their geological formation, or to measure their elevations. But our author was urged onward by other motives. He wished to throw light upon the Scriptures—to identify ancient cities and towns with their existing remains—to mark the stations and fountains at which the people of God are said to have halted, or where they may have sojourned for a time. Such was the main object of

his undertaking, which all will admit to be highly laudable in a christian traveller, and adapted, if successfully carried out, to benefit the student of the Bible. The circumstances under which he set forth augured well for his intended researches. He had a most intelligent companion, Mr. Smith, once his pupil, accustomed to oriental life, and well acquainted with the northern parts of Palestine. Thus he needed not an interpreter; as Mr. Smith was familiar with the Arabic language, and could freely converse with the native population in their vernacular tongue. The American missionary, like his former preceptor, was alive to the importance of biblical knowledge, and to the interest of Scripture scenes. The keeping of a journal was to him no new thing; nor the necessity of minute attention to names now corrupted, and the usual changes of letters in the Semitic languages. Thus Dr. Robinson was most fortunate in a fellow traveller who had already passed through interesting localities, looking upon them with the eye of a christian missionary and a biblical scholar. He had made, besides, diligent preparation for travelling, by reading such works as were most likely to guide his researches and to suggest topics for new investigation By a diligent perusal of books he had learned to look for the sites of towns famed, and of roads once frequented, not far from the actual localities in which they were afterwards discovered. He had perused the accounts of Idumea, Mount Sinai, and Palestine given by the best travellers. The dangers of the way he knew to be few compared with what they once were. The terror of Egyptian power had removed the difficulties which once obstructed the enterprise of travellers, and exposed them to imminent danger from the fierce Arabs of the desert. A highway had been opened up from Cairo to Damascus throughout the length of the land once promised to the fathers; and single travellers, no less than caravans, could pass along it with little hazard. Thus furnished and favored, he entered on his undertaking with auspices obviously propitious, equally prepared to endure its toils and expecting to relish its enjoyments. It was, therefore, right in the literary world to look for something new in the record of journeyings which so many circumstances conspired to prosper. While former travellers had passed by various interesting places without examination, or but slightly noticed them; it was natural to suppose that one unusually accomplished for the task of investigation would pour much light upon unknown topics.

The first section of the work may be regarded as introductory, containing a brief acount of the author's short sojourn in Greece and Egypt, previously to his setting out on the great desert. At Cairo he was joined by Mr. Smith; and in the

second section they proceed from this city to Suez, and thence to Mount Sinai. Here commences that minute description of mountains, wadys, plains, and rocks which pervades the body of the work. The form of a journal recording each day's progress, including the phenomena and incidents by which it was characterized, is generally preserved. The biblical narrative is every where collated, as far as it has any connexion with their route; and the notices existing in the writings of uninspired men are also collected in chronological order, from the earliest period until the present time.

On Monday, March 12th, 1838, they departed from Cairo towards Suez, taking the Derb el-'Ankebîyeh, travelled by Burckhardt in 1816. Having arrived at the latter place, their attention was naturally directed to the passage of the Israelites across the Red Sea. Several paragraphs are accordingly subjoined respecting the land of Goshen, the probable route of the Israelites on leaving Egypt, and the place of their miraculous passage. The information obtained by them from living sources went to support the view generally taken of the situation of Goshen, viz. that it coincides with the modern province esh-Shurkîyeh, lying along the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, on the east of the Delta. Hence the direct route of the people was along the valley of the ancient canal. The passage of the Red Sea is thus described and discussed.

'The question here has respect to the part of the sea where the passage took place. This many writers and travellers have assumed to be the point at the mouth of Wady Tawârik, south of Râs 'Atâkah; principally, perhaps, because it was supposed that the Israelites passed down that valley. But according to the preceding views this could not well have taken place; and therefore if they crossed at that point they must first have passed down around Râs 'Atâkah, and encamped in the plain at the mouth of the valley. The discussion of this question has often been embarrassed by not sufficiently attending to the circumstances narrated by the sacred historian; which are in the main points the following. The Israelites, hemmed in on all sides—on their left and in front the sea, on their right Jebel 'Atâkah, and behind them the Egyptians, began to despair of escape, and to murmur against Moses. The Lord now directed Moses to stretch out his rod over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to flow (Heb. *go*) by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry; and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry (ground); and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left. The Egyptians pursued, and went in after them; and in the morning watch the Lord troubled the host of the Egyptians. And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared, and the Egyptians fled against it; and the waters returned and covered all the host of Pharaoh.

'In this narration there are two main points on which the whole question may be said to turn. The first is, *the means* or instrument with which the miracle was wrought. The Lord, it is said, caused the sea to go (or flow out) *by a strong east wind.* The miracle, therefore, is represented as mediate; not a direct suspension of or interference with the laws of nature, but a miraculous adaptation of those laws to produce a required result. It was wrought by natural means supernaturally applied. For this reason we are here entitled to look only for the natural effects arising from the operation of such a cause. In the somewhat indefinite phraseology of the Hebrew, an east wind means any wind from the eastern quarter; and would include the north-east wind, which often prevails in this region. Now it will be obvious from the inspection of any good map of the gulf (especially Niebuhr's Tab. xxiv. in his Beschreibung von Arabien), that a strong north-east wind acting here upon the ebb tide, would necessarily have the effect to drive out the waters from the small arm of the sea which runs up by Suez, and also from the end of the gulf itself leaving the shallower portions dry; while the more northern part of the arm, which was anciently broader and deeper than at present, would still remain covered with water. Thus the waters would be divided, and be a wall (or defence) to the Israelites on the right hand and on the left. Nor will it be less obvious, from a similar inspection, that in no other part of the whole gulf would a north-east wind act in the same manner to drive out the waters. On this ground, then, the hypothesis of a passage through the sea opposite to Wady Tawârik would be untenable.

'The second main point has respect to the interval of *time* during which the passage was effected. It was night; for the Lord caused the sea to go (out) 'all night;' and when the morning appeared it had already returned in its strength, for the Egyptians were overwhelmed in the morning watch. If, then, as is most probable, the wind thus miraculously sent acted upon the ebb tide to drive out the waters during the night to a far greater extent than usual, we still cannot assume that this extraordinary ebb, thus brought about by natural means, would continue more than three or four hours at the most. The Israelites were probably on the alert, and entered upon the passage as soon as the way was practicable; but as the wind must have acted for some time before the required effect could be produced, we cannot well assume that they set off before the middle watch, or towards midnight. Before the morning watch, or two o'clock, they had probably completed the passage; for the Egyptians had entered after them, and were destroyed before the morning appeared. As the Israelites numbered more than two millions of persons, besides flocks and herds, they would of course be able to pass but slowly. If the part left dry were broad enough to enable them to cross in a body one thousand abreast, which would require a space of more than half a mile in breadth (and is perhaps the largest supposition admissible), still the column would be more than two thousand persons in depth; and in all probability could not have extended less than two miles. It would then have occupied at least an hour in passing over its own

length, or in entering the sea; and deducting this from the largest time intervening before the Egyptians must also have entered the sea, there will remain only time enough under the circumstances for the body of the Israelites to have passed at the most over a space of three or four miles. This circumstance is fatal to the hypothesis of their having crossed from Wady Tawârik; since the breadth of the sea at that point, according to Niebuhr's measurement, is three German or twelve geographical miles, equal to a whole day's journey.

'All the preceding considerations tend conclusively to limit the place of passage to the neighborhood of Suez. The part left dry might have been within the arm which sets up from the gulf, which is now two-thirds of a mile wide in its narrowest part, and was probably once wider; or it might have been to the southward of this arm, where the broad shoals are still left bare at the ebb, and the channel is sometimes forded. If similar shoals might be supposed to have anciently existed in this part, the latter supposition would be the most probable. The Israelites would then naturally have crossed from the shore west of Suez in an oblique direction, a distance of three or four miles from shore to shore. In this case there is room for all the conditions of the miracle to be amply satisfied. To the former supposition, that the passage took place through the arm of the gulf above Suez, it is sometimes objected that there could not be in that part space and depth enough of water to cause the destruction of the Egyptians in the manner related. It must, however, be remembered that this arm was anciently both wider and deeper; and also, that the sea in its reflux would not only return with the usual power of the flood tide, but with a far greater force and depth, in consequence of having been thus extraordinarily driven out by a north-east wind. It would seem, moreover, to be implied in the triumphal song of Moses on this occasion, that on the return of the sea the wind was also changed, and acted to drive in the flood upon the Egyptians. Even now caravans never cross the flood above Suez; and it is considered dangerous except at quite low water.

'Our own observation on the spot led both my companion and myself to incline to the other supposition, that the passage took place across shoals adjacent to Suez, on the south and south-west. But among the many changes which have occurred here in the lapse of ages, it is of course impossible to decide with certainty as to the precise spot; nor is this necessary. Either of the above suppositions satisfies the conditions of the case; on either, the deliverance of the Israelites was equally great, and the arm of Jehovah alike gloriously revealed.'

—Vol. i. pp. 81—86.

The same view, for substance, derived from Niebuhr's map and description of the Red Sea in the vicinity of Suez, was given by Dr. Robinson in the Biblical Repository, several years before he visited the east in person. But it is perplexed and obscure. In order, apparently, to save the exertion of superfluous power on the part of Jehovah, natural means are urged to account for more than they are adequate to effect. It is

laudable to preserve the interpretation of the text from gratuitous miracles: but however desirable, it ought not to be attempted at the expense of perspicuity or probability. A strong east or north-east wind, miraculously sent, is supposed to have produced, in conjunction with an ebb tide, so great a change in the arm of the gulf as to allow the Israelites to pass over in dry ground. Possibly the waters immediately south of the place of crossing might thus have been a wall to them on their right hand, but it is stated at the same time, that 'the 'waters were a wall unto them on their right hand *and on their* 'left.' As to the time of night at which the people entered upon the passage, it is idle to attempt to discover it; neither can it be well determined how long time would be spent in the actual crossing, unless the breadth of the strait where the passage took place, and its present equality to the ancient dimensions were certainly ascertained. It is highly probable, however, that the sand drifted by the currents has made great changes, in the course of so many centuries, upon the locality; so that it is much shallower now than in the time of Moses. To attempt to explain the mode in which God miraculously effected the Exodus is equally vain and preposterous. The north-east wind combined with the ebbing of the tide leaves the matter obscure; unless it could be proved that the waters immediately adjoining the place northwards occupied a much deeper channel than itself. This, indeed, is *assumed* by our author, without sufficient authority. Even with the aid of Niebuhr's plan, and the explanation of our author founded upon it, we are unable to perceive how the strong east wind in connexion with the ebbing tide can satisfy the requirements of the text, without a miraculous influence over and above such natural causes, and producing, along with their agency, effects which they could not have exhibited by themselves. In short, the dividing of the waters was miraculous in addition to the blowing of the wind upon the ebb tide. To *economize* the miracle, Dr. Robinson has resorted to gratuitous conjecture, which injures the simplicity of the narrative. It is, therefore, preferable to abide by the belief of a continuous exertion of miraculous influence throughout the entire process, rather than represent the Omnipotent as ceasing to act, after calling into operation agents inadequate to the specified results.

From Suez they went by the usual route to Sinai, and lodged in the convent for a few days. Here they visited Jebel Mûsa, Jebel Kâtherîn, Horeb, and all the spots to which Frank travellers are attracted. The description given of these places confirms the opinion of Carne, that it was neither on the summit of Mûsa nor Kâtherîn that the law was promulgated. There is no place near to them where the camp of the host

could have been placed. The only position which the Israelites could have occupied before the mount, is the plain er-Râhah before Horeb; showing that Horeb was most probably the very eminence on which Jehovah descended with terrible majesty. In regard to the Sinaitic inscriptions, so numerous in the sides of the rocks, a very interesting account is given of the results at which Professor Beer of Leipzig, their first decipherer, has arrived. Whether the work he had prepared concerning them was published before his lamented death, news of which lately reached this country, we are unable to tell; but an outline of his original investigations was communicated by himself to Dr. Robinson; and is given in the appendix. Leaving the convent, they went to the shore of the Gulf of Akaba at 'Ain-en-Nuweibi'a; and followed the same route as Burckhardt, but with better fortune, till they came to 'Akaba.

On Thursday, April 5th, our travellers set out from 'Akaba, and took the wilderness towards Beersheba and Jerusalem. On the 12th of April they arrived at the former place, and passing through Hebron reached Jerusalem on the 14th. Here they took up their abode in the house of the Rev. Mr. Lanneau, an American missionary, with whom they lodged during their stay in the city. Dr. Robinson thus expresses the emotions he felt on approaching the holy city.

'The feelings of a christian traveller, on approaching Jerusalem, can be better conceived than described. Mine were strongly excited. Before us, as we drew near, lay Zion, the mount of Olives, the vales of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, and other objects of the deepest interest; while crowning the summits of the same ancient hills was spread out the city where God of old had dwelt, and where the Saviour of the world had lived, and taught, and died. From the earliest childhood I had read of and studied the localities of this sacred spot; now I beheld them with my own eyes, and they all seemed familiar to me, as if the realization of a former dream. I seemed to be again among cherished scenes of childhood, long unvisited indeed, but distinctly recollected; and it was almost a painful interruption when my companion (who had been here before) began to point out and name the various objects in view.

'At length 'our feet stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem!—Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces!' '—Ib. p. 326.

They spent several weeks in examining the antiquities and topography of the place, occasionally aided by their countrymen who had resided in it for a time. Having minutely investigated its various parts, they made several excursions from it to places of interest throughout the land, always returning to head-quarters by a different route. These tours are described according to the progress and occurrences of each day. The

first was made northward as far as Bethel; in the course of which they visited Jeba (Gibeah of Benjamin), Ramah, Gibeon, and other spots marked in the Bible as having been once occupied by towns. Their next excursion was one which might have alarmed more timid travellers, though it excited in their minds surpassing interest, and yielded a valuable contribution to the physical geography of Palestine. It was on the 8th of May that they set out from Jerusalem for the western coast of the Dead Sea. They travelled through Bethlehem, examined the Frank Mountain, and so on southward as far as Kurmul (Carmel); whence they turned eastward, through the wilderness of Engedi, till they arrived at the brow of the remarkable pass of 'Ain Jidy. Here, for the first time, they had a fine prospect of the sea lying in sluggish calmness beneath. The descent of the pass is thus described, together with the fountain itself.

'We remained on the cliff (overhanging 'Ain Jidy and the sea) until three quarters past two o'clock, and then began to work our way down the terrific pass. This was no easy labor. The path descends by zig-zags, often at the steepest angle practicable for horses, and is carried partly along ledges or shelves on the perpendicular face of the cliff, and then down the almost equally steep debris. Much of the rock is a compact reddish or rose-colored limestone, like the baptismal font at Tekoah; smooth as glass, yet with an irregular surface. Looking back upon this part from below, it seemed utterly impossible that any road could exist there; yet by a skilful application of zig-zags the path is actually carried down without any insuperable difficulties; so that even loaded camels often pass up and down. Some few spots are very bad, because not kept in repair. Indeed, there is very little of art about it; in a few places only is the way rudely built up, and the stones removed from the track. In one part not long ago, a Bedawy woman fell off and was killed: when picked up she was found to have brought forth a child. My companion had crossed the heights of Lebanon and the mountains of Persia; and I had formerly traversed the whole of the Swiss Alps; yet neither of us had ever met with a pass so difficult and dangerous. Of those which I had seen, that of the Gemmi resembles it most; but it is not so high, and the path is better. As we were descending the pass we saw upon the water before us another optical delusion, which may serve to explain the supposed appearance of islands in the sea remarked by some travellers. In the direction east from us, near the opposite shore, we saw what seemed to be another long dark-colored shoal or sand-bank. On looking further, however, it proved to be a spot of calm, smooth water, around which the rest of the sea was covered with a ripple, and the dark brown eastern mountains being reflected in this mirror, gave to it their color. Yet for the moment the illusion was complete, that a long, dark yellow sand-bank or island lay before us.

'After a descent of forty-five minutes, we reached at half-past three o'clock, the beautiful fountain 'Ain Jidy, bursting forth at once a fine

stream upon a sort of narrow terrace or shelf of mountain, still more than four hundred feet above the level of the sea. The stream rushes down the deep descent of the mountain below; and its course is hidden by a luxuriant thicket of trees and shrubs belonging to a more southern clime. We stopped at the fountain, expecting to continue our descent and encamp on the shore; but here we learned that in order to proceed northward, it would be necessary to climb again the whole of the fearful ascent; since all passage along the shore was cut off by a projecting cliff not far remote. Till now we had always understood the Arabs that there was a path below; but they had probably spoken at random, as is common, and meant nothing more than a path along the cliffs and table-land above. Under these circumstances we thought it better to encamp by the fountain, and visit the shore at our leisure during the afternoon.

'While thus engaged in pitching the tent, our Arabs were alarmed at seeing two men with guns coming down the brow of the pass. The idea of robbers was uppermost in their minds; and two scouts were hastily despatched to meet them, and to ascertain their character and purpose. The strangers proved to be Fellâhîn from the village Deir Ibn 'Öbeid, near Mâr Sâba, coming to this part of the Dead Sea after salt. They rested for a time at the fountain, and then proceeded to the Birket el-Khŭlîl (the pool of Hebron). The poor animals had afterwards to ascend this difficult pass with heavy loads. The salt is used for cooking after being washed.

'Here at the fountain are the remains of several buildings apparently ancient; though the main site of the town seems to have been further below. The fountain itself is limpid and sparkling, with a copious stream of sweet water, but warm. The thermometer stood in it at 81° F. Kept in vessels over night, we found it delightfully cool and refreshing. Issuing from the limestone rock, it is of course strongly impregnated with lime, and does not take soap well. In the fountain itself are great quantities of small black snails.

* * * * *

'We set off for the shore about five o'clock, and reached it in some twenty-five minutes; descending along the thicket by the brook. The declivity is here still steep, though less so than the pass above. The whole of this descent was apparently once terraced for tillage and gardens; and on the right near the foot are the ruins of a town, exhibiting nothing of particular interest. Few of the stones appear to have been hewn. From the base of the declivity a fine rich plain slopes off very gradually nearly half a mile to the shore. The brook runs across it directly to the sea; though at this season its waters were absorbed by the thirsty earth long before reaching the shore. So far as the water extended, the plain was covered with gardens, chiefly of cucumbers, belonging to the Rashâideh.

'These Arabs were now encamped in the tract called Hŭsâsah, towards Tekoah; and had only watchmen stationed here to protect the gardens. The soil of the whole plain is exceedingly fertile, and might easily be tilled, and produce rare fruits. In various parts of it are traces of unimportant ruins. The length of the plain is little more

than half a mile, it being nearly a square; terminated on the south by the Wady el-Ghâr, which here enters the sea between lofty precipices; and on the north by Wady Sudeir, a comparatively short ravine breaking down from above through the cliffs between banks almost equally lofty and precipitous. Indeed, the cliff upon its northern side, called el-Mersed, just beyond the plain, is perhaps the highest and most inaccessible along the whole western coast; and its base projecting into the sea, cuts off all further passage along the shore. The precipice upon which we had stood near the brow of the pass, is situated somewhat further back, and stands like a gigantic bastion between these Wadys, overlooking and almost overhanging the plain.

'The approach to the sea is here over a bank of pebbles, six or eight feet higher than the level of the water as we saw it. These are covered with a shining crust as of salt, or rather of an oily appearance. The water has a slightly greenish hue, and is not entirely transparent; but objects seen through it appear as if seen through oil. It is most intensely and intolerably salt; and leaves behind a nauseous bitter taste, like Glauber's salts. It is said that common salt thrown into it will not even be dissolved; we did not try the experiment, but such would seem very likely to be the fact. The water is exceedingly buoyant. Two of us bathed in the sea; and although I could never swim before, yet here I could sit, stand, lie, or swim in the water without any difficulty. The shore in this part shelved down very gradually, so that we waded out eight or ten rods before the water reached our shoulders. The bottom was here stony, but without mud or slime. After coming out I perceived nothing of the salt crust upon the body, of which many speak. There was a slight pricking sensation, especially where the skin had been chafed; and a sort of greasy feeling as of oil upon the skin, which lasted for several hours. . . . . .

'We had no question at the time, nor have we any now, that this spot is the ancient En-gedi. With this name the present 'Ain Jidy of the Arabs is identical; and like it also signifies the 'Fountain of the Kid.' The more ancient Hebrew name was Hazezon-Tamar. As such it is first mentioned before the destruction of Sodom, as being inhabited by Amorites, and near to the cities of the plain. Under the name En-gedi it occurs as a city of Judah in the desert, giving its name to a part of the desert to which David withdrew for fear of Saul. At a later period bands of the Moabites and Ammonites came up against King Jehoshaphat, apparently around the south end of the Dead Sea, as far as to En-gedi; by the very same route it would seem which is taken by the Arabs in their marauding expeditions at the present day, along the shore as far as to 'Ain Jidy, and then up the pass and so northwards below Tekoah. According to Josephus, En-gedi lay upon the lake Asphaltis, and was celebrated for beautiful palm-trees and opobalsam; while its vineyards are likewise mentioned in the Old Testament. From it towards Jerusalem there was an ascent 'by the cliff Ziz,' which seems to have been none other than the present pass. In the days of Eusebius and Jerome, En-gedi was still a large village on the shore of the Dead Sea.

'I find no mention of En-gedi in the historians of the Crusades; but Brocardus, about A.D. 1283, speaks of the mountains of En-gedi in

such a way as to show that their character was then known. They were on the west side of the sea, lofty, and so precipitous as to threaten to fall down into the valley beneath; and were ascended by a pass. But the site of En-gedi itself he seems to place above upon the mountains. Since that day no traveller appears to have visited this region until the present century. Succeeding monks drew En-gedi nearer and nearer towards Bethlehem, until Quaresmius places it at six miles from Bethlehem and seven from the Dead Sea, apparently on the way to Mâr Sâba. He speaks also of its vineyards as formerly connected with Bethlehem; and these are probably the same which Hasselquist regarded as the vineyards of Solomon at En-gedi. The present name and site of 'Ain Jidy were first found out by Seetzen, in A.D. 1806, and are given upon his map; but whether he actually visited the spot, or only obtained his information from the Arabs, we are no where told. At any rate, the preceding pages contain, I believe, the first account of this place from personal observation, which has been given to the public for many centuries.' Vol. ii. pp. 208—216.

From this place they travelled northward along the western coast of the Dead Sea, until they arrived at the Jordan, and Jericho. Hence they found their way by a zig-zag course back to Jerusalem, having passed near the high mountain Quarantana, regarded by legendary tradition as the eminence whither our Saviour was taken by the devil during his temptation; and having again visited Bethel, Ramah of Benjamin, and other places mentioned in Scripture, but of inferior interest, on the 17th May, they set forward on another excursion eastward, as far as Gaza; in the course of which they were able to identify many ancient names with those still existing; and to discover, in the ruins of towns, the remains of others once flourishing and celebrated. Of these the most important is the ancient Eleutheropolis, which they found in the modern village Beit Jibrîn, the Betogabra of Ptolemy and the Peutinger Tables. From Gaza they returned to Hebron, taking Gath, the residence of the gigantic Goliath, on the way.

From Hebron their next excursion was to Wady Mûsa and the renowned Petra. On this occasion they passed along the south-west of the Dead Sea, and examined still farther the remarkable features it presents. The city of rocks and sepulchres was approached by them from the east, along the Sîk of Wady Mûsa; and thus the Khŭzneh, or temple of Victory, suddenly burst upon the view in all its magnificence and beauty.

'All at once the beautiful façade of the Khŭzneh, in the western precipice opposite the mouth of the Sîk, burst upon our view in all the delicacy of its first chiselling, and in all the freshness and beauty of its soft coloring. I had seen various engravings of it, and read all the descriptions; but this was one of the rare instances where the truth of the reality surpassed the ideal anticipation. It is indeed most exquisitely beautiful; and nothing I had seen of architectural effect in

Rome, or Thebes, or even Athens, comes up to it in the first impression. It does not bear criticism as to its architecture, though this at least is symmetrical. The broken pediment and other ornaments are not all in a pure style; and if seen in a different land, or without the accompaniments by which it is surrounded, it would perhaps excite little admiration. But here its position as a portion of the lofty mass of colored rock overagainst the imposing avenue, its wonderful state of preservation, the glow and tint of the stone, and the wild scenery around, all are unique, and combine into a power of association and impression, which takes complete possession of the mind. One column of the portico alone is broken away; yet such is the symmetrical effect of the whole, that this deficiency does not at first strike the eye.

'I was perfectly fascinated with this splendid work of ancient art in this wild spot; and the idea of it was uppermost in my mind during the day and all the night. In the morning I returned and beheld it again with increased admiration. There it stands as it has stood for ages, in beauty and loneliness; the generations which admired and rejoiced over it of old have passed away; the wild Arab, as he wanders by, regards it with stupid indifference or scorn; and none are left but strangers from far distant lands to do it reverence. Its rich roseate tints, as I bade it farewell, were lighted up and gilded by the mellow beams of the morning sun; and I turned away from it at length with an impression which will be effaced only at death.

'The name el-Khuzneh, given by the Arabs to this edifice, signifies 'the treasure;' which they ascribe to Pharaoh, and suppose to be contained in the urn crowning the summit of its ornamented front, a hundred feet or more above the ground. Their only interest, indeed, in all these monuments is to search for hidden treasures; and as they find nothing elsewhere, they imagine them to be deposited in this urn, which to them is inaccessible. It bears the marks of many musket-balls, which they have fired at it, in the hope of breaking it in pieces, and thus obtaining the imagined treasure.

'The interior of the structure by no means corresponds to its imposing exterior. From the vestibule, the door leads into a plain lofty room excavated from the rock, the sides smooth but without ornament. Behind this is another room of less size; and small lateral chambers are found on each side, opening from the large room and from the vestibule. Was this a temple, or merely a dwelling for the dead? There is nothing in the monument itself to determine the question; but if any of the wonderful structures of this place may be considered as temples, I should regard this as one.' Vol. ii. pp. 518—520.

This is similar to the description given by Mr. Legh, who seems to have been equally impressed by the wonders of the Khŭzneh. Our travellers were prevented from visiting Mount Hor by a disagreeable altercation between them and the Sheikh Abû Żeitûn, in which their fearless determination is presented in a strong light. The admirable manner in which they disappointed the expectation of the avaricious old man is highly meritorious. This was the only adverse incident that befel them.

Sooner than submit to the extortion of this rapacious chief, who had long claimed to be regarded as the governor of Wady Mûsa, they turned back without paying him the Ghŭfr, or tribute, he demanded. He had formerly given great trouble to Messrs. Bankes, Legh, Irby, and Mangles; and it was only by the determinate resolution of their protector Sheikh Mohammed Ibn-Raschid, that they succeeded in obtaining a sight of the wonders of Petra.

Returning by a different route more to the westward, they recognized in 'Ain el-Weibeh the probable site of the ancient Kadesh Barnea, where water was miraculously brought from the rock by Moses, and where the Israelites, having been refused a passage through Edom by its king, were obliged to turn and to follow again the great valley el-'Arabah southward to the Red Sea. The place is thus described.

'We came out about half-past six o'clock upon the high but not steep bank of Wady el-Jeib; which here sweeps round quite to the foot of the ascent on the west side of el-'Arabah. We descended into it from the gravelly hills, one hundred feet or more. It is here three quarters of an hour in breadth, and every where sprinkled with herbs and shrubs. Just on its western side, where the land slopes up very gradually into a tract of low limestone hills, lies 'Ain el-Weibeh, one of the most important watering-places in all the great valley. There are here, indeed, three fountains, issuing from the chalky rock of which the cliff is composed. Below them, on the border of the Jeib, is a jungle of coarse grass and canes, with a few palm-trees, presenting at a distance the appearance of fine verdure, but proving near at hand to be marshy and full of bogs. This slope continues towards the south, where it becomes wider, and is also sprinkled with herbs; being watered in winter by a Wady called el-Ghamr, with a small spring of bad water, an hour and an half or two hours south of el-Weibeh. As we approached this latter fountain, we could see the verdure around 'Ain el-Ghamr.

'As our scouts had reported that there were no visitors at el-Weibeh, we proceeded directly thither; and reaching it at 7h. 20m., halted more than two hours for breakfast and rest. The three fountains are some rods apart, running out in small streams from the foot of a low rise of ground at the edge of the hills. The water is not abundant; and in the two northernmost sources has a sickly hue like most desert fountains, with a taste of sulphuretted hydrogen. The temperature of the water was 75° F., that of the air being about the same. But the southernmost source consists of three small rills of limpid and good water, flowing out at the bottom of a small excavation in the rock. The soft chalky stone has crumbled away, forming a semicircular ledge about six feet high, around the spring, and now a few feet distant from it. The intermediate space is at present occupied by earth; but the rock apparently once extended out, so that the water actually issued from its base.—We could find here no trace of the remains of former dwellings.

''Ain el-Weibeh is situated just on the exterior of a great bend of

Wady el-Jeib, which here comes down from the south by west, and sweeps round almost towards the east north-east. In it, at some distance below el-Weibeh, we could see the verdure around another place of water called el-Hufeiry; the water is found by digging holes in the ground, is scanty, and fails in summer.

'From this point, (at el-Weibeh) mount Hor is seen to fine advantage, towering in lone majesty, and prominent above all the peaks which immediately skirt the 'Arabah; but itself lower than the high ridges further east. Indeed, as here seen, this peak and the rocky grounds around Wady Mûsa, and next the 'Arabah, appear to belong to a chain further west, and lower than the high main chain of esh-Sherah. The latter beginning from Wady el-Ghuweir, and consisting of round summits and ridges, without precipices, runs on continuously, as far south as the eye can reach. The lower masses of porphyry are all along marked by a dark and almost black appearance.

'We were much struck while at el-Weibeh, with the entire adaptedness of of its position to the scriptural account of the proceedings of the Israelites, on their second arrival at Kadesh. There was at Kadesh a fountain called also En-Mishpat; this was then either partially dried up, or exhausted by the multitude; so that 'there was no water for the congregation.' By a miracle, water was brought forth abundantly out of the rock. Moses now sent messengers to the king of Edom, informing him that they were 'in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of his border;' and asking leave to pass through his country, so as to continue their course around Moab and approach Palestine from the east. This Edom refused; and the Israelites accordingly marched to mount Hor, where Aaron died; and then along the 'Arabah to the Red Sea.

'Here at el-Weibeh all these scenes were before our eyes. Here was the fountain, even to this day, the most frequented watering place in all the 'Arabah. On the north-west is the mountain by which the Israelites had formerly essayed to ascend to the land of Palestine, and were driven back. Over against us lay the land of Edom; we were in its uttermost border; and the great Wady el-Ghuweir, affording a direct and easy passage through the mountains to the table land above, was directly before us; while further in the south, mount Hor formed a prominent and striking object, at the distance of two good days' journey for such a host. The small fountain et-Taiyibeh, at the bottom of the pass er-Rŭbâ'y, may then have been either the wells of Bene-Jaakan, or the Moseroth of the Israelites. The stations of Gudgodah and Jotbath, further south, we may perhaps find at the mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel, and in the marshy tract with palm-trees further towards 'Akaba, mentioned by Laborde and Schubert; where in winter, at least, we might look for 'a land of rivers of waters.'

'In view of all these circumstances, we were disposed to regard el-Weibeh as the probable site of the ancient Kadesh; and felt that we were here treading on ground consecrated by many sacred associations. Yet the surrounding desert has long since resumed its rights; and all traces of the city and of its very name have disappeared. Indeed, there is nothing which shows Kadesh to have ever been a place of any size or of any importance, except in connexion with the journeyings of the Israelites.'—Vol. ii. pp. 580—584.

This is one of the least satisfactory conclusions which our travellers arrived at in the progress of their investigations. Kadesh was manifestly a *city* supplied with water, chiefly by En-Mishpat, a fountain in its neighbourhood (see Numb. xx. 16; Gen xiv. 7). Some traces, therefore, of its remains are probably existing. It was of sufficient importance to give its name to the desert tract around; for the Psalmist speaks of the *desert* of Kadesh (Psalm xxix. 8). It is also said to have been eleven days' journey from Horeb *by the way of Mount Seir*, which was on the eastern side of el-'Arabah, and would be considerably out of the direct course both from Sinai and 'Akaba to el-Weibeh. Burckhardt conjectured that the great valley of el-Ghor was Kadesh Barnea; but probably this is too far north in the 'Arabah. We are inclined to place the city of Kadesh farther north in the 'Arabah than el-Weibeh, and towards the eastern part, south of Acrabbim. Nothing definite can be derived from the Scripture phrase 'in the uttermost border of 'Edom,' nor can the circumstance of its being placed in the desert of Zin (Numb. xx. 1), and in the desert of Paran (Numb. xiii. 26), the former of which was probably a part of the latter, throw much light on its true position. Probably it was somewhere on the skirts of the mountains of Edom; but the particular spot, we are inclined to believe, has not yet been discovered. The considerations already quoted, besides others subsequently advanced by our author (p. 600), do not bring conviction to the mind, in support of the position that el-Weibeh is the same as Kadesh. One of the most important watering places in all the 'Arabah, as Dr. Robinson himself characterizes el-Weibeh, and which was distinguished by a fountain even in the time of Abraham, cannot be supposed to dry up at times. It was visited by himself in the dryest season, and yet the three fountains were all supplied.

On their return to Hebron they crossed numerous Wadys, especially the large el-Fikreh; and recognized in the wells and ruins at el-Milh, the site of the ancient Moladah mentioned in Joshua, 1 Chronicles, and Nehemiah; the Malatha of the Greeks and Romans. The village of Semû'a also, south of Hebron, Dr. Robinson seems rightly to regard as the Eshtemoa of the Old Testament. There are remains of walls, and large stones, which point to an ancient and extensive town.

From Hebron, they proceeded on another tour to Ramleh; visiting Ludd, the ancient Lydda or Diospolis, and returning by Burj and Beth-horon to Jerusalem. Finding Jerusalem still shut up on account of the plague, they encamped before the gates, and prepared to leave it for the last time. This they did accordingly, on Wednesday, June 13th. From thence they proceeded north by Nâbulus, the city of the Samaritans, of whom

an account is given by Dr. Robinson; Sebustieh (the ancient Samaria); Zerin (Jezreel); Nazareth; and Mount Tabor, on whose summit they encamped for the greater part of a day and an entire night. Their route from it lay north-east towards Tiberias, on the shore of the sea of Galilee. Passing along the western coast they crossed the Jordan above its junction with the lake, and visited the ruins of the ancient Bethsaida. They afterwards reached Safed, and proceeded to Tyre; whence they took the way along the shore of the Mediterranean to Beirût, through Saida (Sidon). Here they took leave of Syria and Palestine. The illustrations of Scripture scenes and localities interwoven with this tour are very numerous; and much light is thrown upon objects hitherto imperfectly known. We may refer particularly to the account of the great plain of Esdraelon, or as it is called by the natives Merj Ibn 'Amir, through which the river Kishon (Nahr el-Mukŭtta) flows, and which swept away, in ancient times, the troops of Sisera. This plain, and the mountains by which it is skirted, are studded with recollections of Scripture narratives and localities. The towns of el-Lejjûn (Megiddo); Zerin (shown to be Jezreel); with the large fountain 'Ain Jâlûd (the fountain of Jezreel), where Saul and Jonathan pitched before the battle in which they were slain; Endor, Nain, Shunem, and Nazareth itself, the dwelling-place of the Saviour; the mountains of Gilboa, Tabor, and Carmel, are objects with which a thousand associations are entwined in the bosom of the christian. Of lake el-Huleh and the sources of the Jordan, Libanus, Anti-Libanus, and Hermon, there are also descriptions, which are exceedingly valuable for their correctness and perspicuity. Some of the places here described were formerly visited by Mr. Smith, and others of the American missionaries at Beirût; from whose reports the present accounts were drawn up. The map of Lebanon which is given, although the mountain was not visited by Dr. Robinson, was derived in part from MS. maps of the Rev. Mr. Bird. The work concludes with an account of the religious sects in Palestine and Syria, the result of extensive inquiry by the American missionaries for several years.

The city of Jerusalem occupies a large part of the volumes, and obviously the ablest. The examination of its various localities is very minute. Many important points are here cleared up, which former travellers had entirely overlooked or misapprehended. We cannot refer to any other source where an equally copious and correct account of the place can be found. The best and latest descriptions of it are defaced by several inaccuracies, as may be seen by comparing them with that of Robinson. Even Crome's, in Ersch and Gruber's

Encyclopædia (1839), which is much superior to Winer's in the second edition of his Realwörterbuch, cannot be compared with this either in accuracy or fulness of detail. The discoveries of our author relate chiefly to the ancient temple, whose circuit he has shown to have coincided generally with the exterior wall of the great mosk of Omar. This result is brought out in the most interesting and satisfactory manner, from continued observation of the stones and architecture, that remain as evidences of former greatness. His researches also, in relation to the extent of the city in former times, the tower of Hippicus, and the pool of Siloam, are as important as they are new. He has been the first, of whom we have any record, to make his way quite through the subterranean passage supposed to exist between the fountain of the Virgin and the pool of Siloam, thus setting at rest the question so long undecided whether the water flows from the Virgin's fountain to Siloam, or vice versâ. He witnessed also the irregular flow of the water in the latter; a phenomenon spoken of by the earlier writers, but overlooked, or regarded as legendary, by all modern travellers. As Dr. Robinson and his companion were preparing one day to measure the basin of the upper fountain, the water all at once covered the steps on which Mr. Smith was standing. The circumstance naturally excited their attention, and they perceived it rapidly bubbling up from under the lower step. In less than five minutes it had risen nearly a foot in the basin, and they heard it gurgling off through the interior passage. In ten minutes it had ceased to flow; and the water of the basin sank again to its former level. Dr. Robinson thrust his staff under the lower step, from which place the water seemed to come, and found that there was a large hollow space. They were informed, by a woman at the fountain, that this flowing takes place very irregularly; sometimes two or three times a day, and sometimes in summer once in two or three days. It is highly probable that the Arab who told them that the water comes down to this place from the fountain beneath the great mosk, was correct in his opinion. The conjecture of Dr. Robinson, that this irregular flow of the fountain is the 'troubling of the water' referred to in John's Gospel, thus identifying the pool of Bethesda with the fountain of the Virgin, is wholly gratuitous and improbable. It is distinctly stated in the Scripture account, that *an angel* stepped in, and troubled the pool, imparting to it a momentary medicinal virtue. We gladly refer to the entire description of the topography and antiquities of Jerusalem, as far superior to any other, on account of the many new circumstances brought to light, and the correction of mistakes committed by preceding writers. Had Dr. Robinson travelled no further than Jerusalem,

and furnished this description alone, his journey would have been amply repaid.

We look upon the descriptions of the great el-Arabah and the plain of Esdraelon, to the latter of which allusion has been already made, as next in importance and value. The former had been almost unknown before, and its remarkable configuration unobserved except by Abulfeda and Burckhardt, whose accounts, though correct, are somewhat meagre. Ritter's was derived from Abulfeda. This great valley extends from the sources of Jordan to the Red Sea at 'Akaba; and is thus watered by the Jordan as far as the Dead Sea, whilst it is characterized by three lakes, viz., el-Hûleh, Tiberias, and the Dead Sea. From the sea of Galilee, to a line of cliffs about three hours south of the Dead Sea, it is called by the Arabs el-Ghôr; and from this to the Red Sea it is universally named Wady el-'Arabah. The breadth varies considerably in different places. Professor Robinson was the first to perceive the division between the parts el-Ghôr and el-'Arabah, consisting of whitish cliffs extending obliquely across the 'Arabah. In the Scriptures the whole valley is called el-'Arabah; a circumstance which leads us to the true explanation of several passages otherwise perplexed and inexplicable. The whole valley is spread out before us, in the description and map here given, in its length and breadth, with the various features by which it is marked, and the great Wadys on its eastern and western sides.

The account given of Mount Sinai may be also referred to as peculiarly important and minutely correct. This part of the peninsula has been often visited and described, especially by late travellers; but it has never been so accurately delineated, or so fully brought into connexion with the magnificent appearances which the Israelites witnessed at the promulgation of the law. In opposition to the general opinion, Dr. Robinson regards Horeb as the general name, and Sinai as the particular one; which is more probable for two reasons; because, during the approach of the children of Israel from Egypt to the place where the law was given, the latter is only styled Horeb, while during their sojourn before it, it is spoken of as Sinai, and after leaving it the name Horeb is resumed. Again, whilst the Israelites were encamped at Rephidim, Moses was ordered to go on before the people, and smite the rock in Horeb, that water might be procured for the host. Thus some part of Horeb was near Rephidim; but Sinai was a day's march distant.

The historical illustrations are not the least remarkable or prominent part of the work. They constitute a most valuable chain connecting ancient and modern times. The

state of each place, as far as can be gathered from historical notices reaching back to the times of Scripture and extending down to the present, has been collected from numerous sources, with great industry and labor. The works of Josephus, the Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome, the early itineraries published by Wesseling, and those belonging to the period of the crusades, with the more important works after Breydenbach and Fabri in the fifteenth century, have all been employed by the writer. This portion, indeed, many will justly reckon the most valuable, for no modern traveller's journal contains the like.

In addition to these distinguishing excellencies, we meet with a continued identification of modern villages and deserted sites, with towns mentioned in Scripture, or in Josephus. A glance at Index ii. will show the number thus rescued, for the first time, from the obscurity with which they had been long enveloped; or now described from personal observation, having been merely ascertained from the Arabs by former travellers. The mode in which these discoveries were made is specified in the text. The whole work exhibits a combination of the biblical with the scientific, to a much greater extent than had been previously attempted. It unites the general accuracy and judgment of Burckhardt, with the learning of Reland. It contains the journal of a traveller, with the specifications of a geographer; the observations of acute men, along with the attainments of such as are familiar with a wide range of sacred literature. Hence it is highly important, not merely to the student of Scripture, but also to the geographer. Both will find in it much that is new; besides much that is perspicuously stated from preceding authors.

The maps acccompanying the volumes were drawn by H. Kiepert of Berlin, under Dr. Robinson's inspection; and are the most accurate, in all respects, of any that have yet appeared. The memoir by Mr. Kiepert, given in the Appendix to vol. iii., shows the extent and value of the materials employed, no less than the ability of the scholar by whom they were designed. They are a fit accompaniment to the work with which they are incorporated, corresponding in minute accuracy to its admirable descriptions.

Great pains have been taken, so as to write the Arabic names with propriety. Here Mr. Smith's knowledge of the language was happily and extensively available. As a proof of his high qualifications for the task of correcting the orthography, it is only necessary to refer to the appendices annexed to vol. iii. Among them is an 'essay on the pronunciation of the Arabic, 'chiefly as spoken in Syria; with an account of the corruption 'to which the several letters are liable,' followed by lists of Arabic names and places, in Palestine and the adjacent regions.

These invaluable pages contain, as we are informed, the results of inquiries and researches prosecuted during several journeys and visits to different parts. We trust that future travellers will extend the lists with equal care. The negligence with which Arabic names have been uniformly given is matter of great regret. The manner of writing them in Roman letters has been exceedingly awkward and fluctuating. Burckhardt, indeed, from his familiarity with the Arabic language, has correctly written most of the places he mentions, just as he has in general correctly described them; although, from the difficulties he met with, and the manner in which he was watched, his journal necessarily suffered in this particular.

Our travellers uniformly adhere to native testimony, on all the points in relation to which they sought information. They carefully avoided monks and ecclesiastics, as sources of knowledge respecting the antiquities or situation of particular localities. To the Arab population they addressed their inquiries; and from them alone they solicited information. Not that such informants are to be implicitly followed; but the cross questioning of our travellers, with the concurrent asseverations of various tribes, go far to establish the truth of their statements. In doing so they were certainly actuated by a sound judgment; for during the progress of ages, legends have gradually entwined themselves around places and events, so that it is often deemed sacrilege to question their accuracy, or to expose their feeble foundation. Hence, though the sepulchre of a prophet be transferred some days distance from its actual site, or the scene of a miracle be fixed on some improbable spot, an undue attachment to antiquity is allowed to outweigh probability, and even truth itself. Yet the scientific traveller, no less than the biblical critic, must discover, upon a little examination, that many such stories rest on no good authority, having sprung up in an incredulous age, and flourished amongst an unreflecting people. Thus numerous superstitions took their rise after the establishment of christianity by Constantine, and were propagated till the time of the crusaders, who, without inquiring into their correctness, indolently fell in with the prevailing notions, and imprinted them deeply on succeeding generations. Great caution, therefore, is needed, in tracing a legend to its source; for if it be found that it was put forth at first with the vagueness of conjecture, and at a period comparatively late; if it were unknown to the earliest times of christianity; or should it contradict the statements of Scripture, express or implied; it manifestly rests upon air. We greatly admire the singular ability of Robinson and Smith in this particular. Solicitous for truth alone, they endeavoured to satisfy themselves of the correctness of every point; examining for themselves the probabilities in its favor, and attaching no

weight to traditionary intelligence, except as it bore credible marks of its own genuineness. In accordance with such a course, they have stripped numerous places in Jerusalem of the mistaken sanctity with which they had been long invested, concluding that their title to be regarded as legendary accounts set forth, is questionable or fallacious. They do not, indeed, run into the foolish extreme of Clarke; but they discard such traditions only after having been subjected to the test of a discerning and impartial criticism.

In coming to the conclusion of this able work, we felt much regret at parting from our travellers. The information they furnished was often so unexpected and satisfactory—the places they visited were consecrated by so many hallowed associations—and the wild sublimities they gazed upon and told of, so transporting—that the cessation of our intercourse easily saddened feelings, over which the angel of wonder and of sorrow had cast her inspiring mantle in unceasing excitement. As new scenes and new localities rose before the mind, it was kept in perpetual restlessness by the shifting panorama; until the lively interest with which we accompanied them ceased, only with the termination of the journey. The work will prove agreeable to the mere travel-loving reader, important to the man of science, and beneficial to the student of the Bible. To such as desire to know the physical features of Idumæa, Palestine, and Syria, it will furnish no small assistance, by its perspicuous and graphic delineations. Exhibiting, as it does, the results of shrewd observation, extensive research, mature scholarship, and sound judgment, it is fitted at once to take its place in the first rank of similar publications. As it is somewhat unique in character, it is also unique in excellence. Many of the learned in Germany, England, and America will doubtless welcome its appearance; and, while admiring the enterprise of the author, will still more admire the truthful details he has furnished. These they will look upon as destined to maintain a high importance in the estimation of future inquirers, and as claiming to be consulted along with those of Reland, Maundrell, Niebuhr, Burckhardt, Seetzen, Irby and Mangles, Legh, and Laborde. And whilst placing them in such honorable position, it cannot fail to be remarked, that they were both obtained in more favorable circumstances, and prepared with greater care, under learned leisure's brightest auspices; in short it will be seen that they are more important by far in their entire compass, as combining the excellencies and accuracies of former descriptions, with others peculiar and pre-eminent. Let them be imitated and emulated by future travellers; and Palestine shall soon be familiar to the inhabitants of the western world. With similar perseverance, let others arise to reap a rich harvest

in the same field; and we shall meditate upon the varied landscapes, day and night, until we walk with the Israelites through the great wilderness, or weep over Jerusalem with the compassionate Saviour. We shall adore the awful majesty of heaven —looking up to the bleak summit of Horeb as we read—or beholding Calvary, we shall be softened into holy sympathy.

Art. II. *America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive.* By J. S. Buckingham, Esq. In three vols. London: Fisher and Co.

PEOPLE seem never to be weary of writing and reading about America; at least so we are led to conclude from the number of works which have issued from the press on this subject within the last few years, and the extended circulation which, as we understand, all, or nearly all of them, have obtained. There are some obvious reasons for this fact; such as the wonderful character of the American continent both physical and moral—its connexion with ourselves—the fraternal, or shall we say, the filial relation of its inhabitants—the noble spirit of enterprise and independence they have displayed—their moral growth—the anomalies of their position, as free and yet enslaved, and enslaving—the character of their government—the power of their multiplying population, which by its progress indicates a period, possibly not very distant, when as a country it will exercise a controlling influence even over the proud resolves and purposes of European nations—its rising literature and its rival spirit,—with a multitude of other considerations.

The motto of these Americans is 'onward'—'go a-head.' We sympathize with their movements, or ought to do so; and dismissing our petty and party jealousies, we are inclined to cheer them in this determined course for their own sakes, for ours, for the sake of mankind. Their greatness will not diminish ours, but if we reason and act aright will enhance it. We never can become little but by opposing the tide of human affairs—the great law of moral progression—and the indications of a wise and universal providence.

America must long be a theme of interesting speculation to the philanthropist and the philosopher, who are enabled to contemplate the advance from infancy of a mighty people, and the developments of human nature upon the largest scale. Each may see what man is, and what he may become. They may trace the history and realize the operation of powerful principles both of good and evil, and settle contending theories by the light of experiment.

We have referred to the greatness of America; and great it

must be—great it *is*, even in spite of all the depressing and retarding processes of false reasonings and false trading—yea, and of the doomed slavery system to boot. But let us hear Mr. Buckingham on one point connected with its mercantile and commercial prosperity. And we refer to this the rather that the subject has been much agitated on both sides of the Atlantic. He is referring to the financial measures pursued by the presidents Jackson and Van Buren, in refusing to renew the charter of the United States' Bank, and insisting on the payment of all sums due to the government, whether for the sale of lands, duties on goods, or other sources of revenue, in a metallic currency.

'That these measures had the effect of hastening the commercial crisis which lately affected this country from one end to the other, there can be no doubt; but the remote and real cause of this crisis was, first, the habit which all classes seem within the last few years to have contracted, of speculating beyond their means, of living beyond their income, of spending money before it was acquired, and of keeping up the appearance of men who had realized large fortunes, while they were only in the act of accumulating them. Extravagant expenditure in houses, in furniture, in entertainments, in equipages, in dress, in servants, in short, in every branch of disbursement, was characteristic of all the trading classes; and so long as the credit system allowed them to import largely from England, and pay in notes or bills at long dates, the evil day could be deferred by one expedient succeeding another. In the midst of this came the great fire at New York in 1835, which destroyed property to the amount of 20,000,000 of dollars, and made nearly all the insurance offices in the city insolvent. Then came the drain of another 20,000,000, or perhaps 30,000,000, to rebuild the houses destroyed, and replace the goods consumed, making 20,000,000 lost, and 30,000,000 expended, or 50,000,000 taken from the fixed and floating capital of this single city. Those who had speculated largely in the purchase of lands tried to withdraw their capital from the investment; but where all were sellers, and none buyers, prices were ruinously low: others who had large stocks of goods on hand from the excessive importations of the preceding year, tried to raise money by forced sales, but there were no buyers; and in the midst of all this, as the debts due to England were so much larger than could be paid in the produce of the country, for which the markets at home were declining, the remittance of specie became the only mode of sustaining the credit of the mercantile body, and this could be obtained only by immense sacrifices of property.

'My own conviction is, from all I have seen and heard, that if the president of the United States had never taken the steps he did, in refusing to renew the charter of the United States' Bank, removing the government deposits, and demanding payment of the revenue in metallic currency, this commercial crisis would nevertheless have still come, though not perhaps so soon; because its real causes were the immense sacrifice of property by the fire; the drain of capital neces-

sary to replace what was destroyed; the wild and almost mad speculations indulged in by the people, merchants becoming purchasers of land in provinces and places they had never seen, and giving almost any price to-day, in the hope that they might sell it for a better price to-morrow; never intending to occupy it, but to pass it on from hand to hand till it found a purchaser whose payment was so extravagant that he could get no one to take it from him. In this public delirium, farmers abandoned the tillage of their soil and became speculators and traders also; so that cultivation being neglected, the country the best adapted in the world to supply all other nations with its surplus grain became so unproductive of this first necessary of life, as to be obliged to import grain from the Baltic; several cargoes of which arrived in this port during the last and the preceding year. The government measures, no doubt, hastened the crisis onward, though it did not create it; and the natural unwillingness of all parties to reproach themselves for their own folly and extravagance, which were the real cause of the evil, after all, made them the more ready to charge all these evils on the government, so that General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren have been literally made the scape-goats by which the merchants, traders, bankers, and speculators of all kinds endeavored to get rid of the burden of their own sins, by placing them on the heads of the two presidents named.'—Vol. i. pp. 63—65.

Mr. Buckingham had an opportunity of seeing several of the Indians in New York, on a visit to the eastern states. These were the Sanks and Foxes, the Sioux and Joways. He observes that an opinion has been expressed that the Indians of America are descendants of some of the lost tribes of Israel, and furnishes a brief account of the statements of Major Noah, a Jew of some learning, in a lecture delivered by him in New York. The latest notice of the dispersed tribes is in the book of Esdras; to which apocryphal volume is incautiously, we will not say ignorantly, applied the term *sacred writings*. The words are—'Whereas thou sawest another peaceable multitude; 'these are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out 'of their own land in the time of Osea, whom Salmanazar, king 'of Assyria, led away captive: and he carried them *over the* 'waters, so that they came unto another land. They took this 'counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multi- 'tude of the heathen, and go into a farther country, *wherein* 'mankind never dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, 'which they never kept in their own land (Assyria); and there 'was a great way to go, namely, *a year and a half*.' It is supposed that these tribes proceeded from the Euphrates to the north east of Asia, leaving some of their number by the way in Tartary and China. Hence Benjamin of Tudela states, that at the time of the decree of Ahasuerus, there were at least 300,000 Jews in Persia; and Alvarez, in his History of China, refers to the fact that there had been Jews in that country for several

hundred years. Some went to India. It is presumed that the more enterprising might gradually advance as far as Behring's Straits, whence they might easily cross to the nearest point of the American continent; so that in two thousand years they may have spread northward to Labrador, and southward to Cape Horn, through the rich countries of California, Texas, Mexico, and Peru.

On the discovery of America by Columbus, the Indians were found in various degrees of civilization; but their great resemblance to the tribes from whom they are said to have descended, is to be traced in their religious belief and ceremonies. The points of general coincidence are as follows:—their belief in one God—their computation of time by the ceremonies of the new moon—their division of the year into seasons corresponding with the Jewish festivals—in the feast of flowers, the day of atonement, the feast of tabernacles, and other religious holidays —the erection of a temple after the manner of the Jews, with an ark of the covenant and altar—the division of their nation into tribes, with a chief, or grand sachem at their head—their laws of sacrifices, ablutions, marriages, ceremonies in war and peace, the prohibition of certain food, according to the Mosaic rule—their traditions, history, character, appearance, affinity of their language to the Hebrew, and, finally, that everlasting covenant of heirship exhibited in a perpetual transmission of its seal in their flesh. These views are corroborated by the consentaneous opinions of Adair, Heckwelder, Charleveux, M'Kenzie, Bartram, Beltrami, Smith, Penn, and Simon, the latter of whom has written largely on the subject.

This is not a plausible novelty; for the same idea was broached at a very early period, and by many eminent authorities has been long maintained. It has not, however, been generally received, or perhaps we should say, generally understood. The coincidences are certainly striking, and we incline to admit the evidence as affording strong probability, if it be not absolutely decisive. It is a question, however, of much interest, standing connected as it does with the researches of history, and with one of the most solemn and sublime movements of providence in the dispersion of the ten tribes of Israel. We wish, therefore, to see it awaken an increased degree of interest, and to be brought to a confirmed conclusion. An American artist, Mr. Catlin, has lived many years among the Indians in the 'Far West,' and made extensive collections of all that may be called their curiosities. He has attracted considerable attention, it appears, by lectures on the subject at New York. Many of the customs and usages of the Indians, he thinks, are clearly of Jewish origin; and he remarks that 'the first thing that strikes the traveller in an

'Indian country, as evidence of the Indians being of Jewish 'origin, is the close resemblance which they generally bear, in 'certain expressions of countenance, to those people.'

Some of the American customs are of early origin, and exert a beneficial influence upon society. One of these is the manner in which, in New York, the first day of the new year is spent. Our author shall relate it.

'Among the peculiarities in the customs of New York, none is more worthy of imitation than the manner in which its inhabitants observe the first day of the new year. The custom is derived from the old Dutch settlers who first founded the city, and is thus observed. The day is made a complete holiday, and the stores and shops are almost as generally closed as on the Sunday. All the ladies of the family rise early, dress for the day, and immediately after breakfast repair to the drawing-room, to receive the visits of their male friends. Not a lady moves out either for business or pleasure, health or exercise; and it is the only day in the year, perhaps, in which no lady is seen out, either in carriage or on foot, for none but 'friendless ladies' could be spared from home. As early as nine o'clock the visits of the gentlemen commence; and as these are all dressed in their best, the streets and squares present a most animated appearance, by groups of friends ascending and descending the steps of the private houses, while carriages are waiting at the different points for the conveyance of those who require this assistance, though the greater number of the young gentlemen perform their visits on foot.

'The New Year's Day of 1838 happened to be a day of the finest possible weather—a sharp, but not a cold air, a bright sun, and a perfect calm; and as it is expected of foreigners that they who approve of the custom should adopt it with their particular friends, I took a carriage for the day, though in consequence of the increased demand this was only to be had at about five times the ordinary charge; and taking my son with me, while Mrs. Buckingham remained at home with the ladies of the house in which we lived, to receive the visits of the gentlemen to whom we had been introduced, I made the circuit of Brooklyn and New York, in each of which we had some agreeable acquaintances, and between ten and five o'clock we called on fifty-two families, and drove over about ten miles of ground. We met in every house with a most cordial reception; the ladies put forth all their attractions, were well dressed, affable, cheerful, and communicative. In an adjoining room, refreshments were provided, of which some of the gentlemen partook, but as it is thought important by those who have a very extensive circle of acquaintance, that they should visit them all in the course of the day—we heard of some young men who had nearly a hundred on their list—the great majority were only able to shake hands, wish health and the joys of the season to their fair entertainers, and then retire to pursue their course. Our number being more limited, it afforded us the opportunity of remaining some little time at each house, so that we saw as much of the gentlemen as of the ladies, and met a large number of acquaintances among those

who were visitors like ourselves. The clergy and ministers of religion also remain at home, and receive the visits of the members of their congregations; and as we waited on several of these, we found all the episcopalian clergy dressed in full canonicals, and receiving their guests with great courtesy and hospitality.

'The beneficial effects of this custom are numerous and important. It is a day saved from the toils and cares of business, and given to innocent and social pleasure; and this, in such a busy and overwrought community, is a great advantage. It enables those who have long neglected their visits to bring up their arrears, and begin a new account; and it furnishes those who have been growing cold by absence, or indifferent from some slight or embryo quarrel, to renew their intercourse without concession or without offence. It serves to increase the respect for women, by the homage thus paid to female influence; and it brings the ministers of the gospel and their congregations into happy and agreeable communication. It has all these advantages, and many more, without a single evil that I could discover; for though some might think it would have too democratic a tendency, by bringing persons of different ranks too nearly on a level, yet, since no gentleman ever presumes to visit a family on New Year's Day who has not previously been introduced to them, and his introduction sanctioned by some reciprocal intercourse, none of the parties who meet are strangers to each other, and no liberties are taken of which the most fastidious could disapprove.'—pp. 224—226.

Mr. Buckingham had an opportunity of attending a very interesting state convention in Philadelphia, and we quite agree with him in his general views of its importance. Occasions of this kind display the American character in a favorable light, and partake considerably of their business habits. Philadelphia itself is perhaps as free or more free than any city in the Union from a factious and turbulent spirit, and the rectangular form of its whole construction might by a fanciful mind be almost regarded as an emblem of the regularity of the mind of its inhabitants. State conventions in America are assemblies of delegates from the entire people, convened to consider some question of great public interest. The one referred to was appointed to revise the constitution of Pennsylvania, which had not been done since the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The confederate government had nothing to do with this movement, and it was altogether unconnected with its controlling influence. Indeed, every one knows that each several state of the American Union is a kind of *imperium in imperio*; so that on occasions of this sort, as well as on others, the representatives are elected by the districts, and when assembled choose their own president, arrange the order of their proceedings, and determine questions by majorities. Mr. Buckingham was present on the last day of its sitting, which had been prolonged during several months. Its

deliberations were animated, but dignified and orderly. There was, he says, a quiet earnestness which was calculated to make the most favorable impression on a stranger, and the costume of the grave and elderly members, the tables and papers, and the object of the assembly, strikingly resembled the celebrated picture of 'The Declaration of Independence.'

We agree with our author in thinking that the certainty and definiteness of constitutions in America are greatly in their favor, as compared with the vagueness of every thing connected with the constitution in England. For in truth though we have a 'glorious constitution,' as it has been termed, in respect to certain general principles and outlines of its theory, there is much perplexity in its parts, and dubiousness in the details of its administration. The ecclesiastical, moreover, is so intermingled with the civil constitution in this country, as in fact to weave its entanglements around the entire mass. And if we are not much mistaken, the political progress of things tends to show that it will be at length like the ivy which though it adorns the building, has been supposed nevertheless to loosen its cement, separate its stones, and, unless timely detached, to work its destruction.

'Having no written constitution for our guide, like these states of the union, there is nothing fixed or tangible for us to refer to; and accordingly every man makes of our unwritten and undefined constitution whatever he pleases. Hence it happens that in almost every change proposed in our laws, one party contends that the change is unconstitutional, while the other as warmly insists that it is in perfect harmony with constitutional principles. Twenty times at least within the last twenty years, it has been solemnly asserted that if certain acts of parliament were passed into laws, they would be the grossest violations of the British constitution, which, after such laws, would indeed be utterly annihilated and gone! Yet though such acts have become laws our often-destroyed constitution still survives. In the same manner when changes are proposed, in the nature of a *revision* of this constitution, as far as one can understand it, the Whig and Conservative legislators, as guardians of this 'glorious uncertainty,' unite their voices against all 'organic change,' and indulge in predictions that if once the principle be admitted, that organic changes are either desirable or practicable, a revolution is begun, and anarchy and destruction must inevitably follow! To all this, the most complete answer is, the tranquil history of an American convention, called by the people, conducted by the people, its proceedings ratified by the people, its avowed and sanctioned object being to effect organic changes in the constitution, not such as the rust of ages, and the accumulated errors of centuries may have occasioned, as with us, but such as the experience of a few years only may have shown to be necessary; and all this carried on, from its opening to its close, without a tenth part of the excitement or disorder which occurs in some single nights

a the organic-change-resisting House of Commons of England.'—pp. 61, 262.

We cannot help saying, that we are displeased with Mr. Buckingham for abstaining from a visit to Mount Vernon, the former seat of the illustrious Washington; especially for the reasons he assigns. Sometimes, he says, the expectation and sometimes the reality of a speech in the Senate or House of Representatives—sometimes a party (!) in Washington that prevented his leaving the city—and sometimes the weather (!) and state of the roads beyond Alexandria. Beyond Alexandria! And how far does the reader imagine this distance to be? One would suppose that fifty miles at least, and half of corduroy roads, could alone have sufficed to deter a traveller of absolute leisure, proposing to himself three volumes of description, from repairing to so consecrated a spot. But no; some half dozen miles is quite sufficient! He would rather hear or utter speeches, and sit down quietly to listen to polite flatteries or poor music, than repair to the dwelling-place, and bathe his spirit in the solemn associations connected with the man who elevated America into a nation, and has filled the world with his fame. We own that we are surprised at this; and it may be the more so that we ourselves have had the good fortune to experience the inspirations of the place.

After a pretty full account of Washington and Baltimore, the first volume terminates; and the second commences with an account of the origin of Pennsylvania, whose history, together with the various institutions of Philadelphia and other matters relating to it, extends through many chapters. We do not profess to have derived much information from this; which after all has something of the character of a thrice-told tale. What we did look for, and have not found, are clear, comprehensive, and philosophical views of the state of society. The general facts, historians and travellers have given before, as well as the hours of dining, the habits of hotels, and the topographical collectanea, which have made us well acquainted with this remarkable country. But when all these are tolerably known, we want information on the workings of the popular mind, the tendencies of things, and the relations of the present to the future. Of these we wish to know, rather than of the origin of institutions, the state of buildings, or the lecturings and popularity of the author.

The details of the volume comprehend Philadelphia, whence we proceed to New York—thence by the Hudson to Albany (one of the most beautiful trips in the world, as we can testify, occupying one day in the steam packet)—then from Albany to Schenectady, Saratoga, through the Mohawk valley, and to

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Moral improvement will always have a
intellectual character, and to raise the
the dignity of man. But what seems
beneficial is to impart a direct temporal
a spiritual power. For this purpose the
ought be previously prepared, by an educa-
ally adapted to the outward condition of a
where an ignorance prevails not only of
European society, and the common arts of
of the means of alleviating the miseries
malies of the body. A missionary, for in-
should possess the knowledge of an ordinary medi-
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willing, under the power of a self-devoting
themselves to the service of mankind in
character of missionary and physician, would doubt-
increase accession to the christian staff in foreign
in some instances proved; and the multipli-
instrumentality on a plan similar to that of the

society above-named, would doubtless be of incalculable advantage to the general interests of the world. Influenced by these considerations, we recently noticed with great satisfaction the report of a meeting which took place in Liverpool, of the medical profession, when the Rev. Dr. Parker, medical missionary of the American Board of Foreign Missions in China, furnished an account of the present state of medicine and surgery in the Celestial empire, and the establishment of hospitals in that country. He said that the object of the Medical Missionary Society was twofold, namely, to benefit the bodies and the souls of the millions of China; and it was nearly seven years since he had been ordained to this important agency. The foreign residents had proposed the formation of a medical society in China, the object of which was to encourage gentlemen of the medical profession to go and practise gratuitously among the Chinese. To the missionary societies would be left the task of selecting agents to carry out their plans, as they were the most competent to select individuals. The medical man, as such, and the missionary, as such, may under existing circumstances act separately, though in harmony; while, on the other hand, it would be a kind of extension of the same important plan to combine the two, more fully than has hitherto been attempted, in the same person. We are pleased to see that individuals of influence in the religious world have sanctioned the proceedings of the society in question, and we have thus somewhat digressively adverted to the subject, because it is one of the utmost moment.

Leaving these considerations, we will now proceed up the Hudson to the Catskill Mountains. Amidst the ever varying beauties which greet the eye on either side of that splendid river, this part of the border scenery is certainly pre-eminent. The Americans say, and we are not disposed to contest the point, that it is worth while crossing the Atlantic to go in the steam packet from New York to Albany.

'On the morning of Monday, the 18th of June, we were all stirring at daylight, in order to enjoy the prospect of the rising sun. On looking out of the windows, the scene that presented itself was most remarkable, and totally different from any thing I had ever before witnessed. The sky above us was a bright clear blue, slightly mottled with white fleecy clouds, as in the finest summer mornings of England. But of the earth beneath us, nothing was to be seen except the rocky platform on which our habitation was built, and a small portion of the brow of the hill on which this stood. All the rest of the great expanse before us, extending to a distance of from forty to fifty miles, was covered with a thick sea of perfectly white billows, as if there had been a general deluge, and we were occupying the summit of the Ararat which alone rose above the wide waste of waters around us.

This was a compact and continuous stratum of fleecy clouds, which were below our feet instead of above our heads, and which literally covered the earth as with a canopy, and shrouded it entirely from our view. The waves of this cloudy sea assumed, too, so much the appearance of huge billows rolling, the one after the other in succession, from west to east, that, excepting in the color of the element, which here was of snowy whiteness instead of blue, it was like looking down from a ship's mast-head on the turbulence of the southern ocean in a tempest off the Cape of Good Hope, or like a view of the great sea, seen in its most violent agitation from the summit of the Table Mountain that overhangs the promontory named. It was altogether the most striking and impressive scene I had ever beheld, and could never be forgotten if life were prolonged to a thousand years.

'While we were gazing with unspeakable admiration on this singular and beautiful cloudy sea, the increasing light of the eastern horizon betokened the near approach of the sun. All eyes were accordingly turned in that direction, and in a few moments the bright and splendid orb rose up from his eastern bed with a fulness of glory that seemed like the dawn of a new creation. There were accumulated, in the immediate quarter of the heavens where the sun arose, a series of strata in the clouds, of different shapes, densities, and distances, which produced a variety of lights and tints from the palest amber to the deepest purple; and caused the straight edges of some, and the wavy or undulated edges of others, to be tipped with the brightest lustre, sometimes of silver—sometimes of paler, and sometimes of deeper gold, so as to form altogether one of the most gorgeous and splendid views that could be imagined; while overhead in the zenith, and in every other quarter but the east, a serene azure, over which sailed clouds of fleecy whiteness, completed the beauty of the picture.

'At the same time the billowy surface of the cloudy sea beneath our feet, still completely hiding every spot of the earth from our view, was made so radiant with the slanting beams of the rising sun thrown horizontally along its waves, that they looked like a sea of the brightest snow, heaving and rolling in some places in rounded surges, and in others flinging up their spiral points to the sky, like the conflict of opposing streams, or the spray of a vast cataract. Altogether the scene was as indescribable as it was splendid and sublime, and we dwelt upon it with an intensity of admiration which almost made the head ache with the pleasure of the sight.

'About an hour after sun-rise, we began to discover a partial breaking away of the cloudy awning, or rather the opening of patches and spaces in it which bespoke its approaching dissolution. The first place in which this was visible was over the channel of the Hudson river, the track of which could be plainly traced by a corresponding hollow, or long and winding valley in this misty sea. The next places were close by the sides of the mountain on which we stood, where little slits or loopholes gradually opened, through which we could peep downward, and see, at a great distance below, the green fields and thick woods, with little farm-houses, just visible as white specks on a speckled plain.'—Vol. ii. pp. 255—258.

As Mr. Buckingham's work is avowedly historical, statistic, and descriptive, we have thus thought it right to introduce a passage in which the subject gave him a fair opportunity of displaying his powers as a painter of nature. Our readers will judge of his success; we cannot think it very great. It adds nothing to the effect to inform us how 'striking,' and 'impressive,' and 'remarkable' it was, and with what 'unspeakable admiration' he gazed on the 'singular and beautiful cloudy sea.' In representations of this sort the scene is darkened instead of being disclosed by an accumulation of such epithets; and the sublime certainly bordered on the ridiculous when the wonderful effect of dwelling upon it with admiration *almost made the head ache.*

Every traveller in America bears testimony to the beneficial workings of the voluntary principle; and no sooner does our author refer to the religious establishments in Albany, than he produces evidence in support of it; not for *the purpose* of supporting it, but as the necessary result of unprejudiced observation. There are in Albany twenty-four large churches, as they are called there, of various denominations, accommodating, perhaps, about 24,000 persons out of a population of 30,000, of which there are it is presumed 6,000, or one fifth, unable to attend public worship: so that there are sufficient means for almost every individual, and it is thought that 20,000 out of the 30,000 do actually attend divine service. Without dwelling upon the contrast thus furnished to the state of British cities and towns, which we may well lament, and which contrast is exhibited in its substantial features throughout a considerable part of the United States, Mr. Buckingham remarks truly, that the whole of those establishments are sustained by the voluntary system — each congregation first choosing, and then maintaining, its own pastor, with great liberality. No minister receives less than 1,000 dollars, or £250 per annum, as his regular stipend, besides perquisites from marriages, burials, &c., which are very large in amount; and others receive 2,000 dollars a year, in the same manner. Mr. Buckingham says that while he was at Albany, a marriage was solemnized between two members of the same congregation, and a present of 500 dollars, or £100, was sent to the minister on this occasion. This, however, must have been a rare occurrence, and yet in a country where there is no state endowed church, and where every minister is accounted a bishop, as he ought to be, we can believe it is not unlikely to take place sometimes, and other amounts, though not equal yet large, to spring from the uncompelled good will of the people. The following statement is quite true; and we

willingly extend our extract to the amusing story with which it closes.

'The consequence is that an ill-educated or an immoral man cannot find his way into the American clergy. There is no opening of patronage, or interest, or purchase, by which he can make an entry into that body; and being carefully selected in the first instance, and having every conceivable motive for retaining his ground, and justifying the soundness of the choice, in the second, his zeal, industry, and correct conduct are all called forth to their utmost, and the greatest harmony of respect and affection almost uniformly reigns between the pastor and his flock. The estimation in which the clergy are held here, and the influence which they consequently exercise over the taste and conduct of the community, is much greater than it is in England; and thus it is that the churches are more uniformly filled; the services are altogether more decorous, more impressive, and more efficient; the seats more commodious, the furniture more substantial, the singing and music more refined, as well as devotional; the prayers more earnest, the sermons more searching, and the congregations more influenced by religious motives, or respect to religious principles and observances, in their general conduct in society.

'I remember to have heard here a curious anecdote of one of our distinguished legislators, which is worth recording. In a conversation which I had with one of the state judges, resident in Albany, as to the opposite opinions entertained in England on the subject of supporting religion by a state establishment, or by the voluntary system, I mentioned that I had myself heard debates in the English House of Commons, in which it was boldly asserted, on the one side, that the flourishing condition of the churches of every sect in America was sufficient proof of the excellence of the voluntary system of support for religion; while, on the other hand, it was as warmly contended by those who were in favor of a state establishment, that the voluntary system had entirely failed in America, where there was a great deal less of religion and religious observances than in England. I added, that these counter assertions staggered the doubting, who could not decide on the relative value of the conflicting evidence, especially when a nobleman of great talents, one of the ablest supporters of the state church, and who, in addition to his rank, station, and ability, added the advantage of having travelled in America, allied himself to the latter party.

'Upon hearing this, the learned judge said, 'I do not wonder that this noble lord saw so little of the religion and the religious observances of the Americans, when he travelled among them; because I happen to remember being at Utica, where the court was then sitting, at the period of his arrival in that city, accompanied by two other gentlemen now in the British legislature; and on the Sunday, when our religious observances are most apparent, these young English statesmen, and friends and advocates of an established church, set off in their carriage to the west, with their dogs and guns, on a shooting or sporting excursion, to the no small surprise of those who thought they might have all been much more appropriately employed.''

—Vol. ii. pp. 315—317.

After visiting Albany, our author proceeded to Schenectady, and thence to the farm of Mr. Delavan at Ballston Centre. We pass over, though reluctantly, various subjects suggested by particular places and institutions, which have been described, though somewhat less elaborately, in other books of travels, to introduce a passage in relation to the agricultural condition of this part of the United States.

'During our stay at Mr. Delavan's we had an opportunity of visiting many of the neighboring farmers, and receiving visits from others, with their families, as well as of inspecting the condition of their farms, and becoming acquainted with the circumstances of the farm laborers; for we were now entirely in the country, several miles from any town, and among people wholly devoted to agricultural life.

'In the general appearance of the surface of the country, England is far superior to America. The great perfection to which every kind of cultivation has there attained, the noble mansions of the wealthy gentry, the fine parks and lawns, the beautiful hedge-row fences, the substantial stone farm-houses and out-buildings, and the excellent roads and conveyances, which are seen in almost every part of England, are not to be found here. But though, in these outward appearances, American farming districts are inferior to English, yet in all substantial realities the superiority is on the side of America.

'The occupier of a farm, whether large or small, is almost invariably the owner of the land he cultivates; and therefore all the disagreeable differences between landlords and tenants, with the vexations of the game laws, the authority of country squires and clerical magistrates, so fertile a source of annoyance in England, are here unknown. There being no tithes, great or small, for the support of a state clergy, all that large class of evils growing out of tithe disputes and tithe compositions are here also unheard of. The laborers being fewer than are required, and wages being high, there are neither paupers nor poor-rates, and neither workhouses nor jails are required for the country population, since abundance of work and good pay prevents poverty, and takes away all temptation to dishonesty. There being no ranks or orders such as the esquire and the baronet, the baron and the earl, the marquis and the duke, each to compete with and outvie the other in outward splendor, which too often leads to inward embarrassment, as in England, the country residents are free from that foolish ambition which devours the substance of too many at home; and all those idle disputes and distinctions about old families and new ones, people of high birth and people of low, country families and strangers, which so perplex the good people of England when a county meeting or a county ball takes place, so as to set persons in their right places, to admit some, exclude others, and so on, are here happily unthought of. The consequence is, that with more sources of pleasure, and few sources of dissatisfaction, the American country gentry and farmers are much better off, and much happier than the same class of people in England. No corn laws exist to vex the landowner with a fear of their abolition, no non-payment of rents and abatements to tenants are

ever heard of, for landlord and tenant are here merged in one. No distraint for tithes, or writs of ejectment, ever occur; and in short, scarcely any thing ever happens to ruffle the serenity of a country life in the well settled parts of America.

'The greatest difference of all, however, between the agricultural population of England and those of the United States, is to be seen in their relative degrees of intelligence. In England, no one, I presume, will deny the fact, of the farmers and farm-laborers being among the least intelligent and most uneducated portion of the population. Here, on the contrary, they are among the most intelligent and best informed. A great number of the occupiers of farms are persons who, having been successful in business in cities, have retired at an early period of life, bought an estate, take delight in cultivating it on their own account for income, and as from seven to ten per cent. is realized on farming capital where carefully attended to, it is at once a safe and profitable investment.

'These gentlemen having a good deal of leisure, little parish business to occupy them, and a taste for books and love of information, read a great deal more than the busy inhabitants of commercial cities, and have the power of exercising their judgment and reflection more free from the bias of party views and sectarian feelings, than those who live in large communities. Their previous education and ample means dispose others also to works of benevolence; and the consequence is, that while their conversation is more intelligent, and their manners greatly superior to that of English farmers generally, they devote a large portion of their time and means to the establishment and support of Sunday schools, district schools, societies for mutual improvement, country libraries, temperance societies, savings' banks, and, in short, every thing that can elevate those below them, and make them better and happier in their stations.'—Ib. pp. 411—414.

The third volume contains an account of the author's journeyings through Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and other places in the high road of general travel. We could have wished to see some greater deviations from this beaten track, as we have already several successive accounts of these places; and the varying condition of society in many of them, though considerable, is not such as to require frequent repetitions. We fancy that we are now pretty well informed of the facts relating to American society, education, and commerce, as well as of the principal features of the country. Niagara, Trenton Falls, and other frequented wonders, need no further description. We will, therefore, henceforth take for granted some things upon which all are tolerably well agreed; namely, that the Americans spoil our language, begin to rival our education, and are commercially busy. We will also take for granted that the rivers are large, much of the mountain scenery fine, and Niagara the eighth wonder of the world. If our readers desire further information they may peruse these volumes.

Regarding the work as a whole, we are ready to acknowledge that the author has fulfilled many of the pledges given by him in the introductory chapter, to observe for himself, to bring his experience as a traveller to bear upon the investigation of the moral and political condition of the United States, and to view with impartiality the various institutions of the people. He has collected together a number of facts, and his volumes are pervaded perhaps with as little of the discoloration of prejudice as is found generally in productions of this class. At the same time we are not altogether free from feelings of disappointment. There is too much of egotism to please us. He says in the introduction, that he wishes to make his reader the companion of his travels, that he may see as he sees, and be as it were on the spot with him. This is well; but the companion of his travels does not, and cannot like to be always made, or attempted to be made, the humble admirer of his performances. What have we to do with his lectures, and with how many attended them? Many a page on this subject might have been advantageously spared. Too many are also given to mere quotations from newspapers, for the sake of showing the operation of party feelings and political prejudices; and the opinions of the press (that is, often of mere garret scribblers) on the merits and demerits of distinguished men. In fact, the whole is too diffuse and prolix. Many things might have been omitted, and the rest compressed. Had none ever written before, much that is now a repetition of former statements might have been received for information; as it is, we looked for a more condensed and engaging work. As a general principle, we must express our opinion that travellers into foreign parts, instead of aiming to say all upon every subject, would save themselves trouble, gratify the reader, and enhance their reputation more, by each selecting some one great point of observation, and reporting facts and precise information on one class of things that lie open for research, leaving to others their own appropriate spheres of inquiry. We should thus save our pockets and our time, while increasing our knowledge. Mr. Buckingham certainly has not done what he might; yet we have no wish to disparage his labors, and sincerely thank him for what he has done.

Art. III. *Wesleyan Takings; or Centenary Sketches of Ministerial Character as exhibited in the Wesleyan Connexion during the first hundred years of its existence.* 1 vol. 12mo. Hamilton and Co.

THE rapid and extraordinary advancement of the Methodist denomination to the position it now occupies at the head of all the sects of British Protestant dissenters, the neutral character it aims to preserve, in profession at least, between church and dissent, and the recent hostility it has manifested against the efforts made to obtain justice from the legislature for the industrious and starving myriads of the poor, are all facts which must supply matter of curious inquiry to those not within its pale, and subjects which will greatly perplex any future church historian not in the secrets of its governing council, and not initiated into its civil and ecclesiastical politics. To those, also, who view its theological system as essentially at variance in some points with the obvious import of revelation, and its ecclesiastical polity as adapted rather to human views of expediency than to the precept and precedent of apostolic authority, the influence it has acquired over a very considerable portion of the spiritual body of Christ, must supply a subject of grave consideration. Any such person will, we trust, be disposed to view the good really accomplished by the prevalence of the system as, in one sense, a compensation for whatever errors, either in principle or administration, may be supposed to attach to it. We confess that though to some extent we sympathize with the late John Walker, of Dublin, in his views both of the system and its working, yet we are ready to acknowledge, and we gratefully make the acknowledgment, that without Methodism, myriads who have found the way of salvation would never have heard of it, and myriads more, who now hear the word of life by its numerous and energetic heralds, would have been sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. Methodism, however, has become a new and mighty hierarchy, a centumvirate, exercising not merely a religious, but a civil, and even a political influence of great weight in the present balanced state of parties. The character of its ministers has therefore become a matter of curiosity. The absolute control which they possess in ecclesiastical affairs over the laity, the influence which they exert over the political views of the people, as well as over the subordinate and dependent members of their clerisy, have contributed to excite attention to the men who sit at the helm and regulate the signals which the entire body is expected to obey. Certain individuals are well known and acknowledged to constitute the present governing council.

Their political bias gives a tone to the connexion, and such is the interweaving of spiritual and secular, ecclesiastical and political affairs, that no man can now rank as a good Methodist, or expect promotion from the ruling powers, who is not also a good Tory. The few liberals in the denomination are looked upon with suspicion, and are mostly sent to Coventry.

The clever but anonymous author of the present volume has well opined that the public, not in the connexion, are becoming anxious to know the men who sway the sceptre, and he has produced a volume adapted in some measure to gratify that curiosity. As a matter of business it has no doubt been successful, and the busy stir within the body to condemn and quash it will give it interest, and promote its wider circulation. It was well enough to add the characters of many of its departed worthies, but the chief interest of the book attaches to its portraits of the living; and for them alone was it written. Several of them are given at considerable length in the present volume, and others are promised in another volume which is to follow. It is very obvious that the author is, or has been, a member of the body—that he has had ample opportunity of observing the men he describes, that he is himself a preacher, and that his admiration of the talents and efficiency of the ministerial order in the connexion is quite sufficiently high. The names of living characters are suppressed, but the slight knowledge we ourselves possess enables us to identify most of them.

The following is part of the sketch of Dr. Bunting, whose influence as a ruler of no ordinary description is felt and acknowledged throughout the Methodist connexion:—

'How has he obtained such an ascendancy in the body? Not by fraud—not by misconduct; but by lending his superior talents to promote the best interests of the connexion. He has not satisfied himself with barely preaching, and quietly eating the bread of his labors; with pruning his mind down to the circuit in which he has moved, like a fly whose prospect is bounded by the breakfast-table on which it alights; with taking Methodism as it has been handed to him, resolved to allow it to pass on in the same state:—but he has taken an enlarged view of the whole; has looked upon Methodism as the mere creature of providential circumstances; and has always been on the watch for times and seasons, in order to mould its laws to the temper of the age—changes and improvements experienced in society at large. He has kept his eye fixed on the working of the whole of the machinery, while others have attended to the rotatory motion of a single wheel; he has watched while others have slept; he has labored while others have loitered. By attending to the interest of the whole, knowledge has poured in upon him from every quarter; men of inferior talent have committed their concerns into his hand; and now he

reigns supreme—is equal to a King in Israel: with this security to the body—he is wise and good. No man was ever more useful—not Wesley himself—in the various offices he has sustained. He is, properly speaking, a man of business; not as it regards its bustle, for he might do more, but in the knowledge he brings to it, and in the number of hands engaged. The politics of Methodism have been his meat and his drink—his daily study; and its laws and usages, subsequent to his entering upon public life, bear the impress of his mind.

'Connected with his governorship is his character as a pleader—his consummate art and power at replication. Here, alas, we have to knock at closed doors, in order to reach him, and see him in all his glory. The members of the conference can alone assist us in this instance. We have been favored, however, with a few specimens; and from what we have witnessed, in places we have been permitted to enter, we can readily give credit to the reports of his brethren that are abroad. We pretend not to be initiated into all the mysteries of in-door work; but our ears are open, our minds are in exercise, and our fingers frequently turn over the page; and we have been in the great congregation, in committee meetings, in the open conference, and in the social circle; and these are schools in which, unless we are exceedingly dull, we may learn much, and infer still more, though we may be unable to appreciate, like the privileged part of the Wesleyan priesthood, the full extent of the might and majesty of his character.

* * * * *

'See him: there he sits on the platform—an elevation which, though simple in itself, and unintentional in the first instance, has led to the establishment of an aristocracy in the body, the overwhelming power of which will be felt so long as it shall be permitted to stand—giving rise to a distinction as visible to the eye, and as sensibly felt, as between lords and commons, the upper and the lower house; yes, see him surrounded by the leading members of conference, his elbow on the table, and his chin embedded in the palm of his hand. A subject of importance being on the tapis, the speaker being low, or at a distance, the hand is speedily relieved of the chin, and placed behind the ear, where it remains as a substitute for a trumpet, gathering together the words, while the sense which it is intended to aid drinks in the sound. An occasional note is made on a slip of paper or the back of a letter, in the course of a protracted discussion; but memory, which scarcely ever fails him, is mostly depended upon. Now he is calm and dignified; but in an instant the scene is changed. The speaker has the misfortune to oppose some favorite theory, to trench upon some of the peculiarities of Methodism, or belongs to the other side of the house: that moment the eye of our Pleader is darted like the eye of a lynx along the line of sound, and either quails or rouses the person who has gained his attention. He again appears tranquil; but it is the tranquillity of a man pondering upon what has been said. Speaker succeeds speaker, till at length silence ensues; and during the momentary pause, he looks round. But no one assaying to rise, he considers his own time to have come. He loves the closing speech; and now that he is on his feet, let the eye be thrown around the

audience, and all will be seen on tiptoe—all will be still to the ear. The first feeling in operation in the breast of previous speakers refers as much to themselves as the subject; and the first thought in the mind of the mere hearer is inadvertently directed to the same quarter, and is followed up with anxiety or pleasure—looking forward to see how it will fare with such as have thus entered the arena of debate, as well as towards the fate of the question in which he himself may have an interest, and which absolutely hangs upon the breath, and is to be decided by him upon whom every eye is now fixed, as by fascination. Listen to him; he takes, perhaps, at first a dispassionate view of the general question—then gives you his own opinion—next goes on to establish certain positions—notices the remarks of previous speakers, so far as they seem to interfere with his own sentiments—and, lastly, proceeds to the formal reply, in which he often takes upon himself the *onus probandi*, either classifying the arguments of his opponents, or taking up their objections separately, as may best suit his purpose—encircling himself all the while in a tower of strength, from whose impregnable walls he nods defiance to all his assailants. Very often, at a moment when a man is congratulating himself on the probability of a happy escape, or of finding his arguments valid, by a less early notice, he will come down upon him in an instant, like an unexpected flash of lightning, broad and vivid, shivering to pieces, by a single stroke, the whole superstructure he had reared, and upon which he had long gazed with the fondness of a parent on a favorite child, compelling him at the time by its glare to shrink back into himself. On these occasions he can be sarcastic, solemn, playful, or otherwise. But he never approaches a subject without illuminating it, and rarely retires from the field without conquest, followed by the smiles of his friends, and leaving the opposing powers in a state of suspense or blank astonishment. . . . . As the head of a party, he has none of its prejudices to plead, having no person to serve; and he has few, if any, peculiarities of a personal character, no 'mental idiosyncrasies,' as Lord Brougham would say, to indulge, which produce capricious fancies and crochets. His faculties are always unclouded and instructed, ever to be depended on; and his judgment secures him success and adherents.

'On this part of his character there are only two drawbacks; he is arbitrary, and he is personal; so at least say some of his brethren. With regard to the first of these charges, we have no means of rebutting it, and have no wish to substantiate it; and therefore we leave it either as a slander to be corrected by his own conduct, or as an imperfection which will sooner or later receive its own punishment. On the second, if he should have stooped to personalities, we feel inclined to believe that they may have, in some instances, been provoked; and are of opinion that they have been resorted to more with a view to help himself than to injure the individual, whom he might otherwise, with his giant power, crush like the moth. We know sufficient of human nature, too, to lead us to conclude that every man is deemed more or less personal by those who have had the misfortune to have their theories maltreated, and their arguments knocked on the head.

And this also we know—and it will atone for a thousand minor faults, as well as neutralize others—that disinterestedness distinguishes the gentleman before us in all his ways. He will as soon fly in the face of a friend as a foe, in cases of culpability. He goes direct to his object, and floors, in the less elegant language of the ring, every man that obstructs his course. Though not always merciful after his power, he still is just, and also noble. He is not in the habit of speaking hastily, seldom unadvisedly; but never hesitates to speak strongly, sometimes without considering the rack upon which the person is placed, against whom his remarks may be directed. Meet him as an opponent, and he is terrible; take him as a friend, and success is certain,—certain even to men of minor talents, over whom he may extend the fostering shadow of his wing.'

—pp. 11—20.

The author then proceeds to describe Dr. Bunting as a preacher. With the admission that he is far from being popular in the connexion, he yet considers him worthy of being made a model in almost all respects. We cannot, however, afford space for citing the observations of the critic upon this part of Dr. Bunting's character, as we intend to present our readers with a portion of the author's remarks upon the preacher who is as great in the Wesleyan pulpit as Bunting in the Wesleyan senate.

No one acquainted in the slightest degree with the *connexion* can hesitate to attach the name of Robert Newton to the following description.

'He is one of the *elèves* of Methodism, sent out at the close of the eighteenth century,—a class of men, as Bunting, Watson, Isaac, and a few others, destined to shine with more than common brightness. He, like some others, is formed for toil, and passes through what would be the death of a score of men, without ever appearing jaded. He stands about six feet—strong of bone—admirably proportioned—the form erect, but not stiff—a slight degree of squareness in the shoulders, but otherwise the whole figure noble and princely, with the dignified air of an ancient Roman about to give the word of command, or assume the reins of government—and all without the least tincture of vanity, or appearance of inflation. The face bears the general hue of hardihood and health, somewhat embrowned, with a shade of crimson on the cheek—but a crimson as remote from that of the 'winebibber,' as it is opposed to the delicate carnation tint on the thin, glazed skin of the drawing-room figure, which has the white touches of the winding sheet blended with it. The hair is naturally dark, and the false top, before the whiskers became powdered with age, had a sleek, easy, natural appearance, leaving open a fine expansive forehead, from right to left, not at all out of keeping for height, and beaming with light. The whiskers just referred to curve their way across the greater part of the cheek; and while they give a martial rather than a ministerial appearance to the face, they partially conceal, on the one side, a cluster

of purple berries, which he brought into the world with him, and which rather give interest to the face than detract from its beauty. His features are strong rather than large, and masculinely handsome; the nose somewhat aquiline; the eye dark and expressive, inclined to round, with a fine white, and long black eye-lashes; and a mouth formed for public speaking, capable of emitting, without the least contraction, the fullest voice. Yet it is impossible not to perceive, when the countenance is not lighted up by conversation, or the mind actively employed, if not a form and expression of feature that would settle down into something like melancholy—not remote, for instance, from that occasionally betrayed by Richard Watson—at least into a state of pensiveness. Its more general expression is that of cheerfulness; which is preserved by constant interchange and excitement, while every motion of his form is graceful. . . . . We do not say too much when we affirm, that we never heard such another voice, we mean for speaking, not for song; and we doubt whether its equal can be found in the three kingdoms—at home or abroad in the christian church. To the public we make our appeal; no voice was ever more frequently or more widely heard—a voice which seems actually to improve by age and exercise. Though power is its leading characteristic, like that of the organ; yet, like the same instrument, it has compass and variety, as well as sweetness—swelling, pealing, softening, but never dying on the ear—except when untouched; always audible, always agreeable, always inviting; and although its higher bursts are the least sweet and round, still, as far the human voice can be compared to such an instrument, his may be compared to one of the best toned of those instruments; and not any thing, after the tones of the organ have ceased in a large Wesleyan chapel, can be more in keeping or more agreeable than the elevation of the voice of the preacher in question. It is one of those voices which is so natural as to require no management—which any thing like management would absolutely mar—and which would be as much out of place as among the songsters of the grove. Such is its power, such its charms upon an audience, that it would be listened to with delight if he were to speak in an unknown tongue. It is to this, though partly in connexion with his person and his manner, that the delight of the people is to be traced, in listening to the same sermon, in the same pulpit, three or four times delivered, with no distant intervals between, and often on public occasions—a delight that would lead, if allowable, *encore* to be rapturously uttered by his hearers; and it is this, too, that gives even to commonplace things a peculiar charm,—all being clothed with majesty and grace—uttered, by himself, as for the first time—and welcomed, by the people, as if never heard before, or, if perfectly familiar, received with the joyous and cherished feeling of a congregation listening to the 'Old Hundred' psalm tune, or the multitude listening on some great, stirring, and public occasion, to the fine national airs of 'God save the King' and 'Rule Britannia;' the things themselves being as welcome as the return of spring, though its verdure may have been beheld and its breath inhaled during the periodical visits of half a century. Should a gentle hint be given, 'We have had this sermon

before,' instantly, without any apology for a lapse of memory, the retort would be made—only substituting speaking for writing, 'To write the same things to you, to me indeed is not grievous, but for you it is safe.' . . . .

'His artillery is often the heaviest when he indulges in declamation. There he excels,—indignant—scowling—severe—bold—with a thundering volume of voice; as if Jupiter himself were speaking from his throne, and sending abroad his bolts. . . . . His materials, as far as quality and quantity are concerned, are rather good than fine—excellent than extensive; the article being such as will always command a ready market, so to speak, not from the delicacy of its texture, or the novelty of the pattern, but owing to its substantiality, and the wants of the people. It is intended to profit rather than please; for the many rather than the few; and it is such as no one need be ashamed to offer. No man living, perhaps, carries on such an extensive trade with so moderate a capital; and no man disposes his stock to better advantage. There is never much on hand; all is held in requisition; he is not in the first, but in the best line; and no one, who buys the truth from his lips, is disposed, provided his mart is open, to go elsewhere, or to wish for any thing besides that which he has to present. Though always useful and popular, the last fifteen years has added, beyond all precedent, to the extent of his usefulness, and to the tenacity of his hold on the public mind. He mellows with age; and like wines of a peculiar vintage, improves by keeping. . . . .

'That a man like this should exercise an influence somewhere is naturally to be expected. But where? Not immediately in the government of the Wesleyan body. A hundred men could start up, and on matters of mere policy could dispute the point with him, and would be listened to by their brethren with respect, in the annual legislative assembly. While his influence is on the mass from without, on all ranks and communities, attracting all by the magic of his oratorical powers, the gentleman who stands first on the list of these sketches (Dr. Bunting) sits supreme within—seen no where but in his usual seat, and heard only with his single voice, in the midst of his brethren; and yet, like an invisible power, moving every where, and felt in every thing. Object to it, who may; but deny it, who can! and find, who will, two men better calculated to hold the influence they have honestly acquired from within and without, or who will wear their honours more meekly!'

We must now proceed to express our opinion of the volume before us and of its contents. The author of these 'Wesleyan 'Takings' appears to us to have attempted a work of questionable utility. He will do little more by his labors than gratify the curious, the critical, and the captious. He has not simply taken the artist's pencil, he has ascended the censor's chair, and too often adventured to pronounce judgments for which he is inadequately qualified. In matters of taste and questions of style, he arbitrates with an authority to which his own production shows he has no title. There is an air of pedantry in the

display he makes of classical lore, which will disgust sound scholars. His fondness for figures disfigures every page; his own style is about as bad as any style can be to be readable, and to crown all, his taste is frequently vulgar and low. 'Barclay's entire'—'floors every man'—'grovels in the mud'—'crawls with the worm'—'the herd of mankind who neigh, and 'bellow, and bray so much alike, that the finest ear cannot dis-'tinguish one from another'—with many similar expressions, show that the author either affects vulgarity for the sake of the people for whom he writes, or that it has been an element in his own education. He must allow us, moreover, to add, that he has spoiled the effect of his delineations by the extravagant eulogies and absurd illustrations in which he has frequently indulged. Some excess of admiration might have been tolerated in one who, being of the body he describes, is expected to write so much *con amore*. But the general excess of praise, the tendency to rate the style and order of Wesleyan preachers as so much above all comparison, is quite intolerable. That there are eminent preachers in the body no one will doubt, but that the mass are superior men, will not be credited by the public. Nor must the preachers themselves imagine that the progress of their denomination is attributable to any such cause. It is not for us to enter minutely into this subject. It is enough to express an opinion of the present performance, which we cannot but describe as self-complacent and extravagant in a degree altogether unwarrantable. When some dozen of men, of eminent pulpit talent, are excepted, the great body of Wesleyan preachers cannot be described as rising in any particular, save their boldness and assumption, above the mass of preachers in other denominations. In point of education they sink below most others, and nothing is more striking in their general character than the tone and manner which are the invariable indications of self-taught men.

Notwithstanding these strictures on the present volume, which we have deemed it but justice to make, we admit that the volume displays considerable acuteness, and no mean acquaintance with the men described and the affairs of the body at large. The author possesses a knowledge of the classics, and a familiarity with literature in general, far beyond most of his brethren, but his propensity to show his learning betrays him into very absurd paroxysms of allusion and citation. Upon the whole we find no fault with his notions of what preaching ought to be, though we should very much question whether his own is distinguished by the qualities he commends. There is betrayed throughout the book too great an admiration of mere taler[illegible] and the importance of oratory is magnified beyond just bou[illegible] We should have been glad to have observed warmer and r[illegible]

frequent recommendations of apostolic simplicity, truth, and earnestness. But the temper of the book is—*who but we?*

Of the twelve portraits which occupy the first 300 pages, six are of departed preachers, the remainder of living men. Deducting these twelve from the hundred sketches in the volume, the eighty-eight which comprise both dead and living are despatched ordinarily in less than half a page. Such a sketch is brief and unsatisfactory in the extreme. The plan appears to us essentially defective, in not being restricted either to the memoirs of departed men of eminence, or the living, of whom the author boasts that hundreds might be selected from the present ministry of the connexion. Then why not exhibit them in greater numbers instead of giving us only six? The 'outlines ready for filling up,' seem intended merely to fill up the volume and excite expectation for another. Of the memoirs of departed preachers, that of Richard Watson, by far the ablest man the Wesleyan body has ever produced, is the best in the volume, because it is in all respects the most just and the most carefully written. That of Dr. Adam Clarke is extravagant, and will be esteemed, by all who knew him thoroughly, a failure.

We cannot dismiss this article without suggesting to our readers the inquiry—with what feelings will the Methodist body contemplate the course of ecclesiastical policy likely to be pursued by the party to which they have lent their assistance! The check which has been given to liberal men and measures, to all improvements in church and state, and to the cause of liberty civil and religious, has been, in a great degree, aided by the Toryism of the Wesleyans, and particularly by that of their ministers. Can they now contemplate the work of their hands with conscientious satisfaction? If Puseyism could have dictated a prime minister and a cabinet, it could scarcely have found men more to its heart's wish;—will the Wesleyan body congratulate itself upon the assistance it will have rendered to the cause of anti-protestantism? and will it anticipate a return of kind offices from the party which is now on the road to domination in the church? Are the evangelical Wesleyans about to reciprocate fraternity with the Oxford school? And will they remember with gratitude the day in which they helped to place the Tories at the head of the state, and the Puseyites at the head of the church? We shall see. They have been glad in times past to fight by the side of the regular dissenters, and divide the spoils of the triumphs we have won. But they have turned tail and gone over to the enemy. Will they be taken on the staff? Or will the people allow themselves to be thus betrayed to their natural enemies? Methodism is undoubtedly at present on the strongest side, but it will soon find

that it is not on the most numerous. When a change will take place we venture not to predict, for we are quite at a loss to understand the auguries of the body, or the nature of the policy which guides it. But change it must, or cease to be the religion of the working people. Every working man ought, as a sacred duty, to teach his children that Methodism has been a principal means of strengthening the hands and setting up the power of his oppressors. The people in the great manufacturing districts, where are the strongholds of Methodism, ought, with united voice, to tell their preachers, that they, as a body, have brought the bread taxers into power, and that they have refused to lift up their voice for justice and humanity, while he that grinds the face of the poor has received their support. The people are yet silent, but let them speak out, and they will not only be heard, but be successful. The Methodist ministers, after all, are nothing without their people. There is a point beyond which the patience of these people will not extend—when that is reached—when the people of Methodism see that their interest identifies them with the rest of the people in their demand for untaxed bread; that moment the downfall of the present dynasty is sealed, Toryism and Wesleyanism will be divorced, and the accession of strength to the cause of free trade in corn will compel any government to yield to justice, what will probably, till then, be tenaciously held by the avarice of the aristocracy.

Art. IV. 1. *The Knowledge of Jesus the most excellent of the Sciences.* By ALEXANDER CARSON, A.M. Edinburgh. 1840.

2. *History of Providence, as manifested in Scripture; or Facts from Scripture illustrative of the Government of God: with a Defence of the Doctrine of Providence, and an Examination of the Philosophy of Dr. Thomas Brown on that subject.* By ALEXANDER CARSON, A.M. Edinburgh. 1840.

THE title of the former of these volumes is both true and fascinating. The knowledge of Jesus is in one sense a science, and assuredly it is the most excellent of the sciences. All other knowledge sinks into insignificance and worthlessness in comparison with it; and happy will it be when those who pursue science shall cease to idolize it, and shall neither disdain nor neglect to sit at the feet of Jesus, and to learn of him. In opening the book to which this title is prefixed, however, the reader will not find that it is devoted to an illustration of the sentiment so aptly—we may say, so beautifully expressed.

There is much, indeed, said about and (with too much reason, but not always with justice) against philosophers; but there is not, as the title might have led us to expect, an exhibition of the sciences ordinarily so called, and a contrasted exhibition of the gospel of Christ, for the demonstration of its greater excellency. What the contents of the book really are, and wherein the principal value of it (in the author's judgment) consists, will appear from the following summary furnished by his own pen.

'I have now, I think, proved seven grand points. *First*, That God manifests himself in his works, as to a part of his character. *Second*, That, though God manifests himself in his works, no man ever from these works learned the lesson which they teach. No man, without the Scriptures, ever learned from creation and providence as much of God as is taught by the works of creation and providence. *Third*, That the character of God, in which there is ground of confidence to sinners, is to be learned only from the Scriptures. There only is God seen as a just God and a Saviour. *Fourth*, That the character of God as he is manifested in the gospel contains its own evidence. It cannot be known without being believed, and on this ground the rejection of it is condemnation. *Fifth*, That the character of God is manifested in his Son Jesus Christ. The Father is known only by knowing the Son. Instead of knowing the Father better than the Son, nothing is known of the Father but as it is seen in the Son. *Sixth*, That the gospel is neither more nor less than a manifestation of the divine character. The character of the Son, and of the Father, and the gospel, are all virtually identified. The gospel reveals the Father by revealing the Son, in whom the Father is seen. The plan of salvation through the atonement was necessary to show God to be what he is. *Seventh*, That the Scriptures employ phraseology about the gospel that implies that it is a self-evident truth. If the view which I have given of this subject is truth, it brings forward truth that hath lain unnoticed in the Scriptures since the days of the apostles. I am not aware that these views will be found in any human writings. If my positions are fairly made out, they are of incalculable importance in many respects.'—pp. 302, 303.

Our readers will see from this quotation that Mr. Carson travels over a wide space, and touches, unquestionably with a vigorous and masterly hand, a great variety of topics. He challenges attention, however, particularly to a sentiment of 'incalculable importance,' which (in his judgment) 'has lain 'unnoticed in the Scriptures since the days of the apostles,' and which, so far as he knows, is not to be 'found in any human 'writings.' This is an announcement, certainly, of stirring import, and is fitted to engage prompt and serious attention. For ourselves, we yield it readily at such a call.

Upon looking after the sentiment in question, we find it expressed in the following terms. 'The character of God, as

'he is manifested in the gospel, contains its own evidence.' The gospel is 'a self evident truth;' so that 'to unfold the 'gospel is to prove it.' After remarking on our Lord's words, John xiv. 6, 11, our author thus further explains himself.

'In the light of this passage, the gospel has its evidence in itself. If God is seen in the gospel, in the very sight there must be evidence of his godhead. Is it possible that God shall appear, and yet that it shall not be known that he is God by those who truly behold him? This would be a supposition totally unworthy of God. Jehovah in his glorious perfections is infinitely above all his creatures, and there can be no difficulty in recognizing him when he appears. He that sees God in the character in which he manifests himself in the Scriptures, would as soon look on the sun and ask if it is light, as, on seeing God, ask, Is this God? Even the queen of Persia might mistake the favorite for Alexander, because the friend of the king may have as much appearance of majesty as the sovereign himself. But no man will ever see God, and ask, Is this God? When God discovers his character to the mind, there is self-evidence that he is the true God. They who do not recognize him do not truly see him, though in the Scriptures he stands before their eyes.'—p. 256.

We are not sure that we understand Mr. Carson; and he must excuse us if, among the ideas from which we select one as his most probable meaning, we should mistake him. His view, as we conceive it, is, that the method of expiation for sin by the vicarious sacrifice of Christ for his people—for this is Mr. Carson's exhibition of the scriptural character of God—must necessarily appear to every one who understands it to be the method in which God is actually dealing with men, and a divinely wise and glorious method of dealing with them. We take him to maintain that no man who understands this doctrine can either doubt whether it represents the fact, or refuse his acquiescence in the system. We do not find ourselves able to agree, on the instant at least, in this sentiment.

We are not satisfied as to the ground upon which any such conviction of the truth and excellency of the gospel must be supposed to arise. If any particular representation of God's character is to bring to me an instantaneous conviction that it is a just one, it must be because of its conformity with some ideas of God more or less distinctly preconceived in my mind; just as, if I were to recognize a stranger at first sight, without his being named to me, it would be owing to a conformity on his part to the image I had created of him. Now we know that there are in human nature certain impulses of justice and benevolence, by their conformity to which all representations of the divine character are quickly brought to a species of test by mankind; but we are scarcely prepared to admit that these impulses

are universally—if in any case—so comprehensive, accurate, and vivid, as to furnish an immediate certainty that some particular representation of the divine character is correct. Have all men such antecedent thoughts of God that they are entitled to say, I know that this description of his character is true, because it agrees with what I have conceived of him?

We can scarcely look with greater satisfaction on the result to which such a sentiment would lead. If, when a representation of the divine character approves itself to the mind of a man, this is to be deemed conclusive of its truth, then such representations as may not gain this concurrence may justly be held in continual doubt; and the mind of man itself may thus become the absolute test and standard of truth. One may then say, Such a view of the divine character cannot be a just one, for my mind revolts from it. Is the human mind in a state of fitness for the office of umpire between contending representations of the character of God?

Further, we think that facts contradict our author's hypothesis. We can have no hesitation in saying, that many persons understand what Mr. Carson means and exhibits as the character of God in the gospel, who, nevertheless, neither feel any complacency in it, nor believe it to be the mode of his conduct towards men. Mr. Carson, we are aware, meets us at this point by saying that such persons do not understand the gospel. On John xvii. 3, 'This is life eternal, that they might know 'thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast 'sent,' he lays it down that salvation is connected with *knowledge*, in the simple meaning of that term, and that 'we cannot 'know the truth without approving of it.' 'It is much safer,' he adds, 'as well as more scriptural, to say, that, though 'the true knowledge of God is eternal life, if men are not 'changed in heart and life they do not really know God,' p. 267. For our part, we must say that we think it both more scriptural and more safe to take the term γινώσκω in the sense of love (a use of it with which Mr. Carson cannot but be familiar), and to allow the result of exercising the understanding, apart from any state of the feelings, to be called knowledge. Upon his principle, what interpretation would the author give to the following passage? 'If I had not done among them the 'works which none other man did, they had not had sin: but 'now *they have both seen and hated both me and my Father*,' John xv. 24.

We think we have done more justice to this volume, and shown more respect to the author, by noticing pointedly the main feature of it, than we should have rendered by a slighter mention of its subordinate parts. From its successive pages we could extract with pleasure many beautiful and valuable pas-

sages; but we must hasten to as extended a notice as our limits will permit of the remaining volume.

The *History of Providence* exactly corresponds with its title. The principal events of Scripture history are taken up in succession, and briefly treated, with great simplicity, judiciousness, and piety. The book is well fitted to become a thoughtful Christian's pocket companion, and it is no small eulogy on both parties, that it was such to the late lamented Dr. Olinthus Gregory. The examination of the philosophy of Dr. Thomas Brown is shrewd and effective, and highly characteristic of the author. A short example will justify our praise. Dr. Brown says that 'the great charm of the celebrated passage of Genesis 'descriptive of the creation of light, consists in its stating 'nothing more than the antecedent and the consequent.' On this Mr. Carson remarks—

'With respect to the cause of this sublimity of the celebrated passage in Genesis, I question Dr. Brown's philosophy. It in no measure depends on any theory with respect to power. And, as a matter of fact, men, on feeling the sublimity, never think of the philosophy of the subject. The sublimity, however, does not consist in the stating of nothing more than the antecedent and the consequent. If this were a true prescription for producing sublimity, there is no writer who might not equal Moses. 'The general ordered the army to dine, and they dined,' is an expression which has the essentials of Dr. Brown's sublimity; but it is never likely to become a rival to the expression in the book of Genesis. In statement there is no difference between the two expressions. What, then, is the essential difference which confers such sublimity on one of them? One of them commands what a command is fit to effect. Command is the usual means employed to produce such effects. The other expression commands what a command has no tendency to effect, even as a means. Not only this, but the command is addressed to what does not exist, and the thing which does not exist is viewed as hearing and obeying the command, by coming into existence. It is here, especially, that the sublimity lies.'

—pp. 349, 350.

With a saving clause against being supposed to agree with every thing in these volumes, we must quit them with high general commendation. It is quite evident that they are the production of a writer long habituated to deep and searching thought, and possessing a great command of language. We will only hint to Mr. Carson, who will take it as the sincerest token of our high respect for him, that he would write both more persuasively and more convincingly, if he would study habitually to be what he has elsewhere termed 'extravagantly 'gentle.'

Art. V. *The English Hexapla: consisting of the Greek Text of the New Testament, with the six important English Versions, known as Wiclif's*, A.D. 1380, *Tyndale's*, A.D. 1534, *Cranmer's*, A.D. 1539, *The Genevan*, A.D. 1557, *The Rhemish*, A.D. 1582, *The Authorized*, A.D. 1611. London: Bagster. 1841.

THE idea of this work, as well as its title, is taken from the Hexapla of Origen, in which four Greek versions of the Old Testament were arranged in parallel columns, together with the original text, first in Hebrew and then in Greek characters, thus presenting a *sixfold* copy of the Scriptures, four only of the columns, however, containing translations of the original. We are not aware of any similar attempt to exhibit a series of translations of either the Old or the New Testament, into one language, until the present, and the Messrs. Bagster deserve the thanks of all English biblical scholars for placing before them, at one view, the successive developments of the New Testament in English. The plan of the work is easily explained. At the top of the two handsome quarto pages which are presented on opening the volume, is the Greek text according to the recension of Scholz, printed in a magnificent type, and occupying about one third of each page. The remaining two thirds contain, in parallel columns, six English versions arranged in chronological order, viz., Wiclif's 1380, Tyndale's 1534, Cranmer's 1539, the Geneva 1557, the Rhemish 1582, and the first edition of the authorized version 1611. An 'historical account' of the English versions' is prefixed, extending to 160 quarto pages. This account exhibits considerable industry, and will, no doubt, be read with interest; but we are sorry to be compelled to add that its style is open to much censure, and what is worse, its statements are not to be implicitly relied on. The publication of the work before us offered a very favorable opportunity for giving a more accurate account of the English Bible than any which we have at present. Our author has, however, we regret to say, preferred the easier mode of following accounts already published; and an independent investigation of the subject, clearing up obscurities, and rejecting received statements where they are apocryphal, is yet a desideratum in our literature. We shall have occasion to point out some of the historical inaccuracies, and many of the grammatical blunders of the account before us, as we proceed.

The history of the English New Testament properly commences with the times of Wiclif. There were, indeed, as the eighth century, versions of various parts of t [illegible] into the Anglo-Saxon tongue, but these are connec-

rather by locality than language; for though the Anglo-Saxon scholar may very distinctly trace in them the groundwork of our vernacular English, they are at this day as completely unintelligible to the mere English reader, as the Latin itself from which they were taken. It would be out of place here to trace the gradual change of language in England from this period down to that of Wiclif. The dialect of his day, though containing many words not now in ordinary use, is substantially English. Few of the words which he employed have become completely obsolete. The principal changes are those which have taken place in the orthography, and in the tense forms of verbs and plural endings of nouns.

Wiclif, by right, stands foremost in the list of English translators. It is true that there were before him several, who in the early part of the fourteenth century attempted the work, but their productions, whether metrical or in prose, seem never to have exerted much influence, or to have been widely circulated. Many of them were not versions but paraphrases—none contained the whole of the New Testament, and whatever may have been their merits or their importance, all were cast into the shade by Wiclif's version, which, as the author of the Historical Account has shown, may well be considered the first *published* translation of the New Testament in English. The term '*published*,' in reference to Wiclif's version, is not, of course, to be understood in the sense which it now generally bears. A work in those days was published when copies were multiplied for sale by transcribers, and the existence, even yet, of a great number of MSS. of this version is sufficient evidence of its publication, though it was never given to the world in type till it was edited by Lewis in the year 1731.

We shall not follow our author in his account of the life of the Rector of Lutterworth, or the history of the translation; we must at once pass on to the character of the version itself, a subject which is very slightly touched by him, though he expressly devotes one section to the consideration of it. He commences his remarks on this point with the following carelessly written and ungrammatical paragraph.

'The importance of this version is such, that some account of its execution and other circumstances connected with it, *seem* almost to be required; at least, without *them*, the notice of the labors of Wiclif would be very defective.'—p. 19.

He then proceeds to show that it was necessary that the version should be made from the Latin, on two grounds; first, Wiclif's probable ignorance of Greek; and secondly, his probable inability to procure a Greek MS., if he had been able to

translate it. This leads to some remarks on the value of a '*Version of a Version.*'

'Now in *considering* the merit of a version when formed from another, there are these two things to be *considered*; first, the character of the primary version from which the *other* is made; secondly, the accuracy with which that primary version is represented by the second translator.'—p. 19.

We know not how to characterize such a style of writing as this otherwise than by the epithet slovenly. With respect to the first of 'these two things to be considered,' our author endeavours to show that some sort of revision of the Latin text was probably made for Wiclif's version. We are, however, by no means satisfied with his proof, and it is certain that whatever efforts were made to secure a correct text, they were, as our author himself acknowledges, insufficient to exclude many glosses which had crept into the Latin version in common use, and are retained by Wiclif. For an answer to the second inquiry, we are referred to the testimony of the author of the 'Elucidarium Bibliorum,' who, in 1395, speaks of the 'englyshe 'bible late translated' as standing in less need of correction than the 'commune latyn bybles;' and it is inferred from the fact of this testimony being given by one who was engaged in a new translation, that the objection felt to Wiclif's version was its 'being *too literal*, and too close, in following the Latin 'idiom.'

'This judgment, so soon expressed after the death of Wiclif, is fully supported by the closest examination which can be given to the version. It is impossible to compare it with the Vulgate without seeing how attentively the translator has sought, without being *too* servile, to express all that the Latin expresses, and if possible, in the same manner.'—p. 21.

It would have been much more satisfactory if, instead of giving us the evidence of a contemporary on a point which we are, to say the least, as well able to judge of as he could be, our author had compared a few passages of the version with the Latin, from which it was taken. Such a comparison would fully bear out all that he has said respecting the *literality* of the version; but we should scarcely be willing to admit that it is 'literal, without being too servile.' The fact is, that in many passages the sense is obscured, in others lost, through too great attention to literal rendering; in some, the venerable translator seems to have been himself at a loss to discern what was the mind of the Spirit, shrouded as it was to him under the veil of an imperfect version. His translation of 2 Cor. i. 17—20 may

be cited as an example, and it will be interesting to place the Latin by its side.

Wiclif.	Latin Vulgate.
'But whanne I wolde this thing: whether I uside unstidfastnesse? ether tho thingis that I thenke, I thenke aftir the fleische, that at me, be it is and it is not; but god is trewe, for oure word that was at ghou, is and is not is not therinne, but is in it; for whi ihesus crist the sone of god, which is prechid among ghou bi us, bi me and siluan and tymothe, ther was not in hym is and is not: but is was in hym; for whi hou many euer ben biheestis [promises] of god; in thilke is ben fulfillid, and therfor and bi him we seien Amen to god; to oure glorie.'	'Cum ergo hoc voluissem, numquid levitate usus sum? aut quæ cogito, secundum carnem cogito, ut sit apud me Est et Non? Fidelis autem Deus, quia sermo noster, qui fuit apud vos, non est in illo Est et Non. Dei enim filius Jesus Christus, qui in vobis per nos prædicatus est, per me et Silvanum et Timotheum, non fuit Est et Non, sed Est in illo fuit. Quotquot enim promissiones Dei sunt, in illo Est; ideo et per ipsum Amen Deo ad gloriam nostram.'

Many similar instances might be quoted in which the translator was misled by the Latin version, or in which he rendered a passage obscure from following too closely its phraseology, e. g. John x. 24, 'hou long takist thou aweie oure soule?' Vulgate—'Quousque animam nostram tollis.' Though, however, Wiclif appears to have thought it his duty to render each word of the Latin by a corresponding term in English as far as was possible, and thus apparently violated English idiom, it is gratifying to find him sometimes expressing, in pure English, some words which in ecclesiastical usage had obtained a special sanctity, and which have, in later times, been preserved inviolate on that account. The ecclesiastical notions of his age are indeed manifested by his symbolizing the 'clergy' (so called) of the new dispensation with the priesthood of the old. Thus, in Heb. viii. 1, he translates *pontifex* by 'bischop,' and John i. 19, *levitæ* 'dekenes,' and these terms he used constantly as the translation of *episcopus* and *diaconus*. In other instances we find an English word occasionally employed where the Latin had, by the usage of the church, usurped the place of the English. Thus redemption is rendered 'agenbiynge,' Rom. iii. 24, resurrection 'agenrisyng,' Rev. xx. 5, 6, pœnitentia, his ordinary translation of which is penance, 'forthinkynge,' Rom. ii. 4, as though he would give the idea in some part of the book in his native tongue, to furnish an explanation of the more usual, though less English word.

The translation of Wicli[illegible] it was at the time of its publication, has long [illegible]v other worth than

that of a literary monument for the historian of the times or the language in which it was written. As a version it claims no regard from us, and it had but slight influence, if any, on the translation which succeeded it after an interval of 150 years.

This version, that of Tyndale, was the first *printed* translation of the New Testament in English, and the *first* translation made from the Greek. According to our author, the first edition was printed abroad in small 8vo. in the year 1526, and was succeeded very shortly after by another in 4to. with marginal notes. It is, however, now, we believe, generally admitted, and the fact seems to be beyond question, that the 4to. edition is the earlier of the two. An account of both editions will be found in Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, a work which surely might have been consulted. A small fragment of the 4to. edition recently discovered is all that is known to exist. Lewis, who wrote before this discovery was made, may well be excused for doubting the truth of Cochlæus' account respecting it, but we can make no such excuse for the present writer. The fragment of the 4to. extends only to the twenty-second chapter of Matthew. There are two copies of the 8vo. One in excellent preservation, and perfect, with the exception of the title page, in the Museum of the Baptist College, Bristol; the other very imperfect, lately discovered in the library of the chapter of St. Paul's. A reprint of this edition was published by Mr. Bagster, a few years ago, from the Bristol copy. The version in the volume before us is from Tyndale's revised edition, published in 1534. The account of Tyndale's life and labors forms, perhaps, the most interesting part of the introductory account. It was shortly before the publication of this second edition that his friend, John Frith, thus wrote to Sir Thomas More respecting him.

'And Tyndale I trust lyueth well contente with such pore Apostles lyfe as God gave hys Sonne Christ, and hys faythfull mynysters in thys worlde, whych is not sure of so many mytes as you be yearely of many poundes; altho' I am sure that for hys learnynge and iudgement in the Scripture, he were more worthye to be promoted then all the Bishoppes in Englande. I receyued a letter from hym whych was wrytten sens Christmas, wherin amonge other matters he wryteth thus; 'I call God to recorde agaynst the daye we shall appeare before oure Lorde Jesus to geue reckonynge of our doinges that I neuer altered one syllable of Godes worde agaynst my conscyence, nor wolde do thys daye, yf all that is in earth, whether it be honoure, pleasure, or ryches might be geuen me.''—p. 55.

We cannot but honor the christian consistency of the man who, possessing learning sufficient, according to the testimony of his enemies, to raise him to any dignity which the corrupt church could

give, preferred to wander in exile, and to lead this 'poor apos-'tle's life,' to all the honors which a more obsequious course might have yielded him. God had evidently raised him up for the great work of sending forth his word in the English tongue, and Tyndale well understood his mission. Upon this his heart was set, and so that it might be accomplished he was willing to endure all privations, and to give up his literary reputation, and even life itself, the last and only possession which persecution had left him. True greatness of mind, and high attainments of christian character, are apparent in the following incident related by Sir Stephen Vaughan, in a letter to King Henry the Eighth. Sir Stephen Vaughan, the king's agent in the Netherlands, had orders to induce Tyndale to return to England, and for this purpose had an interview with him in which he read part of a letter from Cromwell, speaking 'of the king's kindness and compassion to those who 'would be converted and amend.' He thus describes the effect produced on Tyndale's mind.

'And as I thought so it cam to passe. For after sight therof, I perceyued the man to be excedinge altered, and to take the same very nere vnto his hearte, *in suche wise that water stode in his yees.* And answered what gracious wordes are these. I assure youe, sayed he, *If it wolde stande withe the kinge most gracious plaisur to graunte only a bare text of the Scripture to be put forth emonge his people,* like as is put forthe emonge the subgectes of the emperour in these parties, and of other cristen princes, *be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his magestie,* I shall ymedyatlye make faithfull promyse neuer to write more, ne abide two dayes in these parties after the same: but ymedyatly to repayre into his realme, and there most humbly submytt myselfe at the fete of his roiall magestie, *offerynge my bodye to suffer what payne or tortures, ye what dethe his grace will,* SO THAT THIS BE OBTEYNED.'—p. 58.

Tyndale's revised edition was published in November, 1534. In the same month he was betrayed by one whom he had befriended, and was arrested at Antwerp. After nearly two years' imprisonment he was put to death by strangling, and his body was afterwards burnt. His last prayer was 'Lord, ope the King of England's eyes.'

Close upon Tyndale's revised translation followed that of Coverdale, his friend and successor in the great work, which was published in 1535. It was succeeded in 1537 by the Bible which bears the name of Thomas Matthew, the editor of which appears to have been John Rogers. Both of these follow Tyndale in the New Testament, with but slight alterations. Through the exertions of Cranmer a revision of the existing translations was set on foot, and was published in the year 1539. It is generally known by the title of the 'Great Bible.' This forms

the third of the six translations in the volume before us. The basis of this edition was Matthew's Bible, which, as far as the New Testament is concerned, is only a reprint of Tyndale. The charge of bringing out the edition was committed to Coverdale. From the time of its publication to the year 1568, when the Bishop's Bible was published, it was the authorized version, except during the reign of Mary.

During that period of persecution a new translation, founded, however, upon those which had preceded it, was undertaken at Geneva by some of the exiles who had fled from the persecution of the queen, and on account of the place where it was published has acquired the name of the 'Geneva Version.' The first edition of the N[illegible] T[illegible]nt published at Geneva appeared in 1557, and forms the fourth of the translations in the present volume. The fact has most strangely been overlooked, that this is not the same version as that which appeared three years after, together with the Old Testament. It is clear, from the address to the reader, that the first Genevan Testament was the work of *one man*. 'To these therfore,' the translator says, 'which are of the flocke of Christ which knowe their 'Father's wil, and are affectioned to the trueth, *I* rendre a reason 'of *my* doing in fewe lines.' We cannot now enter on the investigation of the author of this version, but the whole address is that of an individual, not of a company of translators. On the other hand, the address prefixed to the whole Bible published in 1560, speaks of several being engaged in the work, and, moreover, so limits the period of their occupation, as to show that their labors did not commence till after the publication of the former edition. 'God knoweth,' they say, 'with what feare and trembling wee have been *for the space of two yeares and more* occupied herein.'* The company of translators have, indeed, taken the previous labors of their coadjutor as the basis of their own, but the alterations they have made are very numerous, and they are, therefore, by no means responsible for any renderings of the first version which are not found in subsequent editions. One instance of diversity may be quoted; in the edition of 1557, Rom. viii. 5 is thus rendered: 'For they 'that are carnal, are carnally wise; but they that are spiritual 'are *affectionned* to spiritual thinges;' whilst in the later Genevan we find, 'For they that are after the flesh savour the things 'of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit.' Now we do not complain of the earlier version being

* It is right to say that the earliest edition of the Geneva Bible which we have had the opportunity of examining is that of 1578, and that the date given at the close of the address 'From Geneva, 10th April, 1560-61,' is added in MS., we presume from an earlier edition.

given in the volume before us, but we do complain of the want of care and accurate investigation on the part of the author of the Historical Introduction, who, though acknowledging that in the completed Bible of 1560 'the translation of the New Testa-' ment *differs* in several respects from that which had been separately printed in 1557' (p. 134), and quoting largely from the address prefixed to the earlier version, where, as we have seen, the singular pronoun is used throughout, yet copies his account of the version almost entirely from Lewis, and perpetuates the error into which that author had fallen.

In the year 1568 a new translation of the Bible was published under the superintendence of Archbishop Parker, and is therefore known as 'Parker's Bible.' It is also called the 'Bishops' 'Bible,' from the circumstance probably that the preparation of it was chiefly entrusted to various bishops. It was published by authority, and continued to be the authorized version until King James's versions appeared in 1611. We could have wished that this version had been included in the present volume, for although it does not appear to have been so much in use among the people as the Geneva Bible was, it still has a strong claim on our notice from the fact of its being the basis on which our present authorized translation was founded. If for Wiclif's version, which has no perceptible connexion with the succeeding version, and which, moreover, is not difficult to be procured, the Bishops' had been substituted, we should have had the series of attempts and improvements almost unbroken, down to the present translation. From a somewhat hasty examination of this version, we believe that it follows the Geneva more closely than any other. Many of the Genevan notes are transferred to it. Of course those were omitted which savored of anti-hierarchical opinions, such as the note on Acts xiv. 23, 'The worde signifieth to elect by putting up the hands, 'which declareth that ministers were not made without the con-'sent of the people.' We were, however, gratified, though somewhat surprised, to read in the Bishops' Bible the following note on Acts xiii. 23, copied from the Geneva: 'The more that 'tyrants go about to suppress God's word, the more doth it in-'crease and multiplie.'

In 1582 appeared the version of the Catholics, published at Rheims. It was made from the Latin Vulgate, but compared, as it is stated, with the Greek. Its professed object was to present the New Testament in a purer form than the Protestant versions exhibited, and thus to mitigate in some degree their dangerous influence. This version has more the character of a distinct translation than any other which had been published from the time of Tyndale. The translators seem to have adopted purposely a different form of expression from that

which was given in the previous versions, even where the sense they give is the same. In many passages, however, they have from a feeling of reverence (as they say) left the text as completely unintelligible to the English reader as though the Latin itself had been retained. Thus, e. g. Matt. vi. 11, 'Give us to-day our *supersubstantial* bread;' Gal. vi. 1, 'Bre-'thren, and if a man be *preoccupated* (præoccupatus) in any fault:' Eph. iii. 10, 11, 'That the manifold wisedom of God may be 'notified to the Princes and Potestats in the celestials by the 'Church according to the prefinition of worldes which he made 'in Christ Jesus our Lord.' The author of the Historical Account, while censuring the Rhemish translators for introducing so many strange words, adds—

'Some of the words which they thus use and speak of as newly introduced are, however, good and intelligible, such for instance as *evangelize*, which alone fittingly and fully expresses εὐαγγελίζω; and in such cases this novelty of the Rhemish translators is not to be reprehended.'—p. 146.

This appears something like falling back upon the old principle of Bishop Gardiner, who proposed to leave untranslated a great number of words and phrases on account of the majesty of the matter signified by them. It is rather singular, however, that his list of ninety nine 'majestic words' does not contain either *evangelizare* or *evangelium*. The word 'evangelize,' is indeed now a recognized English word, and it would be difficult to find any word which would fully express the meaning it has in such phrases as to evangelize the heathen, or to evangelize the world. But this is not the way in which the Rhemish translators introduce it, nor indeed is the Greek term in general used with an accusative of the person, as we employ it. What English reader will think such texts as the following more fully or fitly rendered by the retention of the Latin word. Acts v. 42, 'And every day they ceased not in the temple, and from 'house to house, to teach and evangelize Christ Jesus.' Gal. i. 11, 'For I doe you to understand, brethren, the gospel that 'was evangelized of me, that it is not according to man.' Eph. ii. 17, 'And coming he evangelized peace to you that were farre 'off.'

The means by which our present authorized version was accomplished are so well known, and there are such full accounts of it not only in the present work, but in Lewis's History of the Bible, the Comprehensive Bible, and elsewhere, that it would be superfluous to give here even a sketch of its history. It will suffice to remind our readers that the translators were enjoined to make use of the preceding Protestant versions 'when they agree better with the text than the

'Bishops' Bible,' which was to be their basis. The versions specified were Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, Whitchurch's, and the Geneva. Matthew's New Testament was a reprint of Tyndale's, and may therefore be omitted. Coverdale's was only a revision of the same. Whitchurch's is the one commonly known as Cranmer's, of which Whitchurch was the printer. Thus the three early versions from the Greek which are contained in this volume are all intimately connected with the received translation as well as with each other. On this account we have purposely omitted to say any thing of the character of these versions, whilst giving a rapid glance at the history of their production. We may now take the four translations which were made from the Greek, and compare them together. Viewed as a first attempt, Tyndale's version deserves very high praise. He had, it is to be remembered, no previous translation to guide him. Even if Wiclif's translation had been from the Greek, it could have yielded him but little aid. During the 150 years which had passed, the language had been remodelled, and the style of Wiclif must have appeared nearly as antiquated to him as it does to ourselves. Three hundred years have passed since Tyndale wrote his translation, yet we rarely find that the words he employs need explanation. Many successive verses may be read without betraying by any obsolete word or phrase any thing more of antiquity than our authorized version does. Doubtless this is very much owing to the fact that in less than eighty years after Tyndale had written, King James's version appeared, and fixed a standard of the English language which yet remains. Tyndale had indeed the opportunity of deriving assistance from Luther, whom he had met at Wittemberg, and whose New Testament was published four years before the first edition of his own. He does not appear, however, to have made more use of Luther's version than we might expect a friend to make of the judgment of one whom he highly esteemed, but whom he did not feel bound to follow. Tyndale did not hesitate to introduce a paraphrastic translation at any time. Thus Acts xvii. 23, 'As I passed by and behelde *the maner how ye worship youre 'goddes'* (*τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν*), a paraphrase which is retained not only in Cranmer's version, but in the earlier Genevan. The later Genevan adopts the word 'devotions,' which has thus come down to us. Gal. iv. 5, 'That we thorow eleccion myght re-'ceave the inheritaunce that belongeth vnto the naturall sonnes' (*ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν*); here again Cranmer's version retains Tyndale's paraphrase; the first Genevan omits the words 'through election,' and changes inheritance into 'adoption.' In the later Genevan editions the text stands—'That wee might receive the adoption of sonnes.' Acts xiv. 23,

'And when they had ordeyned them elders by eleccion in every 'congregacion.' So also Cranmer. Both Genevan versions here, as elsewhere, employed the word church instead of congregation.

The Genevan translators made great use of Beza's version, and in many instances inserted clauses corresponding with those which he had employed to complete the sense. In some cases these additions were retrenched in the edition of 1560, e. g. Rom. viii. 12, 'Therfore, brethren, we are detters not to the fleshe to 'live after the fleshe, *but to the spirit' (sed spiritui,* Beza). Rom. viii. 15, 'Wherby we crye, Abba, *that is to say,* !Father' (Abba, *id est* Pater, Beza). In neither case is the inserted clause in the later edition. James ii. 14, 'Can that faith save him?' or 'as it is in the later editions, 'Can the faith save him.?' (Num potest fides illa eum servare, Beza.) In this instance the inserted word *illa, that,* is not put in Italics but, is regarded by Beza and the English translators as included in the original. Beza's translation seems to have suggested to the exiles at Geneva the advantage of using *Italics* to express the full meaning of the original. The use of such supplements was, however, certainly carried to excess in the first version. Clauses are frequently inserted in it which are not found in Beza nor are required to make out the sense, and thus the idea conveyed by the original is sometimes modified or restricted, e. g. 1 Cor. xv. 23, 'But every man in his owne order, the fyrst fruits Christe 'hath rysen agayne, afterwarde they that are Christes at his 'comynge *shal ryse againe.*' These additional clauses are not in Beza's version, and the first of them does not occur in the later Geneva.

Through the influence of the Geneva translators many of Beza's renderings have become part of our own received translation, and in most cases we apprehend to its advantage; thus e. g. Tyndale had followed the Vulgate and Luther in rendering James i. 13, 'For God tempteth not unto 'evyll,' in Cranmer's translation we find the same idea given. The Geneva translators introduced the true sense in accordance with Beza's version. So again the former translators had rendered 2 Tim. iii. 16, 'All Scripture given by inspiration of God 'is profitable, &c.' The Geneva and afterwards the Bishop's Bible adopt Beza's view in rendering the passage—'The whole 'Scripture *is* given by inspiration of God, and is profitable,' &c. There may be some doubt in this instance whether the later translation be preferable, but at all events it serves to show how our received version is influenced by Beza's through the Genevan translators. The length to which our remarks have already extended forbids us to adduce more examples.

We had noted a great number of grammatical errors, and in-

stances of incorrect use of words in the historical account, but we can only find room for one or two more than those already cited.

Page 43, 'A very different treatment *than what* he would have experienced.

Page 51. 'One thing is important, his (i. e. Tyndale's) full recognition of the *authority due* to his sovereign as being the ordinance of God.' The word should be *obedience.*

Our author is exceedingly fond of trite moral and religious reflections; most of his remarks of this kind are objectionable merely on account of their obviousness. One or two sentiments, however, demand a few observations. In the very first page we meet with the remark that the Scripture 'is set before the eyes 'of all, not for them to exercise respecting it any supposed right 'or ability to form a judgment of their own, but for them to 'acknowledge the authority of God to speak and their responsi-'bility to hear.' We should have thought that there was on the part of the author some misapprehension of the terms he employs, had he not in another place advanced the same idea. 'It is not that every man has a *right* to judge for himself what 'the truth of God is, but that every man is responsible to God for 'hearing and taking heed to whatever God is pleased to declare,' p. 94. We must leave it to our author to show how any man can take heed to what God is pleased to declare without judging for himself what God has said. The attempted distinction between responsibility to hear and right to judge is a very futile one. It is man's individual responsibility which gives him the right to judge for himself what God has said.

'Never can we (if the Scripture be our guide) expect to find the *few* and the *many* belong to different classes, until that coming of the Son of man when every eye shall see Him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him.'—p. 133.

Was there any occasion in such a work as the present to express so decided an opinion respecting the future progress of Christ's kingdom? But it is a more serious question—is the sentiment correct? We are apt to picture the future in much brighter colors, and to look for the fulfilment in this present state of the predictions which speak of the universal extension of His authority whose right it is to reign. We believe the time will come when 'a little one shall become a thousand, and 'a small one a strong nation,' when the church shall neither be small nor despised, but shall 'arise and shine because her light 'is come and the glory of the Lord is risen upon her.' Our author seems in this instance to have assumed 'the supposed *right* 'to form a judgment of his own,' but we must say that the exercise of it gives us no very favorable idea of his '*ability*' to do so.

We are sorry to find so much occasion for censure in a work of such importance and literary interest as that before us. It is indeed the very circumstance of its importance that has imposed the duty of plainly pointing out its deficiencies. In many respects it is deserving of high praise. The typography and getting up are unexceptionable. We know of no specimen of Greek typography comparable with it. The printing of the Greek and English texts is, as far as we have observed, remarkably correct. The volume is rendered more serviceable by a collation of Griesbach's text with that of Scholz.* Had the introductory account been written with greater care and more diligent research, the work would have been a noble monument, 'monumentum ære perennius,' to the great men who in succession devoted themselves to the translation of the English bible. As it is, we are thankful to have in such a form the earlier translations, and to be able with so little expense or trouble to compare them with each other. We cannot conclude without calling the attention of our readers to the proposal of Messrs. Bagster, to undertake a far greater and more important work, a NEW POLYGLOT, which shall contain all that is of value in the four great Polyglots already in existence. We heartily wish that they may receive sufficient encouragement to carry out the design. Let all our readers who are interested in such a work intimate their readiness to support it. But let it be well done. We earnestly entreat the publishers to be careful that no such blemishes as those which we have with pain adverted to, may be allowed to disfigure a work which, if well accomplished, would far transcend in importance any which Mr. Bagster (to whom the public already owe many obligations) has ever produced.

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* We are not informed why the text of Scholz should have been chosen. It is said to have been done after mature deliberation. We should like to have known the grounds on which the decision was come to.

Art. VI. *Amenities of Literature.* By J. D'Israeli. Three vols. 8vo. London: Moxon. 1841.

THE name of Mr. D'Israeli has been familiar to most of us from our childhood, and he claims especial notice as the first writer who endeavored to allure the general reader from the beaten paths of popular history, and every day literature, into those bye ways which until his time had been viewed but as 'long passages which led to nothing,' and only to be trodden by the plodding antiquary or the idle book-worm. In these bye ways he pointed out many a prospect well worth the seeing, and gathered many an unsuspected flower; and if, in some instances, his search was less accurate, or his choice less select, than that of his successors in the same paths, still, as the first who led the way, he deserves our thanks.

It is not unlikely that the desultory, and to a certain degree superficial character of Mr. D'Israeli's *earlier* works contributed in great measure to their success. The general reader of some forty or fifty years ago, accustomed to the flimsiest compositions in the shape of 'polite literature,' who would have shrunk from encountering the elaborate criticisms and wide range of illustration which many a modern work presents, turned over the pages of 'Curiosities of Literature' with delight, for he found that the neglected stores of a library could furnish as abundant amusement as any of the 'miscellanies' of the day. The public thus became acquainted with authors, and books, and with many a curious and important fact in our literary history, in a way they had never expected, and were actually beguiled into somewhat of an antiquarian taste before they were aware of it. When our author, in the present work, exultingly remarks in reference to the deep interest which is now taken in the works of our black-letter writers, 'but this is an 'age of republications,' we think he may fairly take credit to himself, for having in great measure made it so.

The work before us advances and sustains higher literary claims than any of Mr. D'Israeli's former productions. It is entirely devoted to a view of English literature from the earliest period, and not supplied, to use the words of our author, in the form of 'an arid narrative of books and authors,' but is intended 'to 'trace from their beginning the rise, the progress, and the de-'cline of public opinions, and to illustrate, as the objects pre-'sented themselves, the great incidents in our national annals.' This object occupied Mr. D'Israeli's studies for many years

and it is with great regret we find that a total loss of sight has prevented one of the most diligent students of full half a century from bringing his elaborate work to its completion. The work, however, although unfinished, is in no respect incomplete, but presents us, in the form of short chapters or essays on various subjects connected with the circumstances and progress of English literature, a combined view of the whole, from the earliest period to the middle of the seventeenth century.

The work commences with a chapter on the 'Druidical In-'stitutions,' and if Mr. D'Israeli has left many a vexed question relating to this subject undecided, the reader at all acquainted with it will award praise rather than blame. So dense is the obscurity that surrounds whatever relates to these early days, that, as he remarks, it is like entering a cavern, 'where, by 'many waving their torches, the light has sometimes fallen on 'an unperceived angle, but the scattered light has shown the 'depth and the darkness.' Dissertations on 'Britain and the 'Britons,' on the Anglo-Saxons, including two chapters containing notices of the Saxon Milton, Cædmon, and of that wonderful poem 'Beowulf,' follow; and the chapter on the 'Anglo-Normans' introduces us to the first change which passed over our infant literature in the substitution of the Norman-French for the Saxon tongue. Our limits at this time will not permit us to follow out this very interesting, and we think, ill understood subject—the temporary supremacy of the Norman dialect; we must, however, observe, that the charge so commonly brought against the conqueror of having enacted that all law proceedings should be in French, is wholly without foundation. They were in Latin until the reign of Henry the Third; they were then conducted in French, and continued so until the reign of his great-grandson, Edward the Third. The circumstance of the Norman-French being the language of the reigning family, and of their immediate attendants, will alone account for the neglect of the native tongue, a tongue which, it appears from the testimony of our chief Saxon scholars, was even then undergoing rapid changes. Still, although for generations the 'birth tongue' of the people never made itself heard within the precincts of the court, although each rising poet, English by birth though he were, wrote his 'estoire' and 'roman,' or sung his 'lai,' in the language of the invaders, the language of the people, as our author says, 'is not to be conquered as the people themselves. 'The birth-tongue may be imprisoned or banished, but it cannot 'die—the people think in it; the images of their thoughts, 'their traditional phrases, the carol over the mead cup, and 'their customs, far diffused, survived even the iron tongue of 'the curfew.'

Meanwhile the Norman-French was doing good service; it scattered abroad among the people many a chronicle to which all ranks listened with delight, and it appealed to the pride of Englishmen though it used a foreign tongue, for it made England the grand centre of every tale; and to the celebration of English beauty and English prowess every Anglo-Norman romance was devoted. And pleased were even the rude 'up-'landysshe' men with this celebration; for within twenty years of Wace's translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History, we find Layamon, in a dialect which has been characterized as neither Saxon nor English, narrating the glory of King Arthur and the prowess of his knights to the dwellers of western England. And still, in the succeeding century, did the language of the conqueror do good service to our fathers, for in that tongue did the Breton lays come forth—lays which in our remoter districts still amuse the company seated round the Christmas fire, and when the strife for freedom began, the minstrel in Norman-French summoned the people to the contest, or mourned over the death of their great leader. It is to the struggle of Simon de Montfort—that struggle which has so often been designated as a mere strife of factious nobles, but which in reality was the birth-time of our liberties—that the resurrection of the language of the people may, we think, be assigned. Henry the Third was more vehement than his predecessors in his attachment to all that was French, and contempt of whatever was English; the barons, on the contrary, expressed respect for whatever was English. Now although this might not lead them so far as to unlearn a language familiar to them from their infancy and learn the English of that day, still in their constant intercourse with those who, though belonging to the lower class, were engaged in the same cause, the 'birth-tongue' of the people must have become familiar to their ears. The loss of Normandy and Aquitaine confined the nobles, too, to their English estates, and nobles and people who had been engaged in one common cause, began insensibly to use a common language. During this period a great change had taken place in the English, as the reader may see by comparing a specimen of Layamon's Chronicle with one of Robert of Gloucester's; this consisted, as Mr. D'Israeli truly remarks, in the 'laying 'aside its inflections, and its inversions, and its arbitrary con-'struction,' but he seems not to be aware that this important change was the great boon conferred by the Norman-French ere it sunk into desuetude. In turning over the pages of several of our Anglo-Norman trouvères some time since, we were struck with the easy flow of each sentence, although the writer was trammelled by verse, and we found in nearly

every instance that the passage, when translated word for word in the order they stood, formed remarkably concise modern English.

It is about the close of the thirteenth century that a number of English translations of a superior character meet us, showing that there was now a higher class who understood and patronized the native tongue. Still the progress was slow, but when in 1346 we find Edward the Third in his proclamation stating that 'Philip of Valois is meditating and threatening to 'destroy both us and ours, and *if it were possible, wholly to blot 'out the English tongue,*' we perceive that the triumph of 'the birth-tongue' was complete. In 1362 the enactment directing that all pleadings in the law courts should henceforward be in English was passed, but simultaneously, or soon after, showing that the royal mandate was but a reflection of the national will, Sir John Mandeville, in addition to his Latin and French versions, put forth his English narrative of his travels, and Piers Ploughman his vigorous and graphic satire, and Chaucer some of his most graceful poems, and Wickliffe that monument of zeal and energy, the first English version of the inspired volume. Mr. D'Israeli's chapters upon these, our first band of writers, are delightfully written, and his estimate of Chaucer is that of one who has both studied and admired him.

'He had mingled with the world's affairs both at home and abroad: accomplished in manners, and intimately connected with a splendid court, Chaucer was at once the philosopher who had surveyed mankind in their widest sphere, the poet who haunted the solitudes of nature, and the elegant courtier whose opulent tastes are often discovered in the graceful pomp of his descriptions. It was no inferior combination of observation and sympathy which could bring together in one company the many-colored conditions and professions of society, delineated with pictorial force, and dramatized by poetic conception, reflecting themselves in the tale which seemed most congruous to their humours. The perfect identity of these assembled characters, after the lapse of near five centuries, make us familiar with the domestic habits and modes of thinking of a most interesting period in our country, not inspected by the narrow details of the antiquarian microscope, but in the broad mirror reflecting that truth or satire which alone could have discriminated the passions, the pursuits, and the foibles of society. Thus the painter of nature, who caught the glow of her skies and her earth in his landscape, was also the miniature portrayer of human likenesses. When Chaucer wrote, the classics of antiquity were imperfectly known in this country—the Grecian muse had never reached our shores; this was, probably, favorable to the native freedom of Chaucer. The English poet might have lost his raciness by a cold imitation of the Latin masters; among the Italians, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, Chaucer found only models to emulate or to

surpass. Hence the English bard indulged that more congenial abundance of thoughts and images which owns no other rule than the pleasure it yields in the profusion of nature and fancy. A great poet may not be the less Homeric because he has never read Homer.

'Nature in her distinct forms lies open before this poet-painter; his creative eye pursued her through all her mutability, but in his details he was a close copier. In his rural scenery there is a freshness in its luxuriance; for his impressions were stamped by their locality.'

—Vol. i. pp. 261, 262.

We rather doubt the latter assertion, nor the less because Pope maintained it. That the author of the English pastorals and 'Windsor Forest,' to whom nature always appeared of little interest save when full drest in terraced walks and clipped hedges, should imagine that Chaucer must have the exact landscape before him ere he could paint it, is likely enough; but the true poet, and Chaucer was indeed one, combines the beauties on which his eye has severally dwelt into one more perfect, more poetical whole. It has been disadvantageous for the fame of this illustrious poet that he is almost exclusively known by his latest work, since, although many a bright picture of natural scenery may be there found, these fall far below the exquisite touches in his earlier poems—'The Boke of the 'Duchess,' his 'Dream,' and above all, unequalled save by passages in the Faery Queen, his matchless 'Floure and the 'Lefe,' a poem which Dryden has modernized, and, as he thought, amended, but which must be read in Chaucer's own most melodious verse ere the reader can at all appreciate its beauty. Mr. D'Israeli's estimate of Gower is, we think, scarcely high enough. Beside Chaucer he cannot be placed, but many portions of his 'Confessio Amantis' may be read with pleasure. Among all the reprints of the present day, we rather wonder that his Latin poem, the 'Vox Clamantis,' has not been published, since, from the specimens that have already appeared, it seems likely to throw some light upon the insurrection which it was designed to commemorate—that of Wat Tyler—and thus illustrate a very important portion of our history.

We are gratified to find Mr. D'Israeli bestowing such high praise on Piers Ploughman, and commending so justly 'the 'intrepidity and force of his genius,' and vindicating his having addressed the 'commons' in their own common language.

'There was no philosophical criticism in the censure of this poet by Warton, when he condemns him for not having 'availed himself of the rising and rapid improvements of the English language,' and censures him for his 'affectation of obsolete English.' These rising improvements may never have reached our bard, or if they had, he might have disdained them; for the writer of the Visions concerning Piers Ploughman was strictly a national poet; and there was no 'affectation

of obsolete English, in a poet preserving the forms of his native idiom and avoiding all exotic novelties in the energy of his Anglo-Saxon genius. His uncontaminated mind returned to or continued the Anglo-Saxon alliterative metre and unrhymed verse; he trusted its cadence to the ear, scorning the subjection of rhyme. . . .

'The pearls in these waters lie not on the surface. The visionist had deeper thoughts and more concealed feelings than these rhapsodical phantoms. In a general survey of society, he contemplates the court and the clergy, glancing through all the diversified ranks of the laity, not sparing the people themselves, as their awful reprover. It was a voice from the wilderness in the language of the people. The children of want and oppression had found their solitary advocate. The prelacy, dissolved in the luxuriousness of papal pomp, and a barbarous aristocracy, with their rapacious dependents, were mindless of the morals or the happiness of those human herds, whose heads were counted, but whose hearts they could never call their own.'

—Ib. pp. 294—296.

With the remark that the political opinions of this writer 'are as mysterious as Piers Ploughman himself,' we cannot agree, for they are what, for want of a more suitable word, we must term violently radical. It is the quiet humour that pervades every page of this curious work which perhaps has misled Mr. D'Israeli, since the fable which he refers to, the 'Cat of a Court,' is a violent satire on Edward the Third. This cat is no other than the hero of the old fable of the mice and the cat; and while it is proposed that a bell should be tied about his neck, each shrinks from the task of doing it. A 'mouseling' remarks, that it is in vain to think of mending their condition, since no one will tie the bell, and even if the cat should be killed, there would come another, and 'I have 'heard my old father say, a kitten would be worse.' He remarks that when the cat is in a good humour he is very bearable, but he lays down as an axiom, that although cats are for the present necessary evils, still it must be remembered they are evils. In conclusion, he bids others interpret his meaning, 'for I dare not.' But against the rapacious clergy his anger knows no bounds, nor is he much less severe against the nobles who harass their poor tenantry. Indeed, we know of no other contemporary record which gives so much information on the condition of the lower classes, and a careful reading over of the Visions of Piers Ploughman would, we think, bring the inquirer to a more thorough acquaintance with the state of our peasantry in the fourteenth century than all the laborious dissertations in the Archæologia. Although unknown to the great mass of modern readers, this most important work has exercised, in a literary point of view, no common or limited influence.

'The 'Visions of Piers Ploughman' will always offer studies for

the poetical artist. This volume, and not Gower's nor Chaucer's, is a jewell of English undefiled. SPENSER often beheld these Visions; MILTON, in his sublime description of the Lazar House, was surely inspired by a reminiscence of Piers Ploughman. Even Dryden, whom we should not suspect to be much addicted to black-letter reading beyond his Chaucer, must have carefully conned our Piers Ploughman; for he has borrowed one very striking line from our poet, and possibly may have taken others. BYRON, though he has thrown out a crude opinion of Chaucer, has declared that 'the Ploughman' excels our ancient poets. And I am inclined to think that we owe to Piers Ploughman an allegorical work of the same wild invention, from that other creative mind, the author of the Pilgrim's Progress. How can we think of the one, without being reminded of the other? Some distant relationship seems to exist between the Ploughman's *Dowell* and *Dobet*, and *Dobest*, Friar *Flatterer*, *Grace* the Portress of the magnificent Tower of *Truth* viewed at a distance, and by its side the dungeon of *Care*, *Natural Understanding*, and his lean and stern wife *Study*, and all the rest of this numerous company, and the shadowy pilgrimage of the 'Immortal Dreamer' to 'the Celestial City.'

—Ib. pp. 302, 303.

Our author has no need to add that he almost mistrusts his opinion on this point. The great poet of the people was, we know, cherished by them; and oral tradition, more faithful in an unsettled period than the pen of the transcriber, doubtless transmitted many a stern denunciation against power in high places, and many a vivid picture of maiden Mede and her goodly attendants, Liar, Falsehood, and Simony, which dwelt on the minds of a secluded peasantry through many generations, and to these, young John Bunyan, unconscious as yet of his future high calling as a writer or a minister, might often listen, and when in the solitude of Bedford jail he meditated his unrivalled work, the stern force, the graphic power, above all the marvellous reality with which the dreamer on Malvern hills invested his allegorical personages, arose to his mind, and he too laid down to dream, but not of the anxious and fruitless quest of poverty in search of bread,—not of the endless strifes of might against right, but of a pilgrimage which, though begun at the City of Destruction, ended in eternal blessedness. No one, we think, who has read the Vision of Piers Ploughman, not in the diffuse and often incorrect paraphrase of Dr. Whittaker, but in the forcible original, can doubt that *that* was the source from whence his greater successor derived both the outline of his work and the fine genuine English of his style.

Chapters on Occleve and Lydgate follow, and with Lydgate our first school of English poetry ends. A long and most disastrous period of civil war succeeded, unillumined by 'the light of song.' Nearly a century passed away, and then a new

school arose. But meanwhile a mighty change had passed over the nation, and the battle of Bosworth field entailed more important consequences upon England than perhaps any other single battle in our annals. A mighty increase of power was from that day thrown into the hands of the sovereign, for the chief nobility had perished in the wars of the roses, the inferior were subjected to fines, to confiscations, and, as Tudor began to feel the stability of his rule, to a series of vexatious enactments, all intended to do away with the second estate of the constitution. Meanwhile, by a judicious encouragement of commerce, Tudor managed to conciliate the chief men of our mercantile cities; while the mass of the people—in the agricultural districts more especially—wearied and impoverished by nearly forty years' civil warfare, 'found that rest was good,' and bowed to the yoke of an arbitrary monarch, unaware that when they should again attempt to rise, like Issachar they would find themselves pressed down by a double burthen.

We have often been surprised to find writers who take the popular side of the question, exulting that the ancient aristocracy were well nigh extinguished in the sanguinary wars of the Roses. At that period, ere there was what we now recognize as a moneyed interest, a commercial interest, or such like, beneath whose shield the people can make known their demands, the nobility occupied that place, and, supported by two or three powerful barons, the commons in the days of our Plantagenets often took a high tone, and in their petitions, as may be seen in the parliament rolls, came not far short of the plain speaking of our own days. Now from the period of the accession of Tudor this was never the case; the situation of the 'commons' house of parliament was most degraded; and never, during the whole sway of the Tudor dynasty, did the 'faithful commons,' whatever were the misrule of the sovereign, dare even to think of what in the reign of Richard the Second, full one hundred and fifty years before, had been done, impeach the ministers of the crown, and demand their punishment. But although the Tudors crushed the ancient nobility, they had no intention of surrounding themselves with mere commoners. Patents of nobility were liberally granted, but it was to those who had shown themselves most subservient to the royal bidding. The 'breath' that had 'made them' could as easily unmake, and they, equally with the historians of Henry the Eighth's days, boasted themselves 'the indentured servantes of 'the house of Tudor.' Thus were the people crushed, and thus commenced the reign of arbitrary government. But at the very period when each sovereign of Europe—and it is a curious coincidence—was engaged in suppressing his ancient nobility, and seizing the great fiefs to add them to his already overgrown

possessions, the great revolutionizer of Europe, eventually of the whole world, the press, appeared.

Mr. D'Israeli's chapter on this subject is one of the most interesting in his three volumes. After two centuries of literary strife, the question who was the first inventor of printing is as undecided as, perhaps, it was then; and the arguments and illustrations of our author, tending to show that 'many imperfect beginnings were going on at the same time in different places,' are well deserving the attention of our typographical antiquaries. Unfortunately for the 'romance' of printing, Mr. D'Israeli shows that the eulogies which have been pronounced from the pulpit and platform on those 'benefactors of our race, the inventors of printing,' have been in great measure undeserved; the worthy discoverers being certainly benefactors to themselves, but caring far less for posterity than posterity has for them.

'No refined considerations of the nature and the universal consequences of their discovery seem to have instigated the earliest printers; this is evident, by the perpetual jealousy and the mystifying style by which they long attempted to hide that secret monopoly which they had now obtained.

'The first notion of printing might have reached Europe from China. Our first block-printing seems imitated from the Chinese, who print with blocks of wood on one side of the paper, as was done in the earliest essays of printing; and the Chinese seem also to have suggested the use of a thick black ink. European traders might have imported some fugitive leaves; their route has even been indicated, from Tartary, by the way of Russia; and from China and Japan, through the Indies and the Arabian Gulf. The great antiquity of printing in China has been ascertained. Du Halde and the missionary Jesuits assert, that this art was practised by the Chinese half a century before the Christian era! At all events, it is evident that they exercised it many centuries before it was attempted in Europe.....

'We may reasonably suspect that the practitioners in every art which has reached to almost a perfect state, such as that of printing, have silently borrowed from one another; that there has often existed a secret connexion in things, and a reciprocal observation in the intercourse of men alike intent on the same object; that countries have insensibly transferred a portion of their knowledge to their neighbors; that travellers in every era have imparted their novelties, hints however crude, descriptions however imperfect; all such slight notices escape the detection of an historian; nothing can reach him but the excellence of some successful artist. In vain rival concurrents dispute the invention; the patriotic historian of the art clings to his people or his city, to fix the inventor and the invention, and promulgates fairy tales to authenticate the most uncertain evidence.

'The history of printing illustrates this view of its origin. The invention has long been ascribed to GUTENBERG, yet some have

made it doubtful whether this presumed father of the art ever succeeded in printing a book, for we are assured that no colophon has revealed his name. We hear of his attempts, and of his disappointments, his bickerings and his law-suits. He seems to have been a speculative bungler in a new-found art, which he mysteriously hinted was to make a man's fortune. The goldsmith Fust advanced a capital in search of the novel alchymy—the project ends in a law-suit, the goldsmith gains his cause, and the projector is discharged. Gutenberg lures another simple soul, and the same golden dream vanishes in the dreaming. These copartners, evidently tired of an art which had not yet found an artist, a young man, probably improving on Gutenberg's blunders, one happy day displayed to the eyes of his master, Fust, a proof pulled from his own press. In rapture, the master confers on this Peter Schœffer a share of his future fortunes; and to bind the apprentice by the safest ties of consanguinity, led the swart youth, glorious with printer's ink, to the fair hand of his young daughter. The new partnership produced their famed Psalter of 1457, and shortly followed their magnificent Bible.

'While these events were occurring, COSTAR, of Haarlem, was plodding on with the same 'noble mystery,' but only printing on one side of a leaf, not having yet discovered that a leaf might be contrived to contain two pages. The partizans of Costar assert that it was proved he substituted moveable for fixed letters; which was a giant's footstep in his new path. A faithless servant ran off with the secret. The history of printing abounds with such tales. Every step in the progress of the newly-invented art indicates its gradual accessions....

'FUST had bound his workmen to secrecy by the solemnity of an oath; but at the siege of Mentz that freemasonry was lost. These early printers dispersed, some were even bribed away. Two Germans set up their press in the monastery of Subiaco, in the vicinity of Naples, whose confraternity consisted of German monks. These very printers finally retreated to Rome, for that patronage they had still to seek; and at Rome they improved the art by adopting the Roman character. Not only the invention of the art was progressive, but the art itself was much more so.....

'How has it happened that such a plain story as that of the art of printing should have sunk into a romance? Solely because the monopolizers dreaded discovery. It originated in deception, and could only flourish for their commercial spirit in mysterious obscurity. Among the first artizans of printing every one sought to hide his work, and even to blind the workmen. After their operations they cautiously unscrewed the four sides of their forms, and threw the scattered type beneath, for, as one craftily observed to his partner, 'When the component parts of the press are in pieces, no one will understand what they mean.' One of the early printers of the fifteenth century at Mutina, or Modena, professes his press to have been in *ædibus subterraneis*—doubtless, if possible, still further to darken the occult mystery. They delivered themselves in a mystical style when they alluded to their unnamed art, and impressed on the marvelling reader that the volume he held in his hand was the work of some

supernatural agency. They announced that the volumes in this newly-found art were 'neither drawn, nor written with a pen and ink, as all books before had been.' In the 'Recuyel of the Historyes of Troy,' our honest printer, plain Caxton, caught the hyperbolical style of the dark monopolizing spirit of the confraternity. I give his words, having first spelt them. 'I have practised and learned at my great charge and dispense to ordain (put in order) this said book in print after the manner and form as ye may here see, and is not written with pen and ink as other books be, to the end that *every man may have them* AT ONCE; for all the books of this story, thus imprinted as ye see, were *begun in one day, and also finished in one day.*' A volume of more than seven hundred folio pages, 'begun and finished in one day,' was not the less marvellous for being impossible. But for the times was the style! Caxton would keep up the wonder and the mystery of an art which men did not yet comprehend; and because a whole sheet might have been printed in one day, and was *all at once* pulled off, and not line by line, our venerable printer mystified the world.'—Ib. pp. 327—339.

The singular appropriateness of the era when this great art first appeared has struck every philosophical writer; as Mr. Hallam has lately said, 'It was Minerva leaping on earth, in 'her divine strength and radiant armor, ready at the moment 'of her birth to subdue and destroy her enemies.'

But an order of things which has subsisted for centuries cannot be swept away like the frail plaything of a child. Clouds and darkness heralded the sixteenth century, and amid storm and earthquake was the new framework of religious belief and civil polity built up. It is unfortunate for this most important of periods, that party spirit has peculiarly claimed it for her own. That in an age of such bitter religious strife the actors, when they became writers, should impress their own fierce hostilities and distorted views on their productions, is but to be expected; but that even to the present day this should be the case, is neither creditable to an age which boasts its superiority to ancient prejudices, nor to writers who claim the character of philosophical. For the very lenient notice which some of the chief actors in scenes of wholesale spoliation have received at the hands of even religious writers, we must, we suppose, look for an apology in the often quoted, but only partially, and in a limited sense, correct axiom, 'measures, not 'men;' otherwise it is difficult to conceive how the conduct of Henry the Eighth and his chief ministers could have escaped their severest denunciations. A very curious chapter is devoted in the second volume to a view of the literary character of this monarch. Such views are too often lost sight of in political history, and yet much light may be thrown on the events of a reign from the contemplation of the peculiar bent of mind of

the monarch. With the astuteness of his father, the second Tudor possessed an energy that rendered continual employment absolutely necessary; nor, provided that employment was sufficiently spirit-stirring, does he seem to have been very particular whether it was the wild pleasure of the chase, the glittering turmoil of the tournament, the strife of eager debate, or even the toil of framing a series of syllogisms, to form a right royal argument for the faith which he so soon was to abjure and destroy. As a sedative, Mr. D'Israeli informs us that Wolsey on one occasion 'recommended to his restless master the perusal 'of the nineteen folios of Thomas Aquinas, possibly with the 'hope of fixing the royal fly in the repose of the cobwebs of the 'schoolmen.' But 'leviathan was not so to be tamed;' he ere long laid aside both his reading and his authorship, to employ the more stringent arguments of stake and gallows; but to the end of his life he was the active editor of each work which came forth duly impressed with the royal arms supported by the Tudor dragons, and devoted to the grand purpose of proving 'the right divine of kings to govern wrong,' and the duty of subjects to render unto Cæsar not merely his due, but 'things 'which belong unto God.' It is true, that the eager interest which Henry took in 'the new learning' encouraged its diffusion, and brought over many a continental scholar to his court; but it also laid a paralyzing hand on our native literature, and checked the growth of the national mind. All was under the superintendence of the monarch, from the Latin grammar (Lilly's), which was commanded to be 'all and every where 'used' on pain of a *præmunire*, to the chronicle which informed the citizen of the events of past times.

At this period only one existed in the English language; the curious and amusing compilation of Master Robert Fabyan, mercer, alderman, and sometime sheriff of our good city. This was not printed until 1516, four years after his death, and in it the pope was treated with the usual respect, sundry edifying legends were provided for the lovers of the supernatural, St. Thomas à Becket was represented as a martyr, and 'religious 'houses' were spoken of as very good places. And for about twenty years the worthy mercer was allowed to tell his own tale, but now new light broke in upon the royal mind, and master Fabyan's book was subjected to alterations suited to the altered times. 'The martyred archbishop' became the 'traitor-'ous archbishop,' the holy legends were all expunged, the pope was reduced to the 'bishop of Rome,' and, in a marginal gloss, was further complimented by the title of 'that monstrous and 'wicked beast.' In the nineteenth century we laugh at these royal expurgations and additions; but there was not then much to laugh at, when the whole printed history of a nation was

made to change its views at the changeful will of the sovereign. It was in this spirit that Hall and Holingshed wrote; and it is this that has made them so worthless for all historical purposes. The same interference which Henry had exercised toward Fabyan's history, he exercised in respect to the translated Bible. Every word that might appear favorable to popular rights was carefully expunged, and Tyndale in supplicating license to return from exile, was fain to humbly ask the king's pardon for using the word 'congregation' instead of 'church;' and to express the joy he should feel if he could but make the translation of God's word agreeable to the king's fancies! After all, what is the amount of our debt to Henry the Eighth for the reformation? In the chapter entitled 'The Spoliation of the Monaste-ries,' Mr. D'Israeli justly observes—

'We are accustomed to trace the Reformation to Henry the Eighth, but in verity, small are the claims of this sovereign on posterity, for through all the multiplied ramifications of superstition, nothing under him was reformed. The other great event of the Reformation, the assumption of the spiritual supremacy, accorded with the national independence from a foreign jurisdiction. The policy was English, but it originated in the private passions of the monarch. Assuredly, had the tiara deigned to nod to the regal solicitor, then had 'the Defender of the Faith' only given to the world another edition of his book against Luther.

'In the last years of his reign Henry vacillated in his uncertain reform. Sometimes leaning on one party and sometimes on another, he had lost the vigor of his better days. In his last parliament, though not without some difficulty, both from Protestant and Papist, they had voted for 'the augmentation' of the royal revenue, their grant of the chantries. These chantries were the last wrecks of the monastic lands. A single church had often several chantries attached to it. Chantries were endowments of estates by the sinners of that age for the benefit of having eternal masses sung for their departed souls. Henry on this occasion, in his last speech, strongly animadverts on the national disunion, and among his thanks mingles his menaces 'to unite them in a more unacceptable way' than the tenderness with which at that moment he addressed them, for their concessions to his 'Court of Augmentation.'

'It is also evident, by this able and extraordinary speech, that Henry would gladly have revoked his gift to the people of 'the Word of God in their mother-tongue,' as his majesty expresses himself. He had, indeed, already in part withdrawn the freedom he had granted, by restricting it to a few persons, and only to be used on particular occasions.....

'Henry the Eighth rejected the pope, but surely he died a Romanist. His unwieldly huge form was lifted up from his deathbed that he might prostrate himself, and, in the writer's language, who, however, was a papist, 'bury himself in the earth,' to testify his reverence for

'the real presence,' when it was brought before him. His will, which, though it was put aside, was not the less the king's will, attested his last supplications to 'the Virgin Mary, and all her holy company of Heaven.' And he endowed an altar at Windsor, 'to be honorably kept up with all things necessary for *a daily mass*, there to be read *perpetually while the world shall endure.*' At the same time Henry endowed the poor knights of Windsor, upon condition that they should repeat their eternal masses for his soul. His magnificence was proportionate to his sins, but his perpetual masses, and the world, did not endure together.....

'This monarch has been lauded as a patriot king for the suppression of the monasteries and the national emancipation from the tiara—but patriotism has often covered the most egotistical motives.'

—Vol. ii. pp. 138—141.

The death of Henry was succeeded by a period of great turbulence. 'We seem to be consulting the annals of some 'Asiatic dynasty,' says Mr. D'Israeli, 'when we see a royal 'nephew tranquilly affixing his signature to the death-warrants 'of his two uncles,' and of these, the one brother attainted by the other, and the scaffold alone ending their feuds and their conspiracies. And yet the wonderful young prince who signed his two uncles' death-warrants made a cool entry of the act in his diary, and with equal coolness set down the burning of Joan of Kent for some mystical notions, and of a Dutchman for Socinianism. Thus the reader may see that Protestant *autos da fe* were not of such rare occurrence then; and if given to thinking for himself, he may perchance inquire why young King Edward should for nearly three hundred years have maintained a character for all manner of piety and amiability, and his sister Mary that of a ferocious murderess. That the sanguinary events of Mary's reign were in great measure the result of political reaction, no one at all acquainted with this period of our history (unless a member of the Protestant Association) will, we think, venture to deny. Young Edward and his immediate relations had none of them any bitter wrongs to revenge on *his* accession to the throne; for the boy had been the idol of his father from the day of his birth, and to his two ambitious uncles, with their supple consciences, popery or protestantism brought but additional wealth and honors. But Mary had endured a persecution of twenty years; she had been deprived, not only of her rank, but of all pecuniary provision. She had been branded with illegitimacy, and threatened—actually threatened by Cromwell with death! death from the hand of her own father, for withstanding his right royal will! From her brother her life was in danger, and his last act had been to set her aside in favor of Lady Jane G[illegible]. Now could one who had suffered such grievous wrongs [illegible]

hands of Protestants, and with the exulting approbation of every Protestant in the kingdom, possibly look favorably upon them? Then, too, it must be borne in mind, that the spoliation of the monasteries had excited the rage of the populace, many of whom had seen their aged relations cast out from their quiet homes to beggary—while the ancient nobility that yet remained, could each detail a grievous catalogue of injuries and insults heaped upon them by the upstart courtiers of Henry and his son. Let us be just,—and who can better afford to be so than dissenters? Our fathers had no share in the spoil of the rich abbey lands; our clergy do not derive their support from bequests, the provisions of which they dare not fulfil; we have no interest in the question which system of religion a monarch is bound to establish,—let us, therefore, while we bless that providence which so often brings good out of evil, view the conflicting parties of that fierce and sanguinary period calmly, and award to each a righteous judgment.

The incessant conflict of opinions during the latter years of Henry, and during the antagonist reigns of Edward and Mary, was favorable to the advance of the public mind. The uniformity which Henry had determined to maintain was lost sight of when, during the short space of eleven years, twice were the images cast down in the churches, and the consecrated tapers extinguished, and twice were the images replaced in their shrines, and the English liturgy and the English Bible prohibited on pain of death. But while men were thus compelled to think, from the pressure of circumstances around them, it was not a calm and philosophical character of mind that even the wisest among them could attain. The most abstract ideas came to them mingled with the tangibilities of bonds and imprisonment, or rich livings and court favor; and the author anxious to enlighten the world might fear that perchance he might aid physically in its enlightenment, by the assistance of faggots and a tar-barrel. Thus, although the work be entitled 'an 'Enquirye,' we are sure to find it a bold affirmation of certain opinions; and thus although we have many appeals to the Scriptures, and vehement assurances that the writer will yield to their authority, we always find that the appeal is to his own party's interpretation of them. But if this intellectual war *à l'outrance* injured many a noble mind by fixing it down upon partial views, and one-sided statements, it had a more injurious effect on the moral feelings. The angry passions of the 'rabid' 'polemics' were imitated by their hearers; and if the learned doctor denounced his opponent as worthy of death for his heresies, the ignorant crowd willingly set up the gallows, or supplied the faggots, and deemed they did heaven good service by aiding the execution.

What kind of men those were, who witnessed the hangings, and drawings, and quarterings of Edward's days, and the burnings of both his and Mary's, their amusements, ferocious beyond any before known; their bull-baitings and bear-baitings, and endless cruelties practised on the brute creation, even down to the period of Elizabeth's death, all fully prove. And their popular literature, too, took the same sanguinary tinge, and ballads which minutely described the most horrible murders, the most revolting mutilations, afforded gratification to the populace even to the time when Shakspere stood ready to display the marvels of past ages before them, and Spenser to lead them into faery-land. And this people, ferocious, unsettled, divided by religious strifes, watched by powerful continental princes who stood ready to take advantage of every outbreak, became the subjects of a young woman but twenty-five years of age, and she 'wielded at will 'that wild democracy,' although on the one hand learned reformers were making it a question of religion whether men should submit to a female sway, and the pope on the other stood ready with absolution and reward for any one who should cut short the life of the great protectress of the reformed faith. The chapter of Mr. D'Israeli entitled 'Public Opinion' affords a most interesting view of the profound policy of Elizabeth. Like her father, Elizabeth watched over the public opinion which she had so great a share in creating, and even the ballads sung in the streets did not escape her notice, but how unlike her father's were the plans she adopted.

We have often thought that sufficient justice has scarcely been done to Elizabeth in regard to her religious policy, especially that exercised toward the puritans. However respectable their numbers and character, we must admit that they were a minority, in that reign; and except, perhaps, in London, they were unfavorably viewed by public opinion. In refusing to countenance them she merely consulted that public opinion, which could conceive of a one universal church, protestant or catholic, but which was altogether unprepared for a variety of sects, all agreeing in the main principles of protestantism, but at the same time unwilling to hold communion with each other. We must bear in mind, too, that religious liberty was wholly unknown, and that even the merest religious toleration was scarcely understood; for when Cartwright put forth his 'Platform of Discipline,' it was offered as the '*sole* model' of church government throughout the land. That Elizabeth should cast an unfriendly eye toward Geneva is not astonishing. From thence came 'The fyrste blaste of ye trum-'pette agenst ye monstrouse regimen of weomen' of fiery John Knox, and little cause had a queen, when just ascending a most precarious throne, to thank a leader of the protestant cause for

joining with her catholic opponents in raising doubts as to her right to it. In an age like that, when Geneva, from the high literary attainments of its professors, was an object of attention to all Europe, well might the most learned woman of her age, the queen who was the great political bulwark of protestantism, feel indignant that learned and protestant Geneva should thus uplift its voice against her.

But mere abstract religious opinions seem rarely to have excited the interference of Elizabeth. Her miserable successor burnt an Arian, solely for his religious opinions, in Smithfield; but among those who suffered in her reign, whether papist or Brownist, opposition to the queen's government, or a denial of her supremacy, was usually alleged as the ground of procedure. Far be it from us to vindicate such executions; but it is only bare justice to keep in mind that the three preceding reigns had been absolutely reigns of terror, and that the progress of public opinion is very slow. We never find Elizabeth's government being charged as arbitrary by the discontented writers of *her* reign, but we do find those of James the First and his son thus charged; for the public opinion which Elizabeth had awakened was, in the following century, in active progress; and those rights which had only appeared dimly defined to our fathers in her days, stood out as tangible realities to the leaders of the parliamentary struggle. Mr. D'Israeli truly says,—

'In the art of government a new principle seemed to have arisen, that of adopting and guiding public opinion, which, in the mutations of civil and political society, had emerged as from a chaos. A vacillating and impetuous monarch could not dare it; it was the work of a thoughtful sovereign whose sex inspired a reign of love. Elizabeth not only lived in the hearts of her people, but survived in their memories; when she was no more, her birth-day was long observed as a festival day; and so prompt was the remembrance of her deeds and her words, that when Charles the First once published his royal speech, an insidious patriot sent forth 'The Speech of Queen Elizabeth,' which, being innocently printed by the king's printer, brought him into trouble. Our philosophic politician, Harrington, has a remarkable observation on the administration of Elizabeth, which, laying aside his peculiar views on monarchy, and his theoretical balances in the state, we may partly adopt. He says, 'If the government of Elizabeth be rightly weighed, it seems rather the exercise of principality in a commonwealth than of sovereign power in a monarchy. Certain it is that she ruled wholly with an art she had to high perfection, by humouring and blessing her people.' '—Ib. p. 238, 239.

And what a glorious sunburst of genius illumined the last years of that illustrious reign! We r that our limits will scarcely allow us more than to in h .

D'Israeli, in this portion of his work, has treated. We most interesting chapters on the progress of English poet our early prose writers, on Hooker, Spenser, and Sir Philip S whose 'Arcadia,' now scarcely known, save by name, through fourteen editions, and was translated into European language. Mr. D'Israeli vindicates this long romance from the harsh measure of censure it has receiv some eminent critics, and his description of it will, we th many a reader on the look out for 'the Countess of Pem 'Arcadia.'

'The narrative of the 'The Arcadia' is peculiar; but if the fortitude can yield up his own fancy to the feudal poet, he the tales diversified. Sidney had traced the vestiges of feuda in Germany, in Italy, and in France; those wars of petty sta the walled city was oftener carried by stratagem than by s where the chivalrous heroes, like champions, stepped forth to each other in single combat, almost as often as they were generals at the head of their armies. Our poet's battles ha fierceness and the hurry of action, as if told by one who had the midst of the battle-field; and in his 'shipwreck,' men f the waves, ere they are flung on the shore, as if the observe on the summit of a cliff watching them.

'He describes objects on which he loves to dwell with richness of fancy: he had shivered his lance in the tilt, and aged the fiery courser in his career; that noble animal was object of his favorite descriptions; he looks even on the c fanciful ornaments of its caparisons; and in the vivid pict shock between two knights we see distinctly every moti horse and the horseman. But sweet is his loitering hour i shine of luxuriant gardens, or as we lose ourselves in the g tudes of the forests which most he loves. His poetic eye was and the delineations of objects, both in art and nature, might ferred to the canvas.

'There is a feminine delicacy in whatever alludes to t character, not merely courtly, but imbued with that sensibil St. Palaye has remarkably described as 'full of refinement a cism.' And this may suggest an idea not improbable, that drew his fine conceptions of the female character from Sidney spere solely, of all our elder dramatists, has given true women; and Shakspere was an attentive reader of 'The Ar —Ib. pp. 35

On the early drama, we meet with some very cu formation, and a just criticism on our old plays. W help thinking that the taste for wholesale murders, i during the last act, the writers mostly indulge, was als sult of those horrible scenes to which, as we have remarked, their youth was familiarized. In a ch Shakspere, Mr. D'Israeli does ample justice to our gr

and in a curious and elaborate examination of the various criticisms on his works, proves how correct a test the admiration or censure of Shakspere affords of the advancing or declining state of our poetry. The conclusion of this chapter is admirable.

'Thus have we viewed our bard through distinct eras, from the time in which he was not yet pre-eminently distinguished among his numerous peers; the Shakespere of his own day could not be the Shakspere of posterity; his rivals could only view that genius in its progress, and though there was not one who was a Shakspere, yet, in that bursting competition of genius, there were many who were themselves Shaksperian. In a succeeding era novel and unnational tastes prevailed; to the Drydenists who, dismissing the language of nature, substituted a false nature in their exaggerated passion, Shakspere might have said of himself,—

> 'I dare do all that may become a man;
> Who dares do more is none;'

and when tried by the conventional code of criticism, and condemned, the poet of creation might have exclaimed to Rymer and Shaftesbury—

> 'The poet's eye
> Bodying forth the forms of THINGS UNKNOWN,
> . . . . gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name.'

'Emerging into light through his modern editors, the volume in the hands of all men, the English public, with whom the classical model was held as nothing, received him as their national bard, for every one read in 'the chance' that could only 'hit suddenly,' as Butler has described the genius of Shakspere, revelations about himself. It seemed as if the poet had served in all professions, taking every color of public and domestic life. Lawyers had detected their law-cunning in the legal contrivances of the poet; physicians have commented on the madness of Lear, and the mystery of Hamlet; statesmen have meditated on profound speculations in civil polity; the merchant and the mechanic, the soldier and the maiden, all, from the crowned head to the sailor-boy, found that in the cursory pages of the great dramatist, he had disclosed to all the tribes of mankind the secrets of their condition. The plentitude and the pliancy of the Shaksperian mind may be manifested by a trivial circumstance. We are a people of pamphleteers; a free country has a free communication; and many, for interest or vain-glory, rush to catch the public ear. To point out the drift of their effusions, and aid a dubious title by an unquestioned authority, the great number of these incessant fugitives, coming in all shapes, will be usually found to have recourse for this apposite thought, and crowning motto, to the prodigal pages of Shakspere, who, thus pressed into their service, has often made the drift of the pamphleteer intelligible, vainly sought in his confused pamphlet.'

—Vol. iii. p. 117—119.

Articles on Jonson, on Drayton, and a most interesting one on 'the psychological character of Rawleigh' follow. We must

find room for the following extract from our author's criticism on Rawleigh's great work, his now well-nigh forgotten History of the World.

'A universal genius was best able to compose a universal history; statesman, soldier, and sage, in writing the 'History of the World,' how often has Rawleigh become his own historiographer! He had been a pilgrim in many characters; and his philosophy had been exercised in very opposite spheres of human existence. A great commander by land and by sea, he was critical in all the arts of stratography, and delights to illustrate them on every occasion. The danger of having two generals for one army is exemplified by what he himself had witnessed at Jarnac; in a narrative of Carthage, when the Romans lost their fleet, he points out the advantages of a flying navy, from what had occurred under his own eye in the wars of the Netherlands, and of Portugal; and concludes that 'it is more difficult to defend a coast than to invade it.'

'His digressions are never more agreeable than when they become dissertations; the most ordinary events of history assume a new face by the noble speculations which he builds on them, full of a searching, critical spirit, of sound morality, and of practicable policy; often profound, always eloquent. One on the Mosaic code, as a precedent for the laws of other nations, would have delighted Montesquieu. On the inviolability of oaths, he admirably describes them as 'the chains by which free men are tied to the world.' On slavery—on idolatry—on giving the lie—on the point of honour—on the origin of local names of America by their first discoverers—such topics abound in his versatile pages. Even curious matters engaged his attention, and in the new world he inspected nature with the close eye of a naturalist; nor has he disdained, at times, a pleasant tale. There are few passages of this venerable, but genial volume, where we do not find that it is Rawleigh who speaks or who acts, making legible his secret thoughts, charming the story of four thousand years with the pleasures of his own memory.

'It is evident that our author was conscious that he had struck into a virgin vein, and, however amenable to the code of historical composition, very gracefully apologizes for indulging the novelty. The novelty indeed was so little comprehended by those gross feeders on the carrion of time, who can discover nothing in history but its disjointed and naked facts, that, rejecting every 'digression' as interrupting the chronology, they put forth their abridgments; and Alexander Ross rejoiced to call his 'The Marrow of History;' but probably found, to his dismay, that he had only collected the dry bones; and that in all this 'History of the World,' nothing was more veritable than the author's own emotions. All which these matter-of-fact retailers had so carefully omitted we now class by a title which such writers rarely recognize, as the philosophy of history. Great writers admit of no abridgment. If you do not follow the writer through all the ramifications of his ideas, and imbue your mind with the fulness of the author's mind, you can receive only interrupted impressions, and retain but an imperfect and mutilated image of his genius. The happiest of abridg-

ments is the author's own skill in composition: to say all that is necessary and to omit all that is superfluous—this is the secret of abridgment, and there is no other of a great original work.'—Vol. iii. p. 173—177.

The last sentence is worthy the deepest consideration of those who in this age, to meet the taste of a public impatient alike of expensive or large works, are so frequently sending forth 'reprints,' as they are termed, but which are little more than slovenly abridgments of works, which, if read at all, should be read as the authors wrote them.

There is a curious chapter on Dr. Dee, the celebrated astrologer of Elizabeth's reign, in which it is proved that the large sums of money which his royal mistress, contrary to her general usage, lavished upon him, were not for the purpose of rewarding his astrological skill; but for the more important purpose of enabling him, under his assumed character, to obtain political information; for he was one of the most important of her continental 'intelligencers.' The chapter on Bacon is deeply interesting; and those on the 'True Intellectual System of the Uni-'verse,' and 'the War against Books,' equally so. Indeed, the notices of the well-nigh forgotten authors, whom Mr. D'Israeli has re-introduced to our attention, and the light, which his varied, and often very recondite reading, has enabled him to throw on the less popular, but not on that account less important, departments of our literature, entitle him to the acknowledgments of every one who has felt how wide is its range, and how limited are our opportunities for becoming acquainted with its various parts. We heartily recommend the work to our readers, as abounding in instruction and interest, and we do so the more willingly, because Mr. D'Israeli, although differing from us on many religious and political points, has never, in this work, suffered those opinions to interfere with a just and candid statement of the facts before him.

Art. VII. *Four Lectures on Spiritual Christianity, delivered in the Hanover Square Rooms, March*, 1841. By ISAAC TAYLOR. London: Jackson and Walford.

SPIRITUAL christianity is not a mere abstraction—its practical efficiency demonstrates both its origin and its nature—but this depends almost entirely upon the visible institute with which it is connected, and the corporate agency by which it is maintained and extended. Apart from these christianity may be an interesting history of facts and a beautiful system of doc-

trines, but it cannot in any proper sense be regarded as the hope of the world. Mr. Taylor's lectures would have afforded us a greater degree of satisfaction had he fearlessly presented his hearers and his readers with that visible embodiment of spiritual christianity which experience has shown to be the best adapted for the development of its principles and the diffusion of its influence. We do not admire the reserve which will not speak out on the great ecclesiastical question which now agitates the church, whether spiritual christianity is to dwell in a body congenial with its nature—a church purely voluntary and independent of all earthly sovereignty—or whether the governments of the world are to be the organs of its communication, the source of its authority, and the administrators of its sanctions. It seems to us something even more censurable than reserve, when such a writer as Mr. Taylor sets all the principles in operation which must, if properly worked, subvert every secular establishment of christianity, and yet ranges all his acknowledged preferences in opposition to these principles—pouring contempt upon voluntary churches and their 'sandy foundations,' and looking with complacency upon the anti-protestant hierarchy, the episcopal Church of England. We dissent not from the abstract truth of Mr. Taylor's fourth proposition in the last lecture, that 'christianity as a spiritual system is always superior 'to every visible institution;' and if he only mean that there is not a christian church on earth that exhibits a full and perfect counterpart of the christianity of the New Testament, we have no desire to question what appears to us little more than a self-evident truism; but more, much more than meets the eye is intended in the remarks by which this proposition is enforced. We confess that we have no sympathy in Mr. Taylor's extreme solicitude to preserve existing institutions, which impede the progress of the gospel, and prevent and debase its blessed influences; nor can we patiently see them associated with communities which have to the full extent of their means labored for the evangelization of mankind, for the preservation and increase of spiritual christianity in their own country, and its universal extension among all nations. We submit the entire passage to our readers: we have certainly taken pains not to misunderstand Mr. Taylor's 'real meaning;' but the whole is to us very unsatisfactory. We do not believe that christianity, as the hope of the world, and as a divine system of spiritual influence, designed to effect its renovation, can ever be 'inde-'pendent of what is local and visible.' It must have a machinery for its beneficial operation; and that machinery is the best which answers to it as the body to the soul, where the institute and the spiritual essence which gives it life are one and indivisible. Annihilate that portion of the universal church

which in type and form bears the nearest resemblance to apostolic precedent and pattern, and where must we look for spiritual christianity? And though happily for the world genuine christians are found to exist in all the great communities which bear the christian name, yet would it be better for the world if most of those communities as visible institutions were swept away. They are the strongholds where the corrupters and the corruptions of christianity are sustained and perpetuated by the arm of secular power: voluntary churches and spiritual christianity are in natural alliance; all other churches in their corporate capacity have divorced themselves from it. No established church, as such, can become the missionary of spiritual christianity. If Mr. Taylor maintains these views, we certainly have mistaken his real meaning; but if on the contrary he repudiates them, we regret that he has expressed himself, we will not say with studied ambiguity, but with a loose indefiniteness which obscures the subject and perplexes his readers.

'We affirm,' he observes, 'that spiritual christianity is peculiarly adapted to the purpose of diffusing truth and virtue through the world, because, *as a spiritual system,* IT IS ALWAYS SUPERIOR TO EVERY VISIBLE INSTITUTION.* Such institutions, subject as they are to the control of man, and liable, therefore, always to perversion and overthrow, must often obstruct, or utterly forbid the progress of the gospel, if it were inextricably connected with them, or unless it were held to be separable from them, and of far higher importance than any even the best of them. What, then, is our principle on this ground? Assuredly not that such institutions, whether more or less strictly ecclesiastical, are of little importance; or that they may be safely contemned, or hastily or recklessly overthrown, or dismantled, or despoiled. Certainly we have no such meaning as this. Assuredly we hold no such loose doctrine as this. On the contrary, if the present were a fit occasion on which to express our opinion on questions of ecclesiastical polity, *we might perhaps carry our doctrine much further than would be likely to meet the concurrence of many here present.* We may, therefore, think ourselves free from any fair imputation of laxity of belief in regard to the high importance of existing religious institutions.

'But surely such institutions, at the best, are only means to an end; and the end must be greater than the means, always. Such institutions, moreover, inasmuch as they have a local limitation, and are more or less intimately interwoven with whatever belongs to the *civil* and social existence of the people among whom they are found, and as they are administered from year to year, by men not inspired, are liable to sway on this side and on that; and do in fact partake of the dangerous heavings by which all human affairs are so often brought into jeopardy. It cannot, therefore, be wise to put our christianity,

* Why, then, wish to preserve those churches which avowedly maintain that they are superior to christianity, that they are the end and christianity the means?

without reserve, on board even the fairest and best navigated ecclesiastical institution that has ever braved the storms.

'What are the lessons which history teaches on this point? What has become of the experiment to entrust a visible universal church with the spiritual welfare of the human race? How has the church of Rome acquitted herself of this usurped trust? The foulest corruptions, the most extraordinary blasphemies, the most atrocious crimes, and the darkest errors, doctrinal and moral, and all perpetuated through a long course of ages, these have been the fruits of the theory which would lodge an irresponsible and absolute power over christianity with fallible men.

'Christianity we must believe to be greater, and more permanent, and of wider extent, than *any means* that can be devised for maintaining or for diffusing it. And in proportion as the gospel is understood in its purity and in its power—in proportion as it is felt to be a *spiritual religion,* this independence of whatever is local and visible will the more appear; not, indeed, to the disparagement of visible institutions; but to the higher glory of the spiritual reality.

'The warmest supporters of those associations for the propagation of religious truth which distinguish our times, are not so fond as to imagine that the gospel is all risked in their bark; or that the decay or dispersion of these societies, how much soever to be lamented, would seal its fate in the world.

'Christianity, which has survived all empires, and all forms of opinion, and all human institutions, not only will survive all, but is at every moment superior to all, and must be allowed to take its high course, whether these institutions move it, or are broken on their way.'—pp. 184—186.

In this long paragraph we are confused by the different terms employed to denote the same thing. And what that is we are at a loss to imagine, except it be the visible form which spiritual christianity must assume in order to secure its perpetual and universal diffusion. How it can be independent of this, whatever it may be, Mr. Taylor has not shown; he calls it 'means to an end;' and though the end may be superior to the means, it does not appear that the one can be attained without the other, or that the accomplishment of the end does not depend upon the adaptation of the means: and here again we are at a loss, for those means are more or less strictly ecclesiastical; and from the reference to the church of Rome, we are led to suppose that those ecclesiastical institutions which are interwoven with the *civil* and social existence of a people are intended. But we become still more perplexed when instead of these are substituted 'those associations for the propagation of 'religious truth which distinguish our times;' and then what is added about christianity having survived all empires and all forms of opinion, and all human institutions, embarrasses the argument, if an argument it may be called, still more.

It would be ridiculous to attempt to deny Mr. Taylor's

general proposition, to whatever he may precisely refer, that spiritual christianity is superior to all means, all churches, all religious associations. But when it is affirmed that it can be propagated without them, and that as the hope of the world it can in any sense be independent of whatever is local and visible, we must be permitted to question both the philosophy and the fact.

In order to its maintenance and diffusion spiritual christianity must have a church, and that church must be missionary. We quite agree with Mr. Taylor when he says, 'Our religion must 'be carried out into all the world; for its author has formally 'and solemnly enjoined his ministers so to promulgate it; and it 'would be thus propagated, because those in whose bosoms it 'resides with power feel impelled to communicate the happi-'ness they derive from it.' If all churches had been constructed on the principle here recognized, the world long ere this would have been evangelized. Voluntary energy—the impulse of the happy to communicate the cause of their happiness to others, acting through each individual on the whole christian fellowship denominated a church, and that fellowship again operating with concentrated power upon the individual,—this was the grand principle which animated the churches of apostolic times, and thus it was that spiritual christianity triumphed in every place. It was local, and visible, and all but universal. It disappeared when ecclesiastical institutions arose most unapostolical in their character, but most imposing and arrogant in their claims,—institutions of the same nature with those which Mr. Taylor has strangely enough taken under his protection, and which he says may not be 'safely contemned, or hastily and recklessly over-'thrown, or dismantled, or despoiled.' We are glad, however, that he places spiritual christianity above them, and maintains its independence of them; and had he shown how in their nature they must often obstruct and utterly forbid the progress of the gospel, and had he laid down the model of a christian church essentially missionary in its character, existing in separate compartments, and under various forms of ceremonial and discipline, but all acting in harmony as one catholic apostolic communion, we think these lectures would have been more consistent with each other, and more generally acceptable to spiritual christians. The truth seems to be (and this will account for that portion of the fourth lecture we have thus felt it our duty to censure), that Mr. Taylor, shocked at the Puseyism which he justly considers to be the bane and curse of the church of England, but which he is compelled to regard as the natural produce of the apostolic succession and baptismal regeneration, finds it expedient thus obliquely to deny her exclusive claim to spiritual christianity; while his inconsistent attachment to her as a protestant church, which she is not, and

cannot be, has imposed upon him the difficult task of separating her from the fatal errors which she cherishes in her bosom, proclaims in her service-book, and consecrates at her altars. It is for the sake of the Church of England, and to preserve her from being 'dismantled and despoiled' in public opinion, that Mr. Taylor has labored to establish his general proposition, that spiritual christianity is independent of whatever is local and visible; while he seems not to be aware that he thus places apostolic and apostate churches on the same level. As a state church Mr. Taylor must know that the Church of England and spiritual christianity are at the greatest possible distance from each other; and that as an episcopal church, regarded only as an ecclesiastial state, all its tendencies are to Nicene in opposition to spiritual christianity. If he doubt this latter assertion, let him read Bishop M'Ilvaine's recent work, entitled 'Oxford 'Divinity compared with that of the Romish and Anglican 'Churches.' How is it that Puseyism in Great Britain is associated exclusively with the episcopate of England, and that in America it gains a local habitation and a name no where but in the colleges and pulpits of the same denomination? Can it, then, be just to the cause of spiritual christianity, to uphold and defend an ecclesiastical institution which is the greatest obstruction to its progress, and which, indeed, has paralyzed the efforts of its best friends, and is now taking possession of the colonies for the purpose of establishing a hierarchy from which spiritual christianity is of necessity excluded. This is strong language, but the history of the practical working of church principles—that is of Church of Englandism—fully justifies it. Having thus expressed our opinion as to the anomalous ecclesiastical position in which Mr. Taylor has in his recent works chosen to place himself, while carrying on controversies which must at no great distance of time compel him to renounce or manfully to support the one side or the other, we cheerfully yield to him the benefit of the following admission.

'It cannot well be doubted that the purest forms of christianity, *whatever they are*, will on the whole be the most efficacious in extending it; if, therefore, we suppose all true christians to be governed by the simple rule of aiding to promote the gospel, under whatsoever form they see it to be advancing the most auspiciously, then it must happen, that the purest form of christianity will, in the end, draw around itself all, or the greater number of sincere christians; and so, by this simple process, the much desired church unity would be brought about, not by polemical, but by evangelical triumphs.'—p. 186.

It is also but fair to Mr. Taylor to state, that he shows no favor to the pestilent errors which are now so rife in the Anglican church; that, on the contrary, he assails them with a spirit,

and skill, and mastery of the great argument, which reflect infinite honor upon his head, while the fervors of piety which glow in almost every page, prove that his breast is nobly imbued with the spiritual christianity he so eloquently describes. All that he seems to want is a church in which the energies of his mind may have full scope, and the beauties of his character an orbit in which they may shine with a lustre which they cannot gather around him while he wanders in the moral waste without a centre and without a sphere.

Our limits forbid any attempt to present our readers with an analysis of these lectures; nor can we quote passages which we deem of surpassing excellence. One, however, which as it is connected with the topic which has drawn forth our animadversions, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of introducing.

'Moreover this law, not only of love but of communion, or *of visible fellowship*, is declared to be the one CHARACTERISTIC of the christian institute; and submission to it is made the condition at once of Christ's promised presence with his church, and of the conversion of the world by the means of the church.

'Ought not those, then, to look well to the course they are pursuing, who, on the plea of a conscientious regard to some special enactment, or of their adherence to some institution which, at the most, is but a means to an end, are, and in a deliberate manner, putting contempt upon Christ's first law—his universal and sovereign will; and on such ground are either refusing to recognize and to consort with other christians, or are even denying the very name to those whose only alleged fault is their error (if it be an error) on the particular in question.

'Whoever it is that pursues such a course, we cannot hesitate to speak of it as in the highest degree culpable and perilous. It is the fault of these our times; a fault from which, however, multitudes of christians individually stand clear, by the warmth and expansiveness of their personal sentiments, and the (genuine) liberality of their modes of action. But as to communities, not one can well claim exemption from some blame on this behalf.

'But if the most absolute of Christ's laws be publicly dishonored by christian bodies; and if, in the eye of the world, the mark of unity and love be wanting, the serious question presents itself, whether it may be allowable to claim for any body of christians, as such, the praise of possessing and of 'holding forth' that spiritual christianity of which we are speaking?

'We shall excuse ourselves from the task of distinctly replying to so weighty a question, content to know that, in whatever way it might be answered by the champions of parties, Christ's law of love is in fact cordially accepted, and visibly honored too, by no small number of individual christians, within each department of the orthodox and evangelic commonwealth. Even if the visible or ecclesiastical condition of the christian community be not auspicious, happily its *interior* condition (so we fully believe) is of a far more cheering character; and

is such as may safely be held to indicate the approach of a better exterior as well as interior mode of combination.

'A decisive improvement of this sort, or a renovation of the visible as well as of the interior condition of the christian body, giving open honor to Christ's great command, is what remains to be expected as the final development of the energies of the gospel; and which must precede, and would bring in, its general triumph in the world.'

—pp. 146—148.

Art. VIII. 1. *Speech of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., to his Constituents at Tamworth, on occasion of the Dinner given by him on Wednesday the 28th of July*, 1841. Murray, 1841.

2. *Peel and the Premier: or Power without Place, and Place without Power. Russelliana: or Craft and Corn Laws.* London: Painter, 1841.

3. *The Puseyites versus Sir Robert Peel: an Address to the Editor of the British Critic.* By VERUS. London: Painter, 1841.

IN a recent number of this journal we endeavoured to lay before our readers, as impartially as possible, the results of the late elections. It was shown that a clear majority of at least seventy-eight must be admitted on the side of conservatism; which have turned out on the main division to be no less than ninety-one! Those who dined on the good cheer the other day at Tamworth, as well as that far larger class about to feast themselves with the sweets of office, are of course rampant with joy. But whilst Sir Robert Peel is taking the chair, amidst an immense clatter of knives and forks from his subalterns and admirers;—whilst the Bishops are saying grace before the banquet, which they will doubtless do with all imaginable disinterestedness and solemnity;—we will employ ourselves in at least the more intellectual task of trying to enlighten our fellow-countrymen on the position and prospects of the in-coming Tory administration.

We love a mythologue to the very core of our inner man; and being in high good humour, on this occasion, one of the German fairy tales of Gammer Grethel may relax the risible muscles of some of the gravest amongst us. Our opponents may surely forgive us for laughing a little, whilst they are at a dinner, which we in our consciences conceive ought to be enjoyed by much wiser people. We read the other day, that in a country very far off, a sapient person called Dunderhead, having found a golden goose, decamped with it tucked under his arm, and with some decidedly peculiar individuals following him, *nolentibus volentibus*, whether they would or no! Whoever

once put his or her hand to that train could never get away: and the first three joints of the tail were as many young ladies, daughters of John Bull, the honest innkeeper; who, indulging their fancy to purloin a few of the golden feathers, may suitably represent the triple monopoly of sugar, timber, and corn! The parson of the parish also, in luckless moment looking over the hedge at so unseemly a spectacle, joined in the pursuit *professedly* to remonstrate against all improprieties; but having once touched, there was no retreat even to this holy man, compelled to run on as it appeared to his mighty inconvenience: for he roared aloud that he had a touch of the gout through taking too much port wine at his last tithe-audit! The parallel, we need not say, can point to nothing less than the infelicitous fortune of an Established Church, obliged to go after the State, and pay the fearful, yet at times almost ludicrous penalty for lusting after the forbidden lucre of a fallen and deceitful world! But so it turned out, that as the whole party galloped along sorely against their will, and amidst sundry grimaces and imprecations,—three jolly countrymen, with shovels and mattocks on their shoulders, hastened to rescue both the priest and damsels. In other words, they also touched, and thereby became irretrievably attached to the dance of fools, after the prize of mammon, in the grasp of obstinacy and incapacity. These rustics must have been the chartists of their day and generation; deluded by the lie that cheap bread was only another term for low wages. However forward and onward they all went, until they reached a palace, of which the royal inhabitant was a princess, who had never laughed in her life, until she now beheld this curious procession; which threw her at once into such a fit of cachinnation, that it ended like some other melo-dramatic tragedies, in a marriage with the leader and bearer of the goose; although what befell its followers the story does not say. Thus much for our allegory; and German scholars in such matters will doubtless bear testimony to the fidelity with which, in the main, we have adhered to its singular details.

One fact may be considered certain, namely, as Lord John Russell says in his letter of acknowledgment to the electors of London, that the Whigs, on the condemnation of their policy by Parliament, had no other alternative than to resign. This will have become what the French politicians call a *fait accompli* before these lines can see the light. But admitting that Lord Melbourne and his ministry have much to answer for,—that they have made many mistakes,—and on not a few occasions have flinched from what was due both to patriotism and their own party,—yet it must also be remembered, that during their term of office they have effected more substantial and important

reforms than all their predecessors put together, since the revolution. We hold it a matter of common justice to state this fully at the present moment; when we can have nothing to expect, and when those from whom the nonconformists, as a body, have always received most favors, have at length ceased to dispense the patronage of the crown. The duty, too, has seemed yet more imperative from the torrents of slander, invective, misrepresentation, and even open falsehood, which a profligate diurnal press has vomited upon the country. Had the Melbourne cabinet been the notorious cabal of a former century;—had the Arlingtons, Cliffords, and Buckinghams of the wicked Charles the Second been retiring from office; had the excellent Lord Chancellor Cottenham been a Jefferies himself, the persecution of those, who seem to confound all distinctions between vice and virtue upon the surface of the broad sheet, could scarcely have proved more virulent and inveterate. Leading journals, written with an ability of which God gave them the use, and the Devil the application,—which have been purchased in the political market, and are to be sold again to the best bidder, on any future occasion, have done their utmost to trample under foot the fair and unobtrusive reputation of men whose best energies have been ever employed either to procure or defend that freedom which is now so scandalously abused to the worst personal purposes. Could the veil but have been withdrawn from the real motives, envyings, jealousies, and heartburnings, which have deluged these kingdoms for the last three months,—verily Great Britain and Ireland must have offered the appearance of infernal empires, rather than the aspect of the more enlightened sections of christendom. We repeat it—that the Liberals will have no occasion to look back upon the last decad of years with unmingled shame. There is plenty of room for humiliation certainly—but also for thankfulness. They have been enabled to work out many of those great truths and maxims which modern experience has either confirmed or revealed. They have demonstrated in office, as well as out of office, that power unattended with responsibility is sheer tyranny. This constituted the foundation of their municipal measures; and for the elements of mischief introduced into, or suffered to remain in them, contrary to their reiterated remonstrances, posterity will not hold them answerable. They brought forward an immense amelioration of our representative system; although, for the present, an oppressive and never-slumbering aristocracy may be said to have neutralized or postponed much of the benefit, which might otherwise have been expected. They laid the axe to the root of nomination boroughs,—non-representation of our large towns,—inequalities in the elective franchise,—and the delay and expense of elec-

tions. Here again the oligarchy may have appeared to countermine them: although we feel persuaded that the sort of bribery and corruption recently practised cannot be suffered much longer. Let it never be forgotten either, that what are termed conservative triumphs, are victories very often gained through purses heavy with the wages of infamy, but ticketed on their outsides with false professions of liberalism. This kind of hypocrisy is at all events a homage paid to patriotism, if not to virtue. But the point we maintain is this: that the reformers have patronized, and to some certain extent achieved, marvellous organic changes, which must in the course of events operate well for the people, and tell against exclusive and class interests. Their East India charter, moreover, however short of what it ought to be, throws into the shade every effort, or series of efforts, that Toryism had conceived, or that the House of Lords would have ever allowed, under other circumstances than those which attended the premiership of Earl Grey. The interests of millions now alive, and millions more yet unborn,—the nations of the oriental world, from Japan to the Bay of Bengal, were incalculably concerned in that mighty change. Then again as to sinecures, pensions, reversions, and patent offices, Edmund Burke would have gloated, in all the splendors of his 'imperial imagination,' over such a prospect as that which we have lived to see realized. The pruning-knife has been there applied at least to such multitudes of abuses as would have loaded the *plaustra mendaciorum* of conservatism, when that system assures its votaries that Whig commissions have borne harder upon our finances than the accumulated iniquities in this respect of William Pitt, Spencer Percival, or Lord Liverpool. But let us contemplate for an instant what the last ten years have seen fulfilled with regard to national retrenchment, and the management of our revenue and expenditure. The Wellington ministry reaped a harvest of credit for having done all that it thought possible to be done, in cutting down our public disbursements; yet the Exchequer, through the honesty of Liberals, had its lustration to undergo; and that 'famous cavern of Norman 'abuse and antique usages, of wooden tallies and opulent 'sinecures,' worth more than £30,000 per annum, fell to the ground by no other exertions than those of the now abused Whigs and Radicals. The navy estimates of 1832-3 were reduced nearly a million per annum below those of 1830; the reductions of salaries of £1000 and upwards, within three years, amounted to £200,000 all but a fraction; besides an enormous amount of saving on all our colonial establishments, equivalent to an annual quarter of a million sterling more. In the customs alone not less than 414 offices were abolished; and in the excise, 507 situations had the salaries considerably contracted

which are attached to them. Under Earl Grey the total number of 'good things,' as they are called, 'to give away,' underwent a curtailment to the extent of twelve hundred and sixty-five places. The difference between the Tory salaries of 1815 and the Whig salaries of 1835 amounted to an annual saving of £976,822, or about 14 per cent. in number, and 26 per cent. in charge. Let the country understand that on the whole, notwithstanding some of those dead flies which spoil the apothecary's ointment, the retiring reformers realized and redeemed the promises of retrenchment, which they spontaneously made to the nation, upon taking office under William the Fourth.

In 1830 the gross revenues were £50,000,000 per annum; out of which, £35,000,000 being absorbed by the dividends on the national debt and other fixed charges, only £15,000,000 remained as the legitimate field within which economy could be exercised. Now, notwithstanding the previously retrenching administration of the Duke of Wellington, the average expenditure of the three years, 1831, 1832, and 1833, turned out to be less by three millions sterling than the average of the three years 1828, 1829, and 1830! It was moreover shown by parliamentary returns, that during the premiership of Lord Grey, as well as since, the dockyards and arsenals, instead of being *starved*, as the Tories termed it, were more full of spars, cordage, and all the materials for naval warfare, than during any previous period subsequently to Plymouth, Portsmouth, Chatham, Woolwich, and Pembroke, being put upon the peace establishment. The complaints, which have been propagated of late years, relate to the number of vessels in commission, of which it may justly be doubted whether we have had a sufficient supply. But the parliament has been all along cognizant of the real state of the case; and meanwhile taxes have been repealed, which were hurtful to the most important interests of these kingdoms. From 1830 to 1835 inclusive, there were surrendered in the customs, duties to no less an amount than £2,007,187, although on the other hand there was imposed £656,651;—in the excise there was repealed £4,120,400, and imposed £181,000;—in the stamps, £197,872 was repealed, and £21,760 imposed;—in the taxes, £1,740,317 was taken off, and a mere trifle laid on. Taking a general survey down to the current moment, and allowing for all the additions which have been made to our national burthens since the year 1836, we claim for the two Reform-Ministries an honor which no candid mind, comprehending the common rules of arithmetic, can withhold from them, namely, that of relieving our fiscal system to a clear annual extent of at least £6,000,000 sterling,—a sum which would pay the interest of no less a principal than £200,000,000 in the consols! The imposts, moreover, withdrawn either in

whole or in part, were just those which invaded the comfort of the lower or middle classes, and which, before the Reform Bill, an aristocratic government seldom condescended to trouble itself at all about. They related to such articles as printed goods, coals and slates, hemp, drugs, tiles, marine insurances, advertisements, assessed taxes, farming stock, cotton wool, soap, glass, houses, and the post-office. The principle of the improvement lay in getting rid of such burthens as were inquisitorial, vexatious, and expensive in their collection; as well as those tending to the discouragement of literature and knowledge amongst the more numerous classes, or such also as enhanced the prices of articles in general use and consumption. The entire tendencies of Tory taxation took an opposite course and bearing. Throughout the reigns of the two last Georges, it was always the uppermost object to relieve the few at the expense of the many. So long as the oligarchy was made fat and well-liking; so long as the hierarchy might feed on the temporalities of their flocks, and leave their souls to the spiritualities of evangelicals or nonconformists; so long as an enormous civil list supported the bigotry of George the Third, and the profligacy of George the Fourth,—the widely spread masses of our increasing population were left to take their chance, as ignorant vulgar herds, but useful sources of wealth to the higher orders!

The time would fail us to enumerate the various details of that silent, but effective revolution, which has been making considerable progress in our courts of judicature. Whigs and radicals, between them, have marvellously trimmed those more exuberant legal abuses, of which the bee-hives of horsehair and white powder, upon the heads of lord judges and lord chancellors, presented but humble emblems. Fees and sinecures have been swept away, such as would have made the Eldons and Thurlows of a former age almost turn in their graves. The judicial committee of the privy council, and the central criminal court, must be numbered amongst the more important improvements,—as also the abolition of fines and recoveries, shortening the terms of prescriptive rights, and the introduction of new and ameliorated regulations with regard to general practice, both in equity and common law. The rights of dower, descent, and testamentary disposition have been at all events modified; so that although still far enough from being in conformity with the spirit of the age and natural equity, yet such matters are not quite so absurd as they were before. The battering ram of common sense has been at length brought to bear against not a few of the foundations on which feudalism once thought it might reckon for ever. Fictions, and antique barbarisms, are finding their unmolested way to the tomb of all the Capulets.

Debtors cannot now be imprisoned, as a matter of course, upon mesne process. Our criminal code is rapidly putting off its horribly draconian character; in contemplating which it should be remembered that, not many years since, hundreds used to be annually hanged or transported for life for forgeries, while sheep stealing, or theft to the value of five shillings in a shop or dwelling-house, or even the appearing with a blackened face at certain hours in certain places, were offences that could only be expiated by strangulation at the gallows. Those only are properly qualified to ponder the legislative performances of the reformers, who heard in their earlier days the howl of aristocratic dismay with which the efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly or Sir James Macintosh were met, whenever they proposed even the most moderate mitigations of that penal severity, as to which conservatism itself now finds its interest in professing some rather late and reluctant abhorrence. When to all these matters we add the abolition of slavery in the colonies, the foreign policy which has vindicated the honor of the British lion from the Levant to Affghanistan, the suppression of revolt in Canada, the commutation of tithes, and the enactment of a new poor law at home, the quiet impulse which has been given to constitutional freedom in foreign lands, the principles of administrative government manifested in Scotland and Ireland, the commercial treaties made with Turkey and Austria, and lastly, the marriage and registration acts, not to mention the annihilation of church rates in the sister kingdom,—we submit that the advantages of liberalism over its rival are sufficiently apparent. Twenty millions, it is true, have been added to the national debt; but that was a premium extorted by the West India interest for the performance of an act of justice towards 800,000 of our sable fellow-creatures. The treachery which consented to this bonus of iniquity,—the selfishness which then accepted it, and which now turns round to bark at the generous folly, or rather the purblind extravagance of the donors,—are again coming into power. We have ventured to record, in the plainest and least embellished language, the deeds, not the words,—the performances, not the professions, of those withdrawing from the helm: let us take a glance on the other side, at the noblemen and gentlemen about to seize and guide it, if they can,—the followers of the good old Dunderhead system of Toryism, running a muck, with the golden goose under its arm, into the very palace of Queen Victoria.

Common people, with honesty in their hearts, and eyes in their heads, have always conceived it to be a rational course, that past conduct should form the foundation of present inferences with regard to future behaviour. Allowance is of course to be made for altered circumstances, as an element in the con-

sideration. Here we have a party seizing upon the government, of whose principles the country had full experience for nearly seventy years; with slight intermissions, from the breaking up of Lord Chatham's ministry to the retirement of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel in 1830. Nothing that is not vague in the way of political exposition or promise can be extracted from the latter eminent individual; so that our only resource, respecting himself, is to look back upon the history of that system at the head of whose supporters he stands. His words in this second Tamworth manifesto are these: 'My only 'advice for the present is—dismiss those that are now in office! 'Change your physician; the patient has not confidence in him. 'They found her in health,—they leave her in sickness. But it 'is said—What do you prescribe? Gentlemen, I will wait till 'I am regularly called in.' I see around me some of my attached 'friends of the medical profession, and I appeal to them, 'whether they do not cordially concur with me, that it is not fit 'that *one man should offer the prescription, and another take the 'fee.* (Great laughter.) No, gentlemen, he would be acting 'the part of an irregular practitioner,—a quack doctor, who 'should profess that he had some infallible nostrum, which, 'without being consulted by the patient, or being allowed to 'feel her pulse, was a perfect remedy for whatever disease she 'might labor under. I must therefore continue steadily to 'refuse to offer my advice until I have access to the patient!' (Immense cheers.) The whole of this passage, which is not extracted from any report in a newspaper, but from the corrected speech, published by the Right Hon. Baronet himself, through the press of Mr. Murray, of Albemarle-street, strikes us as in exceedingly bad taste; whether his audience—his readers—the palpable suppression of the real circumstances of the case—the personal situation of her Majesty—or the just expectations of the three kingdoms are taken into account. There appears to our mind no quackery more thoroughly genuine than hypocritical mystification. The conjuror, who has filled a barn with greenhorns, paying sixpence a-piece to see him get into a quart bottle, and then politely requests them to wait until a bottle large enough to suit him shall arrive, seems to us an upright man in the comparison. If Sir Robert Peel really knows nothing about the state and circumstances of the patient, where are his ears, his penetration, or his abilities for fulfilling the office of political physician, to which he evidently has so long aspired? If, which is no doubt the case, he imagines that no one actually knows so much about the matter as himself,—then where are his veracity and patriotism, two elements, let us assure him, both of a good man and good minister? What is the mighty secret, which her Majesty may be supposed to possess

respecting the body politic, and which until a conservative cabinet have heard imparted from behind the royal curtains, nothing beneficial can be performed? With all personal deference to the Right Hon. Baronet, we are ready to say, and to prove what we say, were it not palpable and obvious, that he never uttered less dignified language, nor occupied a less enviable position before an enlightened public, in the whole course of his life. Favored as he is with all the gifts of rank and talents and a princely fortune, and implying as he does, which is also quite true, that the country labours amidst the difficulties of a crisis rarely paralleled,—has his disinterestedness, according to his own avowal, so shrunk into the minuteness of a nutshell, that he, Sir Robert Peel, the grand doctor prepared to cure all the distempers of the commonwealth, would nevertheless not open his lips, nor handle his pen, for fear, *proh pudor!* lest 'he should offer the prescription and 'another take the fee!' Yet such are his own words, and very suitable they are and were to the views and past history of the powerful party in whose name he propounded them.

They remind us of an old but respectable Scotch physician, who practised, and upon this same principle too, in the suburbs of the most opulent city in the West of England. A younger practitioner paid his respects to him, for an introduction to patients if possible, but for advice at all events. 'Ah! sir,' said the antiquated Esculapius, 'there is nothing like *touching the fees!*' and this profound axiom was enunciated in the broadest accents of Caledonia. The conservatives, as it would seem, can have scarcely any other idea; notwithstanding the effrontery of their orators, leaders, and journals, which have endeavoured to raise a hideous outcry against the Whigs, as being so much more attached than themselves to the emoluments of office. For more than half a century they resisted every attempt made to curtail a pension, uproot an abuse, abolish a grievance, or pare away a sinecure. From the age of Edmund Burke to that of Joseph Hume, such efforts were denounced as revolutionary. The national debt was more than trebled by the principles and practices of politicians whose successors and defenders are now returning to power, furious against an administration for adding only twenty millions to it. Their favorite American war alone cost five times that sum. Their iniquitous government contracts, their wasteful subsidies to foreign rulers—and those rulers despots, their game laws, ecclesiastical oppressions, resistance to religious toleration, the iron sway with which they kept down or overrode Ireland and Scotland, their support of boroughmongery and warfare against popular rights and the liberty of the press, their defence and successful maintenance of slavery in the colonies, the slave trade upon the seas and feudal vassal-

age at home, their entire fiscal system framed from first to last to relieve themselves and fleece the nation, their monopoly of the church, the army, and navy, the vast patronage dispensed by the heads of the different departments altogether for aristocratical purposes,—all these, and a much longer array of similar delinquencies, stand recorded against them in characters never to be effaced. There can be no mistake, either about the men or their former measures; what their future ones are to be time alone can show. A most remarkable thing however it is, that they obtrude themselves into place and power under the not very prepossessing title of an *alias:* being perhaps the only section of a well-ordered society ever reduced so low in political character as to decline, wherever possible, that native appellation in which they once gloried. Nevertheless, the country cannot be for any length of days so oblivious of her ancient plunderers, as not presently to recognize them; and depend upon it, sooner or later, *mutato nomine de te fabula narratur,* will constitute the motto of her treatment, even towards the ingenious, but not ingenuous member for Tamworth.

His own party will occasion him no trifling trouble, as he must already have begun to experience. Outside the doors of Downing-street hunger and necessity have seemed to keep as motley a pack of hounds together as ever any earthly Nimrod hunted with. Session after session, however, has heard certain ominous sounds of private flagellations, administered with no gentle hand, in their kennel near the Spring Gardens. There have the elements of future quarrels commenced their preliminary uproar; there has the *ultrix accincta flagello Tisiphone insultans* sometimes so despaired of success, that disloyalty has been talked at, or rather *after* public dinners; and motions have been advocated at St. Stephen's for heaping a few more millions upon the establishment, that she may erect churches at the expense of dissenters, and fill them with Oxford divines. Puseyism at least imitates Presbyterianism in one respect, and never voluntarily loses a good thing for want of asking for it. Between the 'national conscience' of Mr. Gladstone on the one hand, and the fear of too soon alarming nonconformists on the other, the new Premier will have a most difficult part to play. We shall see, before we have done, that Oxford has already opened a running raking fire upon the hopes and fears of a conservative government, and the political character of its leader. She has never forgotten, and most surely has never forgiven, the conduct of her once favorite alumnus with respect to Catholic emancipation. The clergy generally have run after the golden goose, in the late elections, far too vigorously to keep clear of ultimate consequences. They expect not a few yellow feathers for their sufferings and exposure. Their organized influences have swept

away mountains of liberalism in the counties, where squirearchy, tenantry, and peasantry, have obeyed their precepts; but then they will have their day of reckoning, both with Sir Robert Peel and the people, for all these parochial labors. Even as to the tithe commutation, some prelates have proclaimed in their charges, and thousands of rectors and vicars are inwardly convinced in their minds, that the great conservative leader could have done more for them, than he then and there did, if he would; what will they then say, and how will they act, when in the settlement of the corn laws he shall omit or overlook their presumed title to compensation for the further sacrifices which they may be called upon to make? Nor is the state of other parties, or their subdivisions into every shade of Whiggery and radicalism, at all less tending to augment perplexity. The followers of Lord John Russell are much attached to that nobleman, as well as to those more immediately around him. As leader on either side of the house, it is justly conceived that few statesmen have evinced more talent and temper. His style of oratory has improved, through practice, in readiness, flexibility, and volume. It is upon religious matters that he would seem to be least enlightened; his mind not having sufficiently emancipated itself from certain superstitious sentiments relative to the union of the church with the state being necessary to constitute the latter a christian one. The healthy agitation of well-conducted debate, in which his lordship will contend, unfettered by those considerations that must always more or less bias a minister, may produce very different impressions. His unripe opinions upon ecclesiastical subjects are probably destined to undergo processes of change, analogous to those which we have witnessed with regard to other topics. As to the ballot, it is supposed that about two hundred and forty members in the new parliament are pledged to support it, which will enable the reformers, at no distant day, to appeal to the country, enlisting sympathies in their favor such as neither public apathy shall be able to suffocate, nor aristocratic corruption to resist or overcome. Lord John Russell, we feel assured, will be in his right place whenever that emergency may arrive. He stands at the head of a parliamentary minority, supported by a majority out of doors. Faction may be sufficiently strong to render this last assertion an apparent paradox for a time, but good sense will come off triumphant in the end. They are only the extremes of society that have recently culminated, and that but for a short season, through their monstrous co-operation, assisted by bribery and intimidation. Meanwhile the temporary union of chartism and Toryism cannot fail to embarrass Sir Robert Peel. He knows well enough, (or if he does not know it his period of power will be brief indeed,) that between these two extremes,

the antipodes of the political world, lie the great masses of moderation and intelligence, into whose lap the reins of supremacy must shortly fall. Ultra-tories, like Sir Robert Inglis and his clique, are honest individuals, obstinate in keeping their backs turned upon the current tide of society. Impracticable radicals and chartists perform a similar act of folly, although looking in quite an opposite direction. The one class is so enamoured of the past, and the other of the future, that what is present, and of real pressing importance, escapes notice. A recent pamphlet, entitled 'Glances at the Times,' drew attention to this fact; pointing out a year ago how impossible the conservative premier will find it to manage such heterogeneous materials. The party of his opponent will therefore the more commend itself to the support of its old friends and adherents. Our middle classes, from the vast creation of property now going forward, increase quite as fast in proportion, as either the upper or lower; and in practical useful knowledge they are outstripping both,—not having the prejudices of birth, caste, and etiquette to captivate them, nor being prevented through excessive daily toil from attending to considerable mental cultivation. The monarchy, administered as it happily is by a liberal Sovereign, will here have to seek for what it here alone will find, namely, the cordial support of the bulk of the body-politic,—composed of intelligent fathers of families, piously and quietly disposed, possessing sufficient business or capital to identify their interests with those of peace and good order, who are equally averse to the exclusiveness of an oligarchy and the extravagancies of revolutionists, and whose simple aims are to enjoy cheap bread—cheap justice—the rights of person, property, and conscience—economical government for all—and such profits as will enable them to dispense fair wages amongst the operatives dependent upon them. These men form the centre of gravity upon which the essential solidity of our commonwealth reposes. They have not chosen to return a majority to parliament this time most certainly; but it is not less certain, that with an effort they will be able to do it any time, and our conviction is, that they will be roused to make that effort shortly. At the present moment they are in a state of alternation between torpor and alarm.

For it must be admitted that awful is the state of our operative population, as to which, one of the most striking pictures that we have ever seen given occurs in a recent number of the British Critic. 'The artizan,' says that able periodical, 'is 'exhausted with toil, chained to his post by the pressure of 'poverty, dispirited by the all but impossibility of rising, with 'pauperism ever gaping beneath his feet: the strength of his 'days is broken by labor, his moments of leisure spoilt by

'anxiety; he sees above him a class whose prosperity he little 'shares, whose reverses he must often feel; his position is the 'focus of grievances, which may perhaps bear equally upon all, 'yet press palpably on him, for he is at the very paying point 'of taxation, and his scanty income is the very guage of fiscal 'pressure and mercantile vicissitude. Meanwhile he is one of 'the multitude, and it is in the mid-sea of human affairs that he 'is tossed to and fro. He is surrounded by distress, which he 'cannot remedy, symptoms which he cannot comprehend, 'anomalies which he cannot explain, projects and projectors 'whose prudence and justice he cannot weigh; yet still every-'thing about him is human: abstraction, seclusion, speculation, 'are the luxuries of pampered ease and cultivated minds, not of 'incessant manual toil. The mechanic sees man and human 'motives in every circumstance of his condition; and when he 'rises above what he sees, it is not so much to general laws as 'to their Almighty author.' The empty bag, as Dr. Franklin long ago observed, can hardly be made to stand upright; and should famine or distress be permitted to unfasten it, the various classes of the community will fare worse than even the sailors of Ulysses, when they foolishly unbound the presents of Æolus:

Ενθα δε βυκταων ανεμων κατεδησε κελευθα.

Few persons, who have watched the various phases of prosperity and adversity through which manufacturing industry has for the last twenty years been passing, can point to any period more pregnant with hazard and perplexity than that in which we are now living and writing. Honest effort seems almost ready to cross its arms in despair; whilst an enormous section of our northern and western artizans, jaded and excited, and irritated partly with the disappointment of expectations which never were reasonable, partly through the pressure of positive destitution, appears preparing to grasp weapons of aggression against society in general, instead of going forward with the machinery of their handicraft, productive only as it seems to them of vanity and vexation of spirit. Starving children, sickly wives, unfurnished apartments, streets of empty houses, shops forsaken, the wheel and the loom standing still, pawnbrokers crushed and ruined through the overwhelming burthen of their customers loading them with pledges that can neither be redeemed nor sold; these form awful materials for inflammatory newspapers to fall amongst. All this time, moreover, the grand *fons malorum* is being daily laid more bare. Mechanics, as well as capitalists, are beginning to comprehend that the corn laws, which enhance the price of the prime necessary of life, and derange into the bargain all other prices, must come down; and

if schemes of universal suffrage have turned the eyes of some another way, it has only been so, because the artful selfishness of conservatism led them utterly to despair of obtaining any measures of real or practical amelioration from the founders of union workhouses. That fallacy, however, will soon be at its last gasp; and the remedy lately proposed by the Melbourne ministry to rescue us from ruin, notwithstanding it unfortunately came so late as to wear almost a suspicious character, will nevertheless remain with and strike root into the hearts of our operatives, until commerce shall be delivered from her fetters, and the usurpations of monopoly experience their ultimate demolition.

How can Toryism expect in the long run to maintain injustice against palpable equity, or the interests of exclusiveness against those of free trade? Faction, and favorable circumstances, have afforded them the means, just recently, of smothering the real question at issue. But thousands more know to-day than knew yesterday, that our existing aristocratical system lays an impost upon every article, without exception, of goods manufactured within the United Kingdom; whilst it operates as a bounty against the native artizan upon all rival articles manufactured by foreign nations. Lord Fitzwilliam, on the one hand, and the Times newspaper on the other, have demonstrated the effect of an augmented demand for bread, in the Yorkshire manufacturing districts, upon the industry of Essex and the other corn counties. The farmers may rest assured, as well as their landlords, that the manufacturing markets of the north pay the rents and agricultural wages of the south. At present our Lancashire and Scotch fabrics, our Sheffield hardware, and western productions meet with such competition abroad, that as they can find no profitable sale, their manufacturers at home must more or less break up one establishment after another, and surrender the golden harvest of foreign trade to those who inhabit countries where the staff of life is cheaper than with us. The first effect of free trade in wheat, oats, rye, and barley, would be an advance in price of all these over those continental territories, which have communication with England. It is notorious that any demand from Great Britain of from 150,000 to 200,000 quarters invariably raises the price of wheat to 40s. the quarter in the Baltic ports. Hence the foreign manufacturer would thus have to struggle at once with higher wages to his own workmen; leaving in undisturbed possession to the English their superiority in skill and capital, which are sure to carry all before them were they but once on a par with respect to wages with their Memel or Russian rivals. To prevent our operatives from clearly perceiving this, during the recent elections, an outcry was raised that the modification

of the corn laws meant nothing more than a depression of wages to the continental level. Now, however, that the clamour and excitement are partially over, truth will at length prevail. Whilst our senators are debating, the middle and lower classes will be asking and circulating such questions as these:—'What 'can dear food mean, otherwise than a *short supply* of food: 'how can higher wages remedy the mischiefs of scarcity?' If food be really scarce, higher wages must of course keep pushing up the price through competition. 'Scarcity of corn must be 'bad for all who live on wages, because the latter never can be 'forced up at an equal rate. The real evil, after all, *is a short* '*supply*. If a dozen of us were wrecked upon a desert island, 'with a single sack of biscuits, how would the case be mended 'by finding a sack of gold. The metal might be divided and 'termed *high wages*, but unless it could multiply the biscuits 'where is the good of it?' Unanswerable facts will daily make their way, and bring those who are both hungry and honest back to their best friends. In 1740 an average rate of wages of five shillings a week would procure for the laborer one bushel of wheat and one of barley, one pound of butter and one of cheese, besides a pennyworth of tobacco. Wheat was then from 25s. to 29s. the quarter. The same quantity of bread, malt, butter, cheese, and tobacco, would now cost 19s., or more than the wages of an able-bodied agricultural laborer for a fortnight! So again, within the last few years, the average price of wheat from 1830 to 1837, was only £2 13s. 3d., per quarter; whilst the unusual abundance of 1835 reduced it below £2.,—in fact to not much more than 39s. Wages were then as high, and in some instances higher than they are now. In Ireland food is dear, but the rate of remuneration to a husbandman is sixpence a-day. In America food is cheap; and the wages of a common laborer are a dollar per diem! The main element with regard to wages, as well as every thing else, is the proportion of the supply to the demand. Our various classes in middle and lower life cannot remain much longer in ignorance as to these things, and every step taken in acquiring such knowledge will be just so much gained to the side of liberalism against conservatism. The consumption of wheat in the three kingdoms may be set down at about 16,000,000 of quarters per annum: which, at the present or late average of 70s., must be considered as equivalent to £56,000,000 sterling. Supposing Lord John Russell's very moderate modification to come into operation, it would evidently secure a permanent price for wheat at about 20s. under the present rate; or in other words, it would effect an annual saving to the country at large to the extent of £16,000,000 sterling, or considerably more than sufficient to pay half the dividends on the entire national debt! This too, it may be remembered, is

the mere benefit obtained upon wheats alone; not taking into the account either barley, oats, or rye,—or the well-ascertained axiom, that corn enters ultimately into the price of every other conceivable article! It will be found, we apprehend, that by the blazing hearth-fires of the next christmas, alongside the ingle-nook of our cottages, when fathers, mothers, and children find the loaf small, the beer poor, the fuel dear, and wages very low, that the tide of public opinion will set in irresistibly against all monopolies whatsoever; without our rustic philosophers troubling themselves with the jargon of sliding scales, fixed duties, political economists, or Mark Lane averages and juggles. The industrial masses of this country are bending under their burthens. The national manhood of these kingdoms is getting out of heart, out of temper, and out of patience. Wise men, foreseeing these things, have long demanded a sound, religious, unsectarian education to enlighten the national mind, strengthen its capabilities of endurance, and guide its intelligence; the hierarchy and aristocracy have refused it. Shrewd men, upon the secular principles of justice, have long insisted upon the necessity of relieving labor from the monopoly of bread, commerce from a number of vexatious fiscalities, annoying the national comfort in building houses and sweetening beverages: the aristocracy and hierarchy have set their faces as a flint against all such requisitions. The temporal peers button their pockets, nod to their stewards, and cut up their estates to £50 a year tenants at will: the spiritual ones adjust their lawn sleeves in the mirrors of mother church, charge their archdeacons and clergy on the important topics of tithes or commutations for tithes, and finally deliver most reverend orations against socialism and irreligion in the House of Lords! We respectfully entreat all parties to ponder these affairs. Twenty-eight millions of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, their better halves and children included, will never submit to such a scheme of misgovernment, for any very long interval, after its heinousness shall have become generally known and recognized. Every young urchin whipped through the four rules of arithmetic, in our charity schools, may be growing up as a radical reformer, either through fair measures or foul; but a reformer he must be, for necessity will make him so. In other terms, aristocrats and hierarchs must either cast their skins, or ultimately come down from their high places!

Then again, as to foreign affairs, which, involving immense patronage in various diplomatic departments, have always been usurped by the aristocracy as its special demesne,—how will conservatism ride out the storm? There can no longer be allowed the comfortable abuses of former right honorable lega-

tions. The service will undergo in parliament a more sifting analysis than ever, from the occupants of the opposition benches having been for several years behind the scenes; and therefore being now qualified to track with success the intricacies and labyrinths of corruption. The features of conservative foreign policy are too characteristic by far to be ever mistaken. An oligarchical cabinet in London sympathized with despotism all over the world. The czar of Russia, the emperor of Germany or Austria, the monarch of Prussia, all the Bourbons, and even the sultan at Constantinople, could count upon the support of Great Britain for three quarters of a century. For what purpose were millions of money, and thousands of lives, wasted in the transatlantic contest under Lord North, but to enslave thirteen colonies, and secure the fat pastures of aristocratic patronage from Canada to Florida? So, also, during the last war, how manifestly were our fleets, and armies, and subsidies, all engaged or squandered, to reinstate Ferdinand the Seventh, strangle the nascent liberties of the Peninsula, and even replace the Pope on his ecclesiastical throne in Italy: with the exception perhaps of an interval, when our existence appeared to be threatened, through the part William Pitt had originally taken in waging war against French democracy on behalf of our own aristocracy. Even when the tables had turned, and constitutional government had smitten in the dust the iron sceptre of Charles the Tenth,—to which other quarter did exiled autocrats direct their eyes, than to the Tories expelled from power, because they had clung too pertinaciously to Gatton and Old Sarum? On a majority in the British conservative House of Lords rested the last hopes of Don Miguel in Portugal; of Don Carlos in Spain; of the absolutists in Saxony; or of a half-insane Duke of Brunswick in Germany! Belgium would have once more been subjected to the Dutch obtuseness of the house of Orange, had not the Whigs become paramount within the walls of St. James, and the Gallican armies of July conquered Antwerp for Leopold. We will undertake to say, that the predominance of liberal counsels in this country, from the revolution of July to the recent settlement of Syrian affairs at Constantinople, has done more for the civil and intellectual advancement of Europe, than all our previous continental interferences, from the close of the Seven years' war to the retirement of the Duke of Wellington. Despotic rule may be almost said to have ceased in theory, if we leave Russia out of the account. At least, sixty millions of the most civilized of our species have been subtracted from the yoke of naked and avowed absolutism! Even from the banks of the Bosphorus, and the canals of Grand Cairo, professions of better things have been promulgated with no little solemnity. The authority of law has been

recognized by rulers as possessing supremacy over mere arbitrary will. Prussia is developing principles and practices which will emancipate all the vast Teutonic family before politicians are aware; nor even now would her late, nor her present monarch, nor even the potentate of Austria itself, presume to act upon the old orthodox Tory maxim of *Sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas!* Amidst innumerable European changes, and almost all of them for the better, the foreign policy of England has been upon the whole, open, straightforward, comprehensive, impartial, and enlightened. We have sought nothing for ourselves. Some of our best, although not our most brilliant exertions, have worn a mediatorial character; so that wars have been averted, trade promoted, and slavery, so far as diplomacy can do it, discountenanced. Now the question will come home to the bosoms of the more reflective and intelligent, amongst our middle classes, as to whether liberalism or conservatism be the most beneficial to mankind, upon the largest conceivable scale. They will examine the facts of the case, and make their decision accordingly. Not all the banded coronets in the three kingdoms could now support a conflict, for two campaigns, towards which the shopocracy and operatives of these realms may consider it right to declare their deliberate, steady disapproval.

China and America,—and America much more than China, will try the ingenuity of Lord Aberdeen, or whatever minister may hold the seals of the foreign office, in the cabinet of Sir Robert Peel. Thirty years have nearly elapsed since the absurd conference of Ghent, and the stultified arrangements which grew out of it. The efforts of Lord Palmerston have at all events done something, while his predecessors not only achieved nothing, but seldom seemed to trouble their minds about the matter. Statesmen at Washington, it is supposed with too much reason, have purposely contributed their share of apparent negligence; that the boundary, both in the north-west and north-east, might remain an open question, to be turned to account as opportunity should afford. The Yankees will here be disappointed, we believe; but should the first gun be fatally fired, Ireland will neutralize the right arm of Toryism, if we mistake not, whenever any vindication may become necessary of the British flag against the stripes and stars of our transatlantic opponents. Leaving out of consideration the bullying menaces of the repealers, it is perfectly manifest that, in a protracted contest with any naval state, and more especially with the United States, our Irish fellow countrymen will not effectually support us, without the concession of such national privileges as conservatives deem it a sort of treason to propose. A far larger share than they at present enjoy in the representation,—the abolition of a protes-

tant Church Establishment, the annihilation of all civil differences on the score of religious opinion, are what the eight or nine millions, from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, can hardly remain long without obtaining. Temperance is making immense strides amongst the most excitable people in the world. Their middle ranks also, as has been correctly observed, have had the principal hand 'in urging forward the car of improvement, and circumscribing the circle of privilege, exclusiveness, and monopoly. The convention of Dungannon in 1781, composed of delegates from the volunteer corps of the kingdom, forms the real epoch of her emancipation from the commercial and spiritual thraldom of her oppressors.' The drama will be performed over again to a certainty; with all the advantages, moreover, of increased organization, augmented means of offence, amended manners to use them, and the successful example of Belgium before their eyes. Sir Robert Peel will again discover that Ireland is the grand *experimentum crucis*, which will compel him to a decided choice, sooner or later, between the genuine Orange party forced forward by the Protestant Association, and the moderate equitable career which Lords Normanby and Fortescue were instructed to pursue. The new premier will find himself at the point to which Æneas came in Hades, *Qua via scindit in ambas*; and he must then turn either to the right or to the left; to the elysian fields of liberalism and peace, or the tartarean regions of civil war and revolution.

Many patriots are watching with eagerness, for at least some straws being thrown up, to let them know which way the wind blows. The sister island seems to be considered by all, with whom we have conversed, to be the likeliest quarter from whence the final overthrow of conservatism will proceed; to which must be added perhaps the strongly suspected personal and political predilections of our gracious sovereign. Without imagining for a moment that she can ever act the part of partizanship, or deem herself the leader of any one section of the community more than another,—yet it is obviously impossible, but that a shrewd, sensible, well educated mind, placed on the very apex of the social pyramid, should have decided opinions of its own. What monarch was ever more bigoted, or exclusively and avowedly attached to a certain clique, than the religious George the Third? Lord Melbourne, upon the testimony of no less an individual than the Duke of Wellington, has conferred far greater benefits upon Queen Victoria, than the marquis of Bute did upon his royal pupil, eighty years ago. The latter taught the wearer of the British crown to study his own prerogative; the former has fixed the attention of her Majesty upon the history, and framework, and spirit of the constitution

of her country. To suppose, therefore, that the sovereign, under existing circumstances, should be without decided sentiments and preferences, is manifestly absurd; and when a venal press dares to promulgate, as if possessing an infallible knowledge on the subject, that such preferences have no existence, we may feel certain that its assertions, like those of an invisible, nameless personage, are to be read backwards. The cold, unbending, haughty reserve of Sir Robert Peel, as a public man, has always been notorious; whilst it is equally so, that his acceptableness at the palace must be just the reverse of that which attached to his predecessor. Her Majesty, moreover, experienced a course of treatment from his prominent followers, at the commencement of her reign, with respect to Lady Flora Hastings, which could hardly operate otherwise than to turn the entire under-current of her sympathies in a liberal, and not a conservative direction. It is further conceived, that should the present commercial distress not very shortly yield to brighter days (and this can never be the case without a relaxation of our commercial restrictions), necessity may heal that breach, which now subsists between our industrial interests; so that should operative labor open its eyes in time, and bury the hatchet with regard to capital and the middle classes, instead of throwing both into perpetual cold perspirations, through the vagaries of trade-unions and chartism, the so called upper ranks must then succumb to the lower ones; or in other terms, liberalism will regain the golden goose, and fortify its possession for all future generations, by the introduction of the ballot, national education, cheap justice, a severance of the church from the state, a transference of national burthens *from the shoulders of industry to those of property*, and the prostration of feudalism and oligarchy under the feet of the people. What will our proud peerage say to the extinction of the laws of primogeniture,—to coronets being conceded but for a life-tenure,—or to the absence of lawn sleeves and crosiers from senatorial benches? Viscount Melbourne has just been quoting an oracle of antiquity for the general edification of his order: *Credite me folium vobis imitare Sibyllæ!* Norway, the Netherlands, France, and Portugal, not to mention the New World from the arctic regions to the straits of Magellan, may furnish their lordships with copious and suitable illustrations.

Many persons, however, entertain an opinion, that the new administration may prove more permanent than our wishes would fain permit it to be. Sir Robert Peel comes into power with two volumes in his hands; one replete with his own blunders, and the other with those of his rivals. He will make both these his closet companions, for a long while to come, without a doubt; and therefore will not easily fall asleep. He

possesses also marvellous suppleness; and the flexibility of his mind forms a remarkable contrast to the stiffness of his manners. Contact with royalty, in the shape of being responsible adviser to an interesting and intelligent princess, may thaw what is now frozen, and warm into respectful attachment the hardness of selfishness and mere statesmanship. His intellectual resources, moreover, being almost boundless, in comparison with those of other men, cannot fail to render him a most influential, if not an attractive companion. He is said to have very few friends amidst so many followers; but when it will be so obviously his interest to multiply the former, we can scarcely suppose that he will not succeed to a considerable extent; holding, as he will do, the most potent talisman in his grasp for winning every sort of favor to his side. Nor will his high moral character be without its weight; in which, with respect to too many going before him, he outshines even the propriety of a parallel. His body, soul, and strength also, have been inured to public business, since he first quitted the embraces of Alma Mater on the banks of the Isis. His colleagues, it may further be observed, possess many of his own qualifications, both as to practice and ability, without approaching too near, with what Cowper has so happily described, as 'the toe of emulation.' Even Lord Stanley, though the perfect Hotspur of the group, plays second fiddle with wonderful submission and good-will; pepper and precipitation forming a couple of weak points about him, which will never allow him to govern mankind, as a master, for more than about a month at once; and that must be in very smooth weather. These are all matters which will tell towards the realization of that ominous prediction, attributed to the late Lord Fortescue, that conservatism, if ever again admitted fairly to govern, is to reign for thirty years! The fact is, that it stands supported out of doors by machinery which appears at first sight irresistible. Aristocracy, clergy, squirearchy, a slice of the shopocracy, more than a moiety of the bar and the ermine, the universities, a majority of propertyholders, the mass of men of leisure, a potent venal press, and, with one or two exceptions, all the widely circulated quarterly periodicals, are ranged under its banners. Our registration courts are beleaguered by its attornies and agents. Even nonconformity is not consistent with itself; and most of the Wesleyans hesitate not at so much coquetry with those who alternately coax and despise them, that we are not in the least degree surprised at the letter written recently by Earl Brownlow to one of their societies in the midland counties. Meanwhile, in almost every borough, there are regular conservative rooms, with a paid familiar to keep up the steam of its operative association. The Carlton Club constitutes a mighty citadel to an entire system, centred indeed in the metropolis, at the very

seat of government, but with its ramifications in the most distant provinces. The moment any representation falls vacant, there is a candidate ready; a committee has been at work from one November to another on the spot; an electrical telegraph is summoned into active energy by some Lucifer, who remains safely in London; whence all necessary instructions, all necessary treasures, and if needful, a barrister and solicitor to bully and perplex the liberal electors, are transmitted. Daily and other journals, from the *Times* to the *Record*, are sent down to excite the more vicious and stimulate the more religious amongst the voters; the magistracy become suddenly most intimate and condescending with every constable and petty functionary in the place; the country magnates stalk about the town, shaking hands with their tenants, and calling at their favorite shops on market day; fat farmers, themselves tools to their own landlords, go to their ordinaries, or grunt significant hints across the counters of those tradesmen with whom they deal; and finally, all these various secret or open springs of action, together with gross bribery and grosser intimidation, carry the day for Church and State. On the previous Sunday, the vicar, rector, or curate of the parish, without being at all a political preacher, delivered, through the merest coincidence, a sermon on 'Meddle not with 'them that are given to change,'—or some such text,—insinuating as softly as possible the identity between radicalism and irreligion! Local political diseases thus come to infect our commonwealth, from the sole of its foot to the crown of its head. In this manner the Tories have regained the ground they lost by the Reform Bill, and by similar means many imagine that they will show themselves able to retain it, through a protracted period. May higher principles *rite secundarent visus, omenque levarent.*

It is, however, not a little striking to observe that after all, the grand measure of Lord Grey has effected a revolution in our political world. None but a popular administration can now efficiently carry forward the executive and legislative business of the country. A recent pamphlet, very ably written, has observed, that 'the Tories have not this postulate in their favor; 'they cannot be a popular administration. Nor although some 'of them have partially conformed to the times, the times pro-'gressing with an accelerated pace, they are more distant than 'when they retired from office in 1830,—less in harmony with 'British sentiment, and the advancing spirit of Europe. Awk-'ward efforts at simulation and dissimulation, reluctant and 'niggardly concessions to the popular demands, ill tend to pro-'duce forgetfulness of their past history, or misapprehension as 'to their future policy, should they really be restored to, or 'unhappily retain their power. Assisted by the envious, ma-

'levolent, and discontented, whom no concessions can satisfy
'by disappointed placemen, by perverse apostates, by that mass
'of refuse, literary and political, which is always in the market
'and at the service of the highest bidder, they have been able
'to delay and cripple, but not stifle public improvements: they
'render less speedy and efficient, ministerial plans of educa-
'tional, ecclesiastical, municipal, and judicial amendment. In
'one respect they have manifested consistency and exemption
'from factious influence, namely, whenever Whig ministers from
'weakness or necessity had any coercive measure to obtain
'they might always reckon on the co-operative support of their
'opponents.' Every word of this is true and correct to the letter; except that there is no saying how much longer dust may be thrown into the eyes of the nation, or at least of the county and municipal constituencies, so as that 'the Tories *may seem* 'to have the postulate' of popularity 'in their favour.' The Reform Bill, we repeat it, has produced so great a change that there *must* be at least the appearance of this to support any cabinet whatsoever. No aristocratic combination could now set or keep the machine of government in motion, after the fashion with which the good old times of Toryism were familiar. Parliament now, to all intents and purposes, nominates the ministry through the instrumentality of the crown. The people, or at least that portion of it possessing the franchise, must apparently coincide; but their apathy, or weariness, or inability to cope with corrupt antagonistic means, may certainly impart the semblance of a majority to a party in the state not permanently or in reality possessing the necessary postulate. A peculiarity, moreover, of the British public mind is, that it has always been liable to extraordinary revulsions. Those who have studied that chapter in our history which relates to the proposed exclusion from the throne of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second, will immediately comprehend to what kind of reaction we allude. The present times have exhibited something like a parallel, we often think; violent excitement for a certain period succeeded by years of correspondent indifference and exhaustion. Not that the level of intelligence is really falling. After all, it merely amounts to the ebb and flow and ebb again of the waves of an incoming flood. But then it is the flood of ages; and each billow may be likened to the roll and recoil of the past, followed up by the mightier and advancing swell of another, and yet another generation! Whatever may be the present lull of gloominess or indisposition, our descendants will bless the hour when, if the axe were not literally laid to the root of the aristocracy, it was nevertheless sharpened for that purpose. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit!* The people bear about them, inwrought into their very soul, the germ of conquest: their

enemies carry in their bosoms, by an almighty decree of the Most High, the fatal canker of decay.

We shall feel by no means averse to some consideration of Sir Robert Peel, apart from his followers, provided his future procedures will permit us to do so. The members of his tail in fact distrust him: and he despises them. Even in his late Tamworth address, he warns his easy audience how soon he might be called upon '*without exciting alarm or apprehension, to apply those renovations, and those repairs, which the lapse of time, or altered circumstances, may have rendered advisable in our ancient institutions.*' Those who cheered this sentence so loudly and vehemently, as we are told they did, must have been far gone in their cups, not to perceive to what reforms it might open the door; or not to remember the resistance which both their orator and themselves made, a few years ago, against all modifications in that constitution then pronounced perfect by the Duke of Wellington. Many of them, however, as we have seen, were medical men; whom the rich claret of Drayton Manor having thrown into a delightful though delusive state of mesmeric somnambulism, there remained no longer any sensitiveness with regard to the extractions or amputations which their favorite conservative practitioner may after all be about to inflict upon the body-politic. We have no doubt in our own minds, that however the Premier may serve his opponents, he will at all events terribly annoy, if he does not totally disappoint his supporters. The Tories, unhappily for themselves, can neither do with him, nor without him. He will occupy the most curious and critical position which any minister has ever held in the House of Commons. He will there have to talk a vast deal of Toryism, and act a vast deal of Liberalism. Every night of his life, during the parliamentary session, he must be walking upon eggs! To one side his whole phasis of conduct will offer an aspect of valiant battle against innovation; to the other it will wear every possible disposition to surrender proved abuses. The Established Church will demand his homage, and receive it too, in empty professions of devotedness, on all conceivable occasions: but there will be no money forthcoming; not a sixpence towards church extension, both the honorable member for the great conservative university and our friends the non-conformists may depend upon it. Nay, we should not wonder at all at his pretending to abolish church rates, by some such dishonest juggle as that of Lord Althorp; which, although it would, for so long a time as it might be tolerated, hand over to our hierarchy a large sum out of the consolidated fund, must nevertheless bar their claims for ever to the much larger amount of about £500,000 per annum, which is now levied from the compulsory impost. Messrs. Inglis, Gladstone, and Company,

will soon find this out; and our prelates command their archdeacons, as the Bishop of London avowed they could always do, to get up a few thousand clerical protests in the shape of parochial petitions. The mighty Premier will just encounter this hypothetical tempest of dust and parchment with renewed asseverations respecting his profound and cordial attachment to his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; but after the whole farce is gone through, it will be discovered that, in spite of the triumphs of Toryism, the church will have really gained nothing but words,—empty, glozing words,—which add no value to tithes, and confer no additional revenues upon ecclesiastical dignitaries.

There are two things which all established religions incessantly gape for,—as the grave yawns for its prey,—namely, pelf and power; and the priesthood of such religions may be divided into the two classes panting respectively for one or the other of these secular rewards. Pure, unmingled worldliness characterizes the first: pay them well, and these are perfectly contented. 'Please your Reverence,' said a clerk to his incumbent one day, 'the ringers and singers all go over the hill on a 'Thursday night to the new Methodist chapel.' The answer of the parish pastor was simply to this effect, that 'he should never 'feel much alarm at their conduct, *until the great and small tithes* 'followed that course also!' These men are involved in the superlative degree of secularity. But the second rank comprises a very different order of hierophants; those who lust for religious power. Their errors and prejudices assume the form of spiritual principles. To aggrieve, or disappoint them, is to insult the ark of God; and they curse accordingly. Such was Archbishop Laud in the seventeenth century; and such are the Puseyites now, if we may believe the British Critic. Its editor has portrayed Sir Robert Peel to the life; but most certainly with even more malevolence than justice. We have no room for any extracts from the third pamphlet at the head of this article; but its conservative author has indignantly rebuked Mr. Newman, for an unexampled display of imprudence, malice, talent, and artifice. It falls out, that the present Premier has not only been guilty of manifesting a little taste for utilitarianism, in patronizing the new reading rooms at Tamworth, with certain semblances of respect for the rights of private judgment; but it has also been satisfactorily ascertained, that he is resolved to take no steps which can openly aggrandize the Oxford party; none of the tractarians are to be elevated into high places; nor will any countenance be afforded to the doctrines of exclusive education and passive obedience. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ:* but there is no help for it. The statesman and the divine only illustrate the old fable of the hedgehog and snake having to ride in a bag

together. The thin and speckled cuticle of the reptile gets the worst of it from the prickles of his fellow traveller; who can, moreover, roll himself up into a ball, to be tossed hither and thither, uninjured by the hisses of contempt or the kicks of expediency. Hence the ire and fury of the ambiguous and critical theologian; for this reason has he protruded a forked and slanderous tongue against that minister, who is an impersonation of the politics natural to the Church of England, in its present position; but whose spines he cannot pierce, nor fasten on his moral character a fang. Not that we can bring ourselves to believe, with the writer of the pamphlet before us, that the Editor of the British Critic, and the Catholicus of the Times, are actually one and the same person: although the tone of the two journals, in stirring up the lower classes of this country for base purposes, against the new Poor-law, has been too often identical. But that there is not a pin to choose between the innate subtlety of the Fellow of Oriel, and that of the First Lord of the Treasury, we can readily understand:

Ambo florentes ætatibus, Arcades ambo!

The dissertations of the presbyter may well float upon the tide of time alongside the speeches of the minister: so that should posterity condescend to study either one or the other, it will be concluded that the dulness, which antiquity attributed to the atmosphere of Bœotia, was surpassed by an analogous peculiarity in the climate of one of our own universities; whose sons astonished both the pulpit and the senate, by rendering language a traitor to truth and common sense,—an insidious instrument for veiling, rather than revealing, the thoughts and intentions of mankind!

We have waited to the last moment that our circumstances will allow, in order, if possible, to lay before our readers any tangible matter which Sir Robert Peel might throw out, explanatory of his future intentions. But we have waited in vain. The Cabinet is formed in all its details; yet plainly loving darkness rather than light,—from which one cannot but infer, that its *deeds will be evil.* The premier, when rising again and again, as if to gratify gasping expectation, has elaborately proposed processes for warming and ventilating the two houses of parliament, and for centralizing some royal vegetable gardens;—but as to candor, practical patriotism, or development of future foreign or domestic policy, there seems to be neither sound nor sign! For five dreary months the Bucentaur of the State is to rest upon its oars, or take its chance; parliament having merely been called together to transfer office from the Reformers to the

Tories! No sooner are they in possession of power and patronage, than their eyes and ears close against the penury and starvation of the lower classes: and this too when the representatives of Salford, Sheffield, and Stockport had declared that in the first of these places there were 1500 houses vacant,—in the second 3266,—and in the third not above *one in ten* of the operative dwellings *inhabited!* Meanwhile the venerable member for Middlesex has just now only discovered that we are 'governed by an aristocracy!' We have done our best to enlighten him and others, for some years, on this subject. The most painfully interesting topic to mention is, that the bitter supporters of the existing corn laws have prominently joined the new ministry. The cries of an agonizing population appear not to have reached the proper pitch of menace and alarm;—if one may judge merely from the coolness of those who tell us that we must wait till February! Let the monopolists, however, well remember the admonition of a Roman even under Nero—*nescit plebes jejuna timere!* Never, perhaps, were the national prospects more cheerless, amidst the apathy of the rich, the discontent of the poor, the murmurs of approaching political earthquakes on the continent, and the gathering of war-clouds at Washington. Toryism has constituted itself the keeper of the destinies of Great Britain under alarmingly fearful responsibilities. In the new cabinet, the warmest supporters and the hottest opponents of the Reform Bill sit side by side,—'bland 'placemen, all tranquillity and smiles!' Is the present administration a coalition,—or is simple apostasy lord of the ascendant? If the former,—the nation will recall many inglorious days, when the Northites and Foxites sat shamelessly on the same benches: if the latter,—history will consign them to well merited and perpetual infamy. Already has the Duke of Wellington given utterance to one of those winged follies, about 'the 'perfection of things as they are,' which have once before proved so fatal to his party, and so fortunate to his opponents. What we regret most is the probable annihilation of the Whigs, as a separate and constitutional section of the country, *eo nomine;* connected as that name has been with so much that is comprehensive and magnanimous. Had they but been wise in their generation,—could they but have cast out the leaven of exclusiveness and oligarchy in time, they might still have reigned and flourished. The ground between their old class prejudices and genuine patriotism was cleaving every day more widely asunder; and their honest course should have been to have vaulted across the gulf, without the delay of a moment. This they have now discovered,—unhappily, when it is too late; since necessity having at last spurred them on to the final spring, *the yawn was undercalculated,* and they now fall short of

the rock of safety! The people at large, however, can have no reason for despair: for let them be but true to themselves, and an ultimate triumph will be engendered from the very depths of their present difficulty.

Brief Notices.

The Leisure of some Winter's Hours at Geneva, devoted to a few Sermons. By the Rev. George Kennard, M.A., of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, and Gayton, Northamptonshire. London: Hatchard and Son.

Whenever we can we enable our readers to form their judgment of the works noticed in our pages, by allowing their authors to speak for themselves, and by introducing them with fair specimens of their talents and pretensions in the form of quotations. Mr. Kennard will have no reason to blame us if we pursue this method in his case. We shall give two extracts from his volume, one from the preface, and the other from his sermon, 'The Two Sisters.'

'In a small bark I have here freighted the inmost convictions of my soul; they are my all of earthly treasure; if it contains his precious truth, and is likely to bring souls to a knowledge of Christ's redeeming and saving love, then I know no sea can be so rough, and no wind so adverse, but that it shall glide over its surface and reach many a distant port, and be again, as the angel messenger to the Palestine shepherds, a herald of good news. But if it is not thus, if too little of heaven is discernible, then let it sink in the calmest waters, and be lost in the depths of the ocean. ΘΕΩ ΜΟΝΩ ΔΟΞΑ.'

'We are living in days of economy and rigid parsimony, and when we plead for the house of God that it should be set apart with honor, and decorated as becometh the most high, oh, then, we hear of nothing but plainness, and neatness, and simplicity. Hypocrites, selfish hypocrites that we are! We dwell in houses of cedar, we spare no expense to embellish our dwellings; we take as much pains to bring from every quarter of the globe the rarest and most precious ornaments as ever Solomon did for the temple of the Most High; we clothe our floors with carpets that hardly from their softness give back the treading of the foot; we drink out of silver, and the golden plate gleams from the sideboard; we have the songs of minstrels to cheer our evening hour, and we sit on velvet: I speak not of ourselves, but of the rich and noble in our land. And how do we treat God? We put him off with the cheapest, the most ordinary, the most common materials that we have; we take no pains to do him honor—any thing will do for him. The rich carved mouldings, the polished oak, the beauteous screen, the colored glass that at evening sun sheds its hallowed light and wakens a deep religious emotion, in the feeling heart, of solemnity

and awe; the strains of music, practised to rehearse his praise; the finest voices that can be procured; the men singers and the women singers that make the harmony breathe of heaven, and which were heard in our churches—all gone! In a few of our cathedrals still preserved, but now deserted. A few stragglers that passing through the town would observe the beauties of the architecture, saunter with careless gait and unmeasured step, and stare about as if the song they heard was to do them honor, and not the Being by whose word they breathe. This is the modern way of honoring God; and if we ask, when a church is building, for funds to ornament it, for carved work, for a grand and tuneful organ, for decorations worthy of our Benefactor, we are replied to in the language of the traitor Judas; for nothing that we have is ours, all being God's to be used in his service; but because we have the bag, and bear what is put therein, and purloin, like Judas, for our own wants, and our own luxuries, and our own depraved tastes and comforts, we cry, 'Why was all this waste of money?'

We cannot forbear exclaiming, 'Why all this waste of ink?' Mr. Kennard tells us: 'the work,' he says, 'was suggested to him by a masterly reviewer in the Quarterly on the sermons of the late lamented Augustus Hare, where the editor lamented the degeneracy of modern sermons; and that from no lack of qualification in the writers, but because they, either by using abstruse terms wrote above the capacity of their hearers, choosing argumentative and doctrinal subjects of little real practical bearing; or on the other hand, mistaking prosiness for plainness, enlisted none of the graces of literature, and, content with proclaiming the truth, made it as little attractive as they could; and thus glided over the surface without engaging the careful attention and influencing the heart.'

Peace for the Christian Mourner; or Extracts from Various Christian Authors on the Subject of Affliction. Selected by Mrs. D. Drummond. With a Preface by the Rev. D. Drummond, B.A., Oxon., and Minister of Trinity Chapel, Edinburgh. And an Original Paper on 'Christian Consolation,' by the Rev. Hugh White. London: J. and G. Seeley.

As every house, sooner or later, becomes a house of mourning, and as every child of Adam must drink of the cup of bitterness which he bequeathed to all his posterity, the season must arrive to every one of us when we shall stand in the most absolute need of religious consolation, and happy they who, before they enter into the dark valley of affliction, have secured to themselves the possession of christian piety; for peace is the privilege of the christian mourner, and of none besides. This even he must seek in God's appointed way; and every line that is written to point out this to him, and to encourage him in it, ought to be received as an invaluable treasure. In this view the varied contents of this portable manual are above all price. These contents are well arranged. The portions selected are from eminent christian writers, and there is no condition of human sorrow that is left un-

touched. The editor is quite correct in stating that while many admirable works have been written on the subject of affliction, the greater number of them, for the most part, take up only certain sections of the subject, while others, again, from their size, are not fitted for general use; 'and we think such a work as the present was needed to fill an important place in the library of the christian which has hitherto remained vacant.'

The Centurions, or Portraits of Roman Officers. 12mo. pp. 250. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1841.

The 'portraits' here drawn are those of the centurion present at the Saviour's crucifixion—the chief captain Lysias—Centurion Julius—centurion at Capernaum—and Cornelius, The author appears to be a person of amiable character and good intentions; but we cannot think his book is very important or valuable. He possesses no great skill in portrait painting, nor any great sagacity in analyzing motives and delineating character. There is much fancy in the work; and the incidents recorded by the inspired writers are used as pegs to hang little episodes upon, or to suggest remarks on the manner in which persons suddenly called to act in a public capacity, should demean themselves. He is too prone to assign conduct to religious principle, when a due regard to official duty would satisfactorily account for it. This is a serious defect, and especially belongs to his sketch of 'Lysias.' He admits that in his letter to Felix, respecting Paul, '*he condescended to make a statement which was not true*;' and if previously to this occurrence his conduct towards the apostle had not been humane, 'we should be obliged to attribute all the courtesy we have been admiring, not to a conscientious disposition, but to a desire of consulting his own interests:' and further on we find this remark: 'Little did Lysias imagine that this whole transaction would be transmitted to future ages, to be descanted upon so long as the world should last, or he never would have permitted his name to descend sullied by a meanness, for which, even in its committal, he must have despised himself.' That is, he did a thing for which, had he known it would have been made notorious, he would have 'despised himself;' but as he did not know that it would become notorious, he did it, and did *not* 'despise himself.' We certainly cannot see any decisive evidence of the piety of Julius. His conduct towards Paul during the voyage, amidst the storm, and when the vessel was wrecked, *any* centurion of ability and virtue might have exhibited; and we do not think it safe, in these days, when religion is *said* to walk in 'silver slippers,' to rest our convictions of the piety of any one on such slight grounds. The other two characters are not equivocal; and in the hands of an able, practised, christian writer, the centurion at Capernaum and Cornelius might be made deeply interesting and profitable subjects for meditation. The last sermon but one which the late Robert Hall preached was on the subject of the former of these two, taking the language of the Jews to Christ as his text; '*For he loveth our nation and*

he hath built us a synagogue;' and besides a beautiful exhibition of the facts and characters contained in the story, he presented his audience with a beautiful dissertation on the origin, progress, and influence of synagogue worship. But *he* touched every thing with the hand of a master.

We highly commend the spirit and design of the writer of this little book, though we cannot, and we are sorry for it, speak highly of the execution, or approve of many of the opinions he has expressed.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Second Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with an Appendix.

The Scottish Congregational Magazine. New Series. No. IX.

The End of Living and the Gain of Dying to the faithful Servant of Christ. A Sermon on occasion of the death of the Rev. Greville Ewing. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.

Conferences of the Reformers and Divines of the early English Church on the Doctrines of the Oxford Tractarians.

Biblical Cabinet—Annotations on some of the Messianic Psalms, from the Commentary of Rosenmüller, &c.

Facts and Feelings illustrative of Interior Religion, accompanied by Memorials of Madame Guyon, Fenelon, and other spiritual Persons. By Mary Ann Kelty.

Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London from Friday, June 12th, to Tuesday, June 23rd, 1840.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. General Editor, W. T. Brande, F.R.S.L. and E. Part 8.

The Farmers' Encyclopædia. Part I. By Cuthbert W. Johnson, Esq.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. Part 36. Anthony and Cleopatra.

The Archæologist. No. I.

Ward's Library—Essays on the Christian Ministry, selected from American Publications, with a Preface by W. H. Murch, D.D.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part 17.

Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland. Part 8.

Illustrations of Arts and Manufactures. By Arthur Aikin, F.L.S., F.G.S.

History of British Forest Trees, indigenous and introduced. By Prideaux John Selby, F.L.S., M.W.S., &c. Parts II. and III.

The Objects of the Voluntary Church Society stated and defended. A Lecture. By the Rev. Walter Scott, President of Airedale College.

Dissent and its Inconsistencies. By Alfred B. Evans.

Animal Magnetism: its History to the Present Time, with a Brief Account of the Life of Mesmer. By a Surgeon.

A Review of the late proposed Measure for the Reduction of the Duties on Sugar so far as it relates to Slavery and the Slave Trade, addressed to Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart. By Joseph Beldam, Esq.

Wealth not Happiness, or Vain Expectations destructive to Peace. By Miss Mary Ann Everitt.

Personal Declension and Revival of Religion in the Soul. By the Rev. Octavius Winslow.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1841.

Art. I. *History of the Corn Laws.* By J. C. PLATT. London: Charles Knight and Co.

OUR Corn Law system is evidently destined to engage public attention for some time to come. Recent events have rendered this matter of certainty, and given the utmost fixedness and determination to the views and purposes of the mass of our people. It is no longer a vague and intangible notion which is floating in the public mind, but a veritable principle which it has long been searching after, and which, having found, it rests in, with all the assurance of truth, and the certainty of effecting its ultimate adoption. For several years past an impression has extensively prevailed that there was something radically unsound in our commercial system,—some great and all-pervading error which weighed down our energies, and rendered unproductive the skill and industry of our people. What this error was, and how it might be corrected, was matter of dispute. Men equally honest and equally intelligent differed on these points, and proposed and argued for theories which were subversive of each other. Some even denied the existence of any such general error, and attributed the commercial derangements which have been experienced to temporary causes, against which no skill could provide. Amidst these conflicting speculations, however, the public mind has been steadily advancing towards the truth. It has occasionally wavered, has sometimes mistrusted the soundness of the conclusions which were being forced upon it, and has been ready occasionally to relinquish

all hope of obtaining an effectual remedy for the evils under which it was suffering. Still it has moved onward, and its progress, when measured by years rather than by months, has been cheering and hopeful. Numerous circumstances have occurred to facilitate its advance in the right direction. The symptoms of disease in the 'body politic' have developed themselves more distinctly, and in an aggravated form, notwithstanding the partial remedies which have been applied. Our commerce has declined, large bodies of workmen have been thrown out of employ, and political discontent consequent on social disorganization and want has stalked through the land. This fearful and ominous state of things has riveted public attention, and given rise to inquiries more searching and extensive than had previously been directed to the subject. The result has been a deep and thorough conviction that the alarming distress which prevails in our manufacturing districts is self-created, and therefore criminal,—that it is the result of an artificial and most impolitic legislation, which has closed against our industry many of the markets of the world, and raised up competitors where a more enlightened policy would have insured remunerative customers. The predominance of class interests in our legislature has caused the welfare of the many to be sacrificed to the temporary advantage of the few, and we have consequently exhibited at this moment amongst our population, the extremes of wealth and poverty,—exorbitant rents with unremunerated labor,—immense competition for every farm which is to be let, with large manufacturers discharging workmen by hundreds, and contemplating the conveyance of their machinery and capital to other and more productive countries. The short-sighted and selfish policy of our landowners has been raising up formidable opponents to our manufacturers throughout the continent of Europe, until at length the competition is become so severe and alarming as to press upon the means of subsistence, and to threaten the speedy annihilation of our national greatness and power. The restricted limit within which the proverbial industry of our people is permitted to employ itself is now regarded—and justly so—as the radical source of most of the financial difficulties which we are experiencing. The folly of imposing restraints where God has left us free is now vastly augmented by the large proportion of the people who are wholly dependent on the extension of our commercial relations. This proportion has increased at an astonishing ratio during the last century. 'From 1700 to 1831, 'the population of Lancashire increased 800 per cent.; War-'wickshire 251 per cent.; Staffordshire 250; and Nottingham-'shire 246; whilst the principal agricultural counties during 'the same period increased only 84 per cent. There is a con-'stant stream of emigration from the agricultural into the

'manufacturing districts. From 1821 to 1831, the immigration 'into Lancashire averaged 17,000 a year. On the one hand 'in the rural districts we have a population fully equal to the 'existing demands for its labor, and requiring outlets for the in- 'crease of its numbers; and on the other, in the manufacturing 'districts, there is a population whose consumption confers a 'much higher value upon agricultural produce, and where, by 'extending the field of employment, room is made both for the 'expansion of the agricultural and non-agricultural population.' Such being the altered state of our population, a corresponding change is obviously required in our commercial policy. Fiscal regulations which may formerly have worn the appearance of wisdom, are now clearly hostile to the welfare and happiness of the people, and must be modified if the means of subsistence are to be kept within their reach. We are no longer an agricultural people, and it is the height of folly as well as the grossest cruelty to perpetuate, in our altered circumstances, the system which landowners formerly framed for their own exclusive benefit. This common sense view of the matter is now spreading rapidly through the country, and it is well for the people, that the exigencies of the Melbourne administration compelled them, at the eleventh hour, to put into the substantive form of a ministerial budget, some approximation to the only wise and righteous view which can be taken of the matter. A failing revenue is an imperious but instructive monitor, and in the present instance it has wrought well for the people. Additional taxes had previously been tried and failed, the elasticity of our national resources was gone, and nothing was left to supply the necessities of the exchequer but a revision of our whole commercial policy.

Such were the circumstances under which the Melbourne administration brought forward their celebrated budget; and none of our readers need be informed of what followed. The monopolists took the alarm, and availing themselves of the growing unpopularity of the ministry, succeeded in carrying a No-confidence vote. Then followed the dissolution, and an appeal to the country. The queen nobly discharged her duty to an impoverished and suffering people, but it was too late. Confidence was not to be recovered by a single act. The Melbourne administration had sealed its fate beyond redemption, and the constituencies refused in consequence to make the sacrifices which were necessary to retain it in power. They had been refused the protection for which they had earnestly and repeatedly prayed, and now that the hour of trial came they shrunk from the hazards which that trial involved. The monopolists, on the other hand, put forth all their strength, and more than their usual craft, and thus

obtained a decisive, though as we verily believe only a temporary triumph. One advantage will result from their victory. The old enemies of English freedom will again stand out to public view as the advocates of class interests, and the sworn foes to popular rights. The delusive professions which have been forced upon them during their exclusion from office will be detected and exposed, and the genuine blood of Toryism will be seen yet flowing in their veins. The policy of Sir Robert Peel is not to be mistaken. It has already oozed out notwithstanding his studied secresy, and will soon be seen in all its hollowness. One thing is certain—a starving people will gain nothing from the Tory premier, who looks only to the chapter of accidents, in the desperate hope that something will turn up to enable him to stave off the period of concession to popular demands.

In the meantime it rests with the people to say how long, and to what extent, Sir Robert shall succeed. They have the power to compel his submission, and we trust it will not be long before they use it. A severe struggle is impending, for which it becomes all patriotic and christian men to prepare themselves. The ministers of religion have done nobly in combining their testimony against the monstrous injustice of taxing the bread of the poor, in order to raise the incomes of the rich. Upon this ground the battle is to be fought, and who can doubt the issue. Our corn laws constitute the most palpable and revolting feature of that aristocratic system of legislation, which presses so heavily on the community. Its influence is most widely felt, the evils growing out of it are most easily traceable to their source, and public attention is therefore riveted on this as the first and most monstrous specimen of a numerous class. The leaders of the people will do well to keep their attention fixed in this direction. It will give a definiteness and practical aim to their efforts, which must greatly contribute to their success. It will serve to remind every man in the empire of his personal stake in the discussion. The poorest laborer—the most destitute mechanic—when he looks upon his half famished wife and children, will thus be taught to execrate a system which diminishes his supply of the staff of life, and renders useless to him the bountiful gifts of an overruling providence.

Under these circumstances, it is obviously of importance that the whole history and bearings of the corn monopoly question should be clearly understood. To judge from many statements of the bread-taxers, we might conclude that the present system has come down to us from a remote antiquity,—that its details as well as its principle were commended by the experience of many generations,—that our national prosperity had, in a word, grown out of it, and would wither and die if the profane hand of modern improvement were permitted to modify any of its

features. From noble dukes down to the humblest of their tenantry, we are accustomed to hear the present system eulogized as the perfection of wisdom—that, without which agriculture could not exist in our country, nor England continue for six months longer to retain her position as a first rate power in Europe. Such statements, oracularly delivered, are supposed by our agriculturists, to settle the merits of this great question, and much wonder is expressed at the infatuation of a government, which could venture to propose such a modification of the landlord's system as that involved in a fixed duty of 8s. A little attention, however, to the history of our corn laws will suffice to disclose the folly and ignorance which are couched under such representations, and we deem it our duty as public journalists to put our readers into possession of the real facts of the case. With this view we propose in the present paper to supply them with a succinct history of the system: and we shall be greatly surprised if the narrative does not dissipate whatever difficulties and mystification an interested sophistry has thrown around it. In doing this we shall freely avail ourselves of the information which Mr. Platt has furnished in the valuable tractate before us, which we cannot too strongly recommend to our readers.

In the earlier period of our history, England was an exporting corn country. The quantity produced exceeding the demands of the home market, the landlords, who constituted then, as they have done ever since, the main strength of our legislature, sought for themselves a market on the continent. In 1393, corn might be exported by the king's subjects 'to what parts 'that pleased them,' except to the king's enemies, and this act was confirmed in 1425. Eleven years after this latter date, the exportation of wheat was allowed without license when its price at the place of shipment was 6s. 8d. per quarter. In the preamble of this statute, 15 Henry VI., loud complaints are made of restrictions on importation; 'for cause whereof, far-'mers and other men, which use manurement of their land, may 'not sell their corn but of a bare price, to the great damage of 'all the realm;' and the remedy provided is a freer permission to export the surplus—a regulation which is intended for the profit of the whole realm 'but, especially for the counties 'adjoining to the sea.' Shortly after this period an important change appears to have taken place in the relative position of the corn grower of England and of the continent. Instead of the former exporting to the latter, the produce of the continent was brought into the English market, and the selfishness of class interests immediately demanded protection for the home grower. In 1463 was passed the first corn law designed to protect the English farmer from a depreciation of prices conse-

quent on a supply of foreign grain. In the preamble of that act it is remarked, that 'Whereas the laborers and occupiers of 'husbandry within this realm be daily grievously endamaged 'by bringing of corn out of other lands and parts into this 'realm when corn of the growing of this realm is at a low 'price;' and it is enacted in remedy of this evil that no wheat should be imported unless its price at the place of import exceeded 6s. 8d. per quarter. 'So long as the price of wheat 'was below 6s. 8d. per quarter, exportation was free, and im-'portation was prohibited. The price, therefore, was intended 'to be sustained at that height, so far as it was possible so to 'sustain it by legislative contrivance; and the benefit of the 'corn-grower was the sole object of the statute.' The same object continued to regulate the proceedings of the legislature in the several minor alterations which were adopted from time to time. The importation of corn was during this period practically free, as the price of grain did not fall below the standard of the law as fixed in 1463.

'In 1592-3 the price at which exportation was permitted was raised to 20s. per quarter, and the customs duty was fixed at 2s. In 1603-4 the importation price was raised to 26s. 8d. per quarter; and, in 1623. to 32s.—having risen, in the course of sixty-five years, from 6s. 8d. By the 21 Jac. I. c. 28, unless wheat was under 32s. per quarter, and other grain in proportion, buying corn and selling it again was not permitted. The king could restrain the liberty of exportation by proclamation. In 1627-8 another statute relative to the corn-trade was passed, which, however, made no alteration in the previous statute of James I. In 1660 a new scale of duties was introduced. When the price of wheat per quarter was under 44s. the export duty was 5s. 6d.; and when the price was above 44s. the duty rose to 6s. 8d. Exportation was permitted free whenever the price of wheat did not exceed 40s. per quarter.

'In 1663 the corn-trade again became the subject of legislation, and an act was passed which favored the corn grower, or at any rate that portion of the community connected with and dependent upon agriculture, to a greater extent than any previous statute. The preamble of this act commenced by asserting that 'the surest and effectualest means of promoting and advancing any trade, occupation, or mystery, being by rendering it profitable to the users thereof,' and that large quantities of land being waste, which might be profitably cultivated if sufficient encouragement were given for the cost and labor on the same, it should be enacted, with a view of encouraging the application of capital and labor to waste lands, that, after September, 1663, when wheat did not exceed 48s. per quarter at the places and havens of shipment, the export duty should be only 5s. 4d. per quarter. The demand of the home market was not sufficient to take off the surplus produce of the corn-growers, and the reduction of the duty was intended to encourage exportation. By the same act

when wheat did not exceed 48s. per quarter, 'then it shall be lawful for all and every person (not forestalling nor selling the same in the open market within three months after the buying thereof) to buy in open market, and to keep in his or their granaries or houses, and to sell again, such corn and grain,' any statute to the contrary notwithstanding. The latter part of this statute may be regarded as indicating a juster view than others passed since the 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 14.

In 1670 a further important change was made in the same direction, exportation being permitted as long as wheat should be under 53s. 4d. the quarter, the customs duty being only 1s. per quarter. Corn imported from foreign countries was at the same time loaded with duties so heavy as effectually to exclude it, being 16s. when the price in this country was at or under 53s. 4d. per quarter, and 8s. when above that price and under 80s., at which latter price importation became free. The object of this act was to relieve the agricultural interests from the depression under which they were laboring from the low prices of produce which had existed for twenty years, more particularly from 1646 to 1665, and also more or less during the greater part of the century.'

An important measure was carried by the landowners immediately after the revolution of 1688. The high price of wheat a few years prior to that event, had naturally led to a vast extension of tillage, which, in combination with a series of favorable seasons, had greatly depreciated the value of agricultural produce, and thus suggested to the landed interest their obtaining from the legislature, in the shape of bounty, what they could not secure in their legitimate character as traders. In 1689 a statute was passed entitled *An Act for Encouraging the Exportation of Corn*, the preamble of which states that it had been 'found by experience that the exportation of corn and 'grain into foreign countries, when the price thereof is at a low 'rate in this kingdom, hath been a great advantage, not only 'to the owners of land, but to the traders of this kingdom in 'general.' A bounty of 5s. a quarter was to be granted on the exportation of wheat so long as the price in the English market did not exceed 48s. Unfavorable seasons soon followed, so as to reduce the quantity, and to increase the price of wheat to 56s. 6d. per quarter. During this period the act of 1689 was of course inoperative, and the bounty was suspended by parliament, from the 9th of February, 1699, to the 29th of September, 1700. In this latter year the encouragement of the home grower was carried still further by the abolition of all duties on the export of corn. We are told in a parliamentary report of 1821, on agricultural distress, that 'from 1697 to 1773, the 'total excess of exports was 30,968,366 quarters, upon which 'export bounties, amounting to £6,237,176, were paid out of the 'public revenue.' The national resources were thus largely employed to enable the English agriculturist to compete with

the foreign corn-grower in the markets of the continent. It might have been presumed from the theories which are current amongst our agriculturists, that the abundant crops and low prices which marked this period, must have been attended by a reduction of wages and a general deterioration in the condition of the laborer. The very reverse, however, was the case, as will appear from the following statement of our author.

'In 1750 the sum of £324,176 was paid in bounties on corn. The exports of 1748-9-50 (during which, moreover, the price of wheat fell from 32s. 10½d. to 28s. 10¾d. the quarter) amounted to 2,120,000 quarters of wheat, and of all kinds of corn and grain to 3,825,000 quarters. This was the result of a cycle of abundant years. In the twenty-three years from 1692 to 1715, says Mr. Tooke, in his elaborate 'History of Prices,' there were eleven bad seasons, during which the average price of wheat was 45s. 8d. the quarter; in the fifty years ending 1765 there were only five deficient harvests, and the average price for the whole half century ranged at 34s. 11d.; or, taking the ten years ending 1751, during which the crops were above an average, the price of wheat was only 29s. 2½d. the quarter.

'These years of plenty seem to have been a very happy period to the bulk of the population. Adam Smith refers to 'the peculiarly happy circumstances' of the country during these times of plenty; and Mr. Hallam describes the reign of George II. as 'the most prosperous period that England had ever experienced.' The effect was similar to that which took place during the plentiful seasons of the preceding century, and the improved condition of the people was marked by the enjoyment of greater comforts, and the resort to a superior diet, which their command over the necessaries of life enabled them to obtain. 'Bread made of wheat is become more generally the food of the laboring people,' observes the author of the 'Corn Tracts,' writing in 1765. Referring to the same period, Mr. Malthus remarks:—'It is well known that during this period the price of corn fell considerably, while the wages of labor are stated to have risen. During the last forty years of the seventeenth century, and the first twenty of the eighteenth, the average price of corn was such as, compared with the wages of labor, would enable the laborer to purchase with a day's earnings two-thirds of a peck of wheat. From 1720 to 1750 the price of wheat had so fallen, while wages had risen, that, instead of two-thirds, the laborer could purchase the whole of a peck of wheat with a day's labor.' Mr. Malthus adds that the result of this increased command over the necessaries of life was not attended with an increase of population exclusively,—'a considerable portion of their increased net wages was expended in a marked improvement of the quality of the food consumed, and a decided elevation in the standard of their comforts and conveniences.' Trade was flourishing, and the exports and imports progressively increasing during this period of abundance.'

This plenty was followed by a succession of bad seasons, which increased the price of corn, and caused great dissatis-

faction throughout the country. In 1766 the price of the quartern loaf in London was 1s. 6d., and exportation was in consequence suspended; and in the latter part of 1773 the city of London offered a bounty of 4s. the quarter for 20,000 quarters of wheat, to be imported between March and June. The Corn Act of 1773 was designed to prevent the fluctuations of price consequent on previous statutes. A permanent law, it was alleged, 'would afford encouragement to the grower, be 'the means of increasing the growth of that necessary commod-'ity, and of affording a cheaper and more constant supply to 'the poor.' The following is Mr. Platt's account of the provisions of this law, and of the effect which they had on the supply of the English market. The act was to come into operation on the 1st of January, 1774.

'Whenever the price of middling British wheat, at ports of importation, was at or above 48s. per quarter, a duty of only 6d. per quarter was to be taken on all foreign wheat imported during the continuance of that price. When the price was at or above 44s., exportation and the bounty together were to cease; and the carrying of British grain coastwise ceased also. Under this act, corn and grain might be shipped to Ireland when exportation was prohibited from that country. Foreign corn warehoused under bond in twenty-five ports of Great Britain mentioned in the act might be re-exported duty free. Adam Smith's opinion of this act was, that, 'though not the best in itself, it is the best which the interests, prejudices, and temper of the times would admit of: it may perhaps,' he adds, 'in due time prepare the way for a better.' This expectation has not as yet been fulfilled.

'The home market was now opened to foreign supplies of corn under much more advantageous terms than before. Importation was constant and considerable, and prices were steadier on the whole, during the eighteen years from 1775 to 1792—notwithstanding the occurrence of five seasons in which the harvests were more or less deficient—than they had been in ten years preceding 1773. The balance of imports of wheat was now decidedly against this country. In the ten years ending 1769 the excess of exports had amounted to 1,384,561 quarters; but in the next ten years, ending 1779, the excess was on the side of the imports to the extent of 431,566 quarters; and in the ten years ending 1789 there was an excess on the same side amounting to 233,502 quarters. The extension of tillage which took place was certainly more likely to be permanent than when it had been caused by the artificial stimulus that had previously been maintained. From 1760 to 1780 the number of acres enclosed under local acts was 1,912,350; in the ten years ending 1789 the proportion had fallen off, the number of acres enclosed being 450,180. The average price of wheat was 45s. the quarter in the ten years ending 1779, and 45s. 9d. in the ten years ending 1789. The extension of cultivation in the twenty years from 1760 to 1780, together with the improve-

ment of agriculture, sufficed for the increased demands of the country, without breaking up so much fresh land.'

The landed interest was not long satisfied with this law. By keeping down the price of corn it prevented their obtaining the bounty on which they had calculated, and their complaints were consequently loud and reiterated. Like every other selfish faction, they affected a regard for the public interests, and were unhappily too successful with the legislature. The act of 1773, it was alleged, rendered us dependent on a foreign supply, and thus jeopardied the means of subsistence to our people. The hollowness of the pretext is now sufficiently obvious, but it had force in the apprehensions of our fathers, or rather the influence of the landowners was so predominant in the two houses, as to secure the alteration which they desired. This occurred in 1791, when an act was passed founded upon stricter principles than the law of 1773. It enacted that after Nov. 15th, a bounty of 5s. per quarter should be paid when wheat was under 44s., and that when wheat was at or above 46s. exportation should cease. 'The new scale of import duties was 'as follows:—For wheat under 50s. per quarter, the 'high '' duty' of 24s. 3d. was payable; at 50s., but under 54s., the '' first low duty' of 2s. 6d.; at or above 54s., the 'second low '' duty' of 6d. was payable. The protecting price was thus 'raised from 48s. to 54s. the quarter; and this main feature of 'the act was intended to shut out supplies from abroad, and of 'course to raise prices at home. The duty of 24s. 3d., so long 'as the price of wheat was under 50s. the quarter, was equiva-'lent to a prohibition.' This was emphatically a landlord's law, and its effects were just such as might be anticipated from such selfish legislation.

'The thirteen years,' remarks Mr. Platt, 'from 1791 to 1804 form a very eventful period in the history of the corn laws. Under the comparatively free system established by the corn act of 1773, the excess of imports had been comparatively trifling; but under an act expressly constructed to prevent importation as far as possible, the excess of imports in the thirteen years from 1791 to 1803 amounted to 6,458,991 quarters of wheat and wheat-flour, and enormous sacrifices were made to obtain this quantity. The seasons in their courses fought against the enactments of the legislature; and the dependence on foreign supplies was never so complete as at the very period when hopes had been entertained that the produce of the home grower would prove sufficiently ample for the wants of the country.'

The greatest distress prevailed throughout the country under the operation of this law. In 1795 the average price of wheat rose from 55s. 7d. to 108s. 4d., and large bounties were in consequence offered by parliament on the importation of wheat.

'Neutral vessels laden with grain were forcibly seized on the 'high seas, and the masters compelled to sell their cargoes to 'the government agents. The members of both houses of par- 'liament bound themselves by a written pledge to observe the 'utmost frugality in the use of bread in their respective house- 'holds; and engaged to reduce the consumption of wheat by at 'least one-third of the usual quantity consumed in ordinary 'times, unless the average price of wheat should be reduced to '8s. the bushel. The hair-powder tax was imposed at this 'period, as a means of diminishing the consumption of wheat.' The agricultural districts were extensively disturbed by riots, and that most fatal of all measures for the independence and moral welfare of the laboring population—the allowance system —was introduced. The attention of parliament was directed in 1800 to the fearful scarcity which existed, and various expedients were adopted in order to preserve the people from starvation. Serious apprehensions of such a calamity were entertained, which were only partially allayed by the miserable, because limited and selfish remedies, which were proposed. The condition of the poorer classes was pitiable in the extreme, and strikingly exposed the fallacy of the theory so prevalent among our agriculturists, of dear food being balanced by high wages. The absurdity of this theory is now generally admitted by all who have not a pecuniary interest in its maintenance, and should any of our readers continue to give it credit, we recommend their careful perusal of the following extract.

'The money wages of the agricultural laborer, in order to have been equal to those which he received in the reign of George II., should have risen to about 30s. per week. Arthur Young gives a list of articles which, when the laborer was paid 5s. per week, he could have purchased with that 5s., namely, a bushel of malt, a bushel of wheat, a pound of butter, a pound of cheese, and a pennyworth of tobacco; and he states that in 1801 these articles would have cost him 26s. 5d.; while wages having risen only to 9s., and the allowance from the parish being estimated at 6s., his real wages were still 11s. 5d. less than under the former period. Thus even the parish allowance, which equalled two-thirds of his wages, left him in a state of distress. There is a table in the Appendix to one of the Parliamentary Reports on the subject of the high price of provisions, which shows that the most indispensable necessaries of life had risen 200 per cent. in 1800 as compared with 1773. Both in 1795 and 1800 Mr. Whitbread had proposed a bill for regulating the wages of labor by the price of provisions, and fixing a minimum of wages, but such an expedient was wisely rejected. The rise of wages, without which actual starvation would have ensued, inadequate as it proved, was better than such a plan. Several trades succeeded in obtaining an advance; and from the statements of the tailors and printers of London, in support of their claims, we take the following particulars:—The wages of the former

class of workmen, from 1777 to 1795, had averaged 21s. 9d. per week, and the price of the quartern loaf being 7¼d., they could purchase thirty-six loaves with a week's wages. During the scarcity of 1795 their wages had been advanced to 25s., and in 1801 to 27s., in which latter year a week's wages would purchase only 18½ quartern loaves. The wages of compositors had been advanced from 24s. to 27s. in 1795, and to 30s. in 1801. The advance in the wages of carpenters, bricklayers, masons, and artizans of a similar stamp was inconsiderable. The salaries of persons holding official situations under the government were also increased. The misery of the bulk of the people during the years of scarcity is shown by the diminished number of marriages, which, from 79,477 in 1798, were reduced to 67,288 in 1801.

'The fallacy that wages advance with the price of food was never more glaringly displayed than at this period; and it is still a prevalent notion that there is a connexion between high prices of provisions and high wages, though seventy years ago, Adam Smith had shown (and his doctrine on this subject has never been controverted)—1. That the real wages of labor rise in a year of plenty and diminish in a season of scarcity. In the former, the funds in the hands of the employers of industry are sufficient to maintain a greater number of industrious people, and, as masters wanting workmen bid against each other, money wages may also rise. 2. That a year of scarcity and high prices diminishes the funds for the employment of labor; persons are thrown out of employment who bid against one another in order to get it; and wages fall. 3. That in the *ordinary* variations of the price of provisions these two opposite causes are counterbalanced, which is one reason why the wages of labor are more steady and permanent than the price of provisions. In the evidence before the Lords' Committee on the Corn Laws in 1814 there is a remarkable illustration of the effect of the scarcity of 1812 on wages. Mr. Milne, a landowner, stated that a certain description of farm-labor which twenty-five years before had cost him 3s., and which a neighbor of his had paid 5s. for two or three years before, was executed during a period of scarcity and high prices for 2s. 6d., the cause of this difference being, as he alleged, 'that a great many laborers were idle from having little work, in consequence of those employed doing double work.'"

This season of general scarcity and distress proved, however, a golden harvest to the landed interest,—the farmers realizing enormous profits, and the landlords either raising their rents or preparing to do so. They, therefore, cheerfully acquiesced in the continuance of the existing system, and endeavored by various futile expedients to divert public attention from its enormous evils. More abundant harvests, however, speedily followed, which greatly reduced the price of corn; and loud complaints were instantly made throughout the agricultural districts. The law which they had formerly magnified as the perfection of wisdom, was now repudiated as inadequate to their protecti[illegible]ngs were held in [illegible]ts of the country,

for the purpose of petitioning parliament for additional protection to agriculture, and another abortive effort was consequently made to give a permanent stimulus to its prosperity. The selfishness of class legislation was never more strikingly evidenced than in this case. The welfare of the country was set at nought, and the very subsistence of its population endangered, in order to enhance the pecuniary benefit of the few. Thus it has ever been when the interests of a privileged class have been deemed more important than the social comfort and moral welfare of the people at large. But the landlords succeeded in their object, so far at least as legislative enactments were concerned.

In the spring of 1804 a select committee of the lower house was appointed, to inquire into the principle and operation of the corn law of 1791. In their second report, presented June 14th, the committee thus state their conviction of the necessity of some new measure. 'It appears to your committee that the 'price of corn from 1791 to the harvest of 1803 has been very 'irregular; but, upon an average, increased in a great degree 'by the years of scarcity, has in general yielded a fair profit to 'the grower. The casual high prices, however, have had the 'effect of stimulating industry, and bringing into culture large 'tracts of waste land, which, combined with the two last pro-'ductive seasons, has occasioned such a depression in the value 'of grain as it is feared will greatly tend to the discouragement 'of agriculture, unless maintained by the support of parliament.' The scale established by the act of 1804 for the admission of foreign corn was as follows: 'Wheat under 63s. per quarter, 'the 'high duty' of 24s. 3d. payable; at 63s. and under 66s., 'the 'first low duty;' and at or above 66s., the 'second low ''duty,' which amounted only to 6d. The free import or 'nominal duty price was thus raised from 54s., at which it 'stood in the act of 1790-1, to 66s.—an increase of 12s. The 'bounty of 5s. on exportation was to be paid when the average 'price of wheat was at or under 48s.; and when the average 'rose to 54s. exportation to be prohibited. The two latter 'enactments proved totally inoperative.'

A succession of unfavorable seasons, in combination with the European war, in which we were then engaged, tended greatly to raise the price of corn, which attained such an enormous height as to produce the most serious embarrassment throughout the country. Such prices naturally stimulated cultivation to the utmost possible extent, and consequently the number of enclosure bills which received the royal assent from 1804 to 1814 inclusive, was 1084.

The following is Mr. Tooke's account, as given by our author, of the state of the agricultural interest at this period. 'A great 'amount of gain had been distributed among the agricultural

'classes; and as the range of high prices (with an interval of 'depression between the harvests of 1810 and 1811, so short as 'not to have been felt at all by the landlord, and very little by 'the farmer) had been of an unusually long continuance, it was 'concluded that the causes of that high range were permanent. 'From 1809 to 1813 was accordingly the period in which rents 'experienced their greatest rise,—that is, upon the expiration of 'leases, they were advanced in full proportion to the high range 'of the prices of produce; and in several instances they were 'raised threefold or upwards of what they had been in 1792.' Such prosperity, as it grew out of temporary causes, was of course short-lived. A reaction took place at the close of the war, which precipitated prices below their natural level, and gave rise to extensive and loud complaints. The laboring classes, however, were far from being benefited by the high prices of the war, but on the contrary suffered deep injury and wrong. The trifling advance made in their wages bore no fair proportion to the increased cost of food, and they were consequently great losers by the system which poured wealth into the pockets of the landlords.

'In 1812 and 1813 the poor-rates amounted to about £3,300,000 more than they had been in 1803, a year of low prices and agricultural distress. Still further attempts had been made to adjust wages to the high price of provisions, and the demand of men for the navy and army offered a resource which frequently rendered the strikes of workmen for advanced wages successful. The wages of artizans and laborers were nearly doubled, that is, the money value of their wages; but their real value—the command of a week's earnings over the necessaries of life—was diminished. The rise of money wages had reached its maximum in 1812. The workmen employed in manfactures experienced severe distress during this period; the advance of wages was less in their case than that of any other class; in some branches of manufacture there had been no change; in others it was accompanied by longer hours of work; and the stagnation of the export-trade occasioned nearly a total cessation of employment in several branches of manufacturing industry. Many parts of the country were disturbed by riots in consequence of the inability of the poorer classes to purchase an adequate share of food during these seasons of agricultural prosperity and high prices arising from defective harvests and the other causes to which allusion has been made.'

The return of peace in 1814 brought with it a general reduction of prices, of which agricultural produce of course partook. This led to loud and general complaints amongst the farmers, who justly alleged their inability to pay the rents which had grown out of the high war prices. Another effort was consequently made by the landlords to obtain from the legislature the artificial stimulus, which was needful to maintain their

present rentals. A committee of the House of Lords was appointed in June, 1814, which made a report, July 25th, recommending that 'so long as the average price of wheat was 'under 80s. the ports should be completely closed against 'supplies from other countries.' The country was alarmed at this barefaced attempt of the landed interest to impose so enormous a burden on the community for their own exclusive benefit, and expressed its repugnance to the measure in so decided a form as to compel its framers to abandon it. The average price of wheat during this year was about 34s. per quarter lower than that of 1813. In the following year, 1815, the landholders renewed their efforts to obtain a complete monopoly of the food of the people, and unhappily with more success than formerly. Early in the session a bill was introduced, fixing 80s. as the lowest price at which importation might take place, which was pressed through the legislature with a determination which despised all warnings, and triumphed over every obstacle. Various attempts were made to fix a lower standard than 80s., but without effect. The bill produced great excitement throughout the country. The gallery of the House of Commons was closed against the admission of strangers, and the military were called out in order to protect the members in their passage to the house. Notwithstanding these strong marks of public feeling, the landlords' House of Commons passed the landlords' bill by a majority of 168 on the third reading. The measure was opposed with great ability and force by some of the most eminent statesmen of the day, whose views were embodied in the following protest, which was drawn up by Lord Grenville.

'1. Because we are adverse in principle to all new restraints on commerce. We think it certain that public prosperity is best promoted by leaving uncontrolled the free current of national industry; and we wish, rather, by well-considered steps, to bring back our commercial legislation to the straight and simple line of wisdom, than to increase the deviation, by subjecting additional and extensive branches of the public interest to fresh systems of artificial and injurious restriction.

'2. Because we think that the great practical rule of leaving our commerce unfettered applies more peculiarly, and on still stronger grounds of justice, as well as of policy, to the corn-trade, than to any other. Irresistible, indeed, must be the necessity which could, in our judgment, authorize the legislature to tamper with the sustenance of the people, and to impede the free purchase and sale of that article on which depends the existence of so large a portion of the community.

'3. Because we think that the expectations of ultimate benefit from this measure are founded on a delusive theory. We cannot persuade ourselves that this law will ever contribute to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. So long as it operates at all its effects

must be the opposite of these. Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearness, and of uncertainty. To cut off any of the sources of supply can only tend to lessen its abundance; to close against ourselves the cheapest market for any commodity must enhance the price at which we purchase it; and to confine the consumer of corn to the produce of his own country is to refuse to ourselves the benefit of that provision which Providence itself has made for equalizing to man the variations of season and of climate.

'4. But, whatever may be the future consequences of this law, at some distant and uncertain period, we see, with pain, that those hopes must be purchased at the expense of a great and present evil. To compel the consumer to purchase corn dearer at home than it might be imported from abroad is the immediate practical effect of this law. In this way alone can it operate. Its present protection, its promised extension of agriculture, must result (if at all) from the profits which it creates by keeping up the price of corn to an artificial level. These future benefits are the consequences expected, but, as we confidently believe, erroneously expected, from giving a bounty to the grower of corn, by a tax levied on its consumer.

'5. Because we think that the adoption of any permanent law for such a purpose required the fullest and most laborious investigation. Nor would it have been sufficient for our satisfaction could we have been convinced of the general policy of so hazardous an experiment. A still further inquiry would have been necessary to persuade us that the present moment was fit for its adoption. In such an inquiry we must have had the means of satisfying ourselves what its immediate operation will be, as connected with the various and pressing circumstances of public difficulty and distress with which the country is now surrounded; with the state of circulation and currency; of our agriculture and manufactures; of our internal and external commerce; and, above all, with the condition and reward of the industrious laboring classes of our community. On all these particulars, as they respect this question, we think that parliament is almost wholly uninformed; on all, we see reason for the utmost anxiety and alarm from the operation of this law.

'Lastly. Because, if we could approve of the principle and purpose of this law, we think that no sufficient foundation has been laid for its details. The evidence before us, unsatisfactory and imperfect as it is, seems to us rather to disprove than to support the propriety of the high price adopted as the standard of importation, and the fallacious mode by which that price is to be ascertained.

'And on all these grounds we are anxious to record our dissent from a measure so precipitate in its course, and, as we fear, so injurious in its consequences.

'AUGUSTUS FREDERICK (Duke of Sussex),
WILLIAM FREDERICK (Duke of Gloucester),
GRENVILLE,
WELLESLEY,
ESSEX.
TORRINGTON,
DUTTON (Marquis of Douglas),
CHANDOS BUCKINGHAM,
MONTFORT,
KING,
CARLISLE.'

The mode in which the average prices were determined greatly increased the stringency of this measure. 'A new average was to be struck quarterly, on the 15th of February, May, August, and November, from the aggregate prices of the six preceding weeks; but it was provided that, if during the six weeks subsequent to any of these dates the average prices, which might be at 80s., fell below that price, no supplies 'should be admitted for home consumption from any ports 'between the rivers Eyder and the Bidassoa,—that is, from 'Denmark to Spain.'

The farmers expected that this act would keep prices up to a point somewhat lower than the scale which the legislature had adopted, and under this conviction they entered into contracts with their landlords. Various circumstances, however, conspired to disappoint their expectation, and they were in consequence plunged into great distress. Their rents had been arranged on the basis of a series of bad seasons during a period of war, and were now buoyed up by a law which fallaciously promised to exclude the foreign grower from the English market. 'The fluctuations in price,' remarks Mr. Platt, 'under the corn law of 1815 were as extraordinary 'as they were unexpected by the landed interest, and amounted 'to 199½ per cent.' The House of Commons was in consequence assailed by the cry of agricultural distress. Committees were appointed to inquire into its extent and cause, and numerous plans of relief were proposed. Before noticing those which were adopted, we may just remark in passing that, as the laboring population had been greatly injured by the high prices of the war, so they were now benefited by the reduction which had taken place. Wages were not reduced in proportion to the low prices of agricultural produce, and the laboring classes were in consequence contented and peaceful. Amongst the various fictions by which interested parties have sought to delude the public, none is more clearly refuted by the evidence of fact than the connexion alleged to subsist between dear bread and high wages. Every period of our history is conclusive in the testimony which it bears on this point, and places beyond reasonable doubt the fallacy of the theory which our agriculturists so zealously propound.

The act of 1815 was founded on an erroneous basis, and therefore disappointed the expectations of its framers. They had taken the high prices of the war period, as a fair indication of the cost of production with a remunerative profit to the farmer. Rents and other charges were accordingly regulated by this standard, which the farmer soon found to be much too high for his subsistence. A new act was therefore passed in July, 1822, which professed to be a relaxation of the existing law, but in

reality was a mere delusion, designed to blind the eyes of the public. As this act never came into operation, we may pass it over without further comment. The scarcity and high price of corn at this period led to some disturbances in the manufacturing districts, which induced parliament to release the bonded corn, and caused an order in council to be issued admitting certain descriptions of grain at an almost nominal duty, on the ground that 'if the importation for home consumption of 'oats and oatmeal, and of rye, peas, and beans, be not immediately permitted, there is great cause to fear that much 'distress may ensue to all classes of his Majesty's subjects.' No doubt now existed amongst reasonable men of the necessity of some revision of the existing law. It had failed to secure to the farmer the steady prices for which he had been taught to look, and had inflicted on the country an enormous wrong which the people were unable and indisposed to endure any longer. Mr. Canning, therefore, in 1827 introduced a series of resolutions which went to substitute a graduated scale of duties instead of absolute prohibition under 80s. 'A bill 'was brought in, founded on these resolutions, fixing a duty of '1s. on foreign wheat when the average price was 70s. per 'quarter; a duty of 2s. being imposed for the reduction of each 'shilling in the averages. In respect to colonial wheat, the 'duty was fixed at 6d. when the averages were 65s. per quarter, 'and when under that sum at 5s. per quarter.' This bill was lost in the Lords through the opposition of the Duke of Wellington, who carried the insertion of a clause to the effect that importation should be absolutely forbidden so long as wheat was below 66s.

In the following year, 1828, Mr. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg, introduced a series of resolutions differing but slightly from those of Mr. Canning, which were ultimately embodied in a bill that obtained the royal assent on the 15th of July. This statute, which is still in force, is entitled *An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Importation of Corn.* It abolishes several preceding acts, and makes the following provisions for settling the averages according to which the duties are levied.

'In one hundred and fifty towns in England and Wales, mentioned in the act, corn-dealers are required to make a declaration that they will return an accurate account of their purchases. [In London, the sellers make the return.] Inspectors are appointed in each of these one hundred and fifty towns, who transmit returns to the Receiver in the Corn Department of the Board of Trade, whose duty it is to compute the average weekly price of each description of grain, and the aggregate average price for the previous six weeks, and to transmit a certified copy to the collectors of customs at the different outports. The return on which the average prices are based is published every

iday in 'The London Gazette.' The aggregate average for six weeks gulates the duty on importation. In 1837 the quantity of British ieat sold in these towns was 3,888,957 quarters; in 1838 there were)64,305 quarters returned as sold; and 3,174,680 quarters in 1839. 'Wheat at 50s. pays a duty of 36s. 8d.; barley at 32s. a duty of s. 10d.; oats at 24s. a duty of 10s. 9d.; rye, peas, and beans, at s., a duty of 16s. 9d. In the case of wheat, when the price is 66s., every shilling that the price falls the duty increases by 1s., and creases by the same sum for every shilling that the price rises (see e third column of the following scale); for all other grain the duty creases by 1s. 6d. for every shilling that the price rises. Colonial ieat is admitted at a duty of 6d. when the average of the six weeks at or above 67s.; and when below 67s. the duty is 5s. the quarter, d for other grain in proportion. Importation is free on payment of 1s. the quarter when wheat in the home market is 73s.; barley 41s.; s 31s.; and rye, peas, and beans 46s. the quarter.

'In the following Table the scale of duties proposed by Mr. Can-ıg, and that adopted by the legislature in 1828, and acted upon up the present time, are placed in juxtaposition:—

Average Prices of Wheat.	Duty according to Mr. Canning's Bill.	Duty according to the present Scale.
s.	*s.*	*s.* *d.*
73	1	1 6
72	1	2 8
71	1	6 8
70	1	10 8
69	2	13 8
68	4	16 8
67	6	18 8
66	8	20 8
65	10	21 8
64	12	22 8
63	14	23 8
62	16	24 8
61	18	25 8
60	20	26 8
59	22	27 8
58	24	28 8
57	26	29 8
56	28	30 8
55	30	31 8
54	32	32 8
53	34	33 8

This law, however beneficial it may have proved to the land-ls, in enabling them to obtain high rentals for their land, not secured to their tenantry that steadiness of price which i alleged as its primary object, a variation of 129 per cent. ing taken place under its operation. In December, 1835, price of wheat was 35s. 4d., whilst in January, 1839, it was

81s. The following remarks of our author are both sound and deserving of attentive consideration.

'To this derangement of prices is to be attributed much of the depression which the agriculturists experienced in 1833 and 1836. In each of these years their distressed condition was noticed in the speech from the throne on the opening of parliament, and select committees were appointed in both years to inquire into their state. Since the commencement of 1836 nothing has been heard of agricultural distress, prices having risen from 39s. 4d. per quarter for wheat in 1835 to 70s. 8d. in 1839; but the commercial and manufacturing interests have been visited with a season of adversity.

'When the harvests have been abundant, the laborer and artizan contented, and trade and manufactures flourishing, the agriculturist has suffered from the depreciation of prices. If abundant crops thus plunge him into distress, there can be no other reason for it than the engagements which he has contracted with his landlord being adapted only for years of scarcity and high prices, such as occurred during the war, when the effect of unfavorable seasons was aggravated by the obstructions to commercial intercourse. The tenant now seems to be dependent upon years of deficiency in order to realize the average rate of profit on his capital; and so long as the price of grain is subject to such great fluctuations as have been already stated, there is no permanent basis on which he can contract with his landlord. His rent must be determined by the rate of prices when he takes his lease, which may turn out in the long run to be favorable either to himself or his landlord.'

These remarks are confirmed by the state of things for some few years past. All kinds of agricultural produce have obtained a high price, and the farmers and their landlords have in consequence expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the working of the existing system. So far every thing looks healthful and thrifty. But unhappily there is another side to this picture, which is far from being so pleasing. The high prices on which our agriculturists are flourishing have been obtained by excluding the foreign grower from our markets, which has cut off our manufacturing population—now by far the larger portion of the community—from those modes of occupation on which their subsistence is dependent. Refusing to take from the foreign corn grower the produce which he has to sell, we have compelled him to go to other markets for the purchase of those goods, in the manufacture of which the majority of our people are employed. In many instances the parties excluded from our markets have been led to establish amongst themselves manufactories similar to our own, by which we have not only lost their custom, but have raised up competitors who are now meeting us in the various markets of the world.

'Mr. M'Gregor, Secretary of the Board of Trade, related to the Committee on the Import Duties the appeals which were made to him as the commercial representative of this country at Berlin, and at the two congresses held at Munich and Dresden:—'You compelled us' (they said) 'to become manufacturers; we have not mines of gold and silver, and you will not take what we have to give you; but if you had taken what we have to give, we should have continued to produce it; but as you would not take it, our people were intelligent enough to turn their attention extensively to manufactures.' Dr. Bowring's 'Report to Lord Palmerston on the Prussian Commercial Union' is to the same effect. 'We have rejected' (says he) 'the payments they have offered,—we have forced them to manufacture what they were unable to buy.' 'We should not have complained,' says a distinguished German writer, 'that all our markets were overflowing with English manufactures,—that Germany received, in British cotton goods alone, more than the hundred millions of British subjects in the East Indies,—had not England, while she was inundating us with *her* productions, insisted on closing her markets to *ours*. The English Corn Law of 1815 had, in fact, excluded our corn from the ports of Great Britain: she told us we were to buy, but not to sell. We were not willing to adopt reprisals; we vainly hoped that a sense of her own interest would lead to reciprocity. But we were disappointed, and we were compelled to take care of ourselves.' With reference to the United States of America, Mr. Addington, the British Minister at Washington, in a despatch to Mr. Canning, said:—'I have only to add, that had no restrictions on the importation of foreign corn existed in Great Britain, the tariff would never have passed through either House of Congress, since the agricultural states, and especially Pennsylvania, would have been opposed to its enactment.'

It was to remedy this state of things,—to recover our failing commerce, and to secure to our artizans continued occupation and remunerative wages, that Lord John Russell, on the 7th of May last, announced his intention of moving, in a committee of the whole house, the following fixed duties on the importation of foreign corn.

Wheat . . .	8s.	0d. per quarter.
Rye, peas, and beans .	5s.	0d.
Barley . . .	4s.	6d.
Oats	3s.	4d.

The result that followed is well known, and furnishes an instructive comment on the anti-popular character of the reformed House of Commons. The ministerial announcement was far from meeting the just requirements of the case. It was only an instalment of a large debt, but though small in amount it aroused the fears of a selfish oligarchy, and led to the signal defeat of government. Viewed as a party question, and on a small scale, this may be regarded with sorrow by some liberals.

For our own parts, however, we believe it to be pregnant with ultimate good,—full of promise to the people at large—adapted to effect more speedily than would otherwise have been done the entire abolition of a system which, by taxing the bread of the people, places the staff of life beyond the reach of tens of thousands of our hard working countrymen. Had the ministerial proposition been adopted, the evils of the existing system would have been concealed rather than rooted out, and the excitement now prevalent through the country have been soothed down into a delusive slumber. Having refused the compromise propounded by a medium party—somewhat popular but still more aristocratical—the landed oligarchy must prepare to surrender up the whole of that system by which the country has been enormously taxed for their exclusive benefit. A starving people, aided by the intelligence and combination of the present day, cannot long permit a body of landowners however numerous and powerful, to grow wealthy on their impoverishment and wretchedness. But we must not suffer ourselves to be deluded by fallacious hopes, or permit our confidence in the triumphant issue of the struggle to render us indifferent about the means to be employed. The great thing to be aimed at, at the present moment, is a cordial union of the middle and lower classes. Until this is effected we see no reasonable prospect of such an impression being made on the legislature as will accomplish our object. The adhesion of the masses must be obtained, and this can only be done by our adopting their cause, reprobating the wrongs they have long suffered, and joining heartily with them in obtaining that redress for which they have hitherto prayed in vain. At present the middle classes are mistrusted by the laboring population. There is as little confidence on the one hand as there is sympathy on the other. This breach, then, must be healed, and mutual confidence and good-will be restored, before any reform, whether legislative or commercial, can be effected. Let this be accomplished, and our cause must triumph. The enemies of popular freedom and of untaxed bread will be unable to retain their position for another day. The voice of the people, uttered in no dubious or whining tones, will admonish their task-masters that the foundations of their power are gone, and that the hour is come when the selfishness of faction must yield to the claims of national justice. The combination of intelligence and numbers, of moral principle and of physical strength, will awe the most courageous into submission, and compel a reluctant aristocracy to forego their prey.

Art. II. 1. *Oxford Divinity Compared with that of the Romish and Anglican Churches, with a Special View of the doctrine of Justification by Faith.* By the Right Rev. C. P. M'Ilvaine, D.D., Bishop of Ohio. 8vo. Seeley and Burnside, London. 1841.

2. *Romanism and Anglo-Catholicism. Lectures by* Joseph Sortain, A.B. 8vo. Ward and Co., London. 1841.

THE 'Oxford Tracts' have, as all the world knows, been suppressed, but their influence did not cease with their suppression. The serpent was killed, but it was not till it had inflicted its bite. The venom which it infused is still to be extracted.

Though the series of the 'Tracts' was discontinued, there is reason to believe that the numerous volumes already published are still eagerly read, and are working as much, if not more mischief, than even at the time the world was astonished by the appearance of No. 90. Indeed, we must confess that we more than suspect the policy which dictated their suppression, and are by no means sure that the very command to discontinue them was not the kindest thing that could have been done for the Tractators,—the happiest contrivance that could have been hit upon to shield and strengthen their cause. Elated by their past successes, and confident that these were but the omen of still greater triumphs, they were fast throwing off that 'sacred reserve' in communicating 'religious truth' which they had so strongly commended in the exhibition of scripture doctrine, and which they had so happily exemplified in exhibiting their own. No. 90 itself would doubtless soon have been followed by others, still more outrageous in sophistry, more profligate in principle, and more undisguisedly Romish in tendency, till at length the mask would have been wholly abandoned, and all the world would have had an opportunity of seeing the plausible and insidious arts by which the real character and tendencies of the previous 'Tracts' had been disguised. As it is, though the unfortunate No. 90 is a most startling revelation, the Tractators were mercifully prevented from making any further exposure; the veil which art and prudence had thrown over their previous publications in great measure remained entire, and the writings of this pernicious school are left to work their mischief, without that effectual counteraction which would have been best supplied in its own rash publications. The hand which administered the poison should have been left to supply the antidote. There are some species of deleterious drugs, of which it is safer to swallow a large quantity than a small one; in the former case they produce such intolerable nausea, that offended nature at once throws off the load. Even

so, we predict, would it have been with the Oxford Tracts, had their authors but been allowed to administer as large and as frequent doses as pleased them.

We cannot, of course, suspect the reverend prelate by whose immediate command these teachers of 'precious and neglected 'truths' felt themselves at once, and in spite of the high ground they had taken, so ignominiously silenced, of secretly favouring the very projects at which his censures were aimed; but we do affirm, that if he *had* been actuated by any such sinister motives he could not have pursued a course more likely to attain the object. Not only did he thus shield the Tractators from the effects of further imprudence, and leave the original Tracts to operate with all their old advantages of discontinuous statement, undeveloped doctrines, 'sacred reserve,' broken hints, partial disclosures, and plausible concealment, but he doubtless brought these authors to a sudden recollection of the necessity of continued caution—of clapping on the mask again; and has probably induced some of them when prosecuting (for they *still* prosecute) their designs in other shapes, and in their individual capacity, to resume all the sophistical art and all the dangerous moderation, which they had for a moment laid aside. The suppression of the 'Tracts' was the greatest boon that could have been conferred on these men. It was in effect, whatever it might have been in intention, nothing better than extending a friendly signal to the enemy.

Nor is it in this way only that the suppression of the Tracts was of service to these modern Propagandists. The apparently humble and graceful manner in which they bowed to the voice of episcopal authority—albeit they pretended that they were the champions of all-important truths—won them not a little favour with the unthinking, that is, with the many. It seemed a pure, consistent exemplification of their own principles. Yet to those who reflect, what could be a more decisive act of self-condemnation than their obsequious silence? Do these men pretend that *whatever* the truths they conscientiously believe they are in possession of, and whatever the importance of those truths to the church and to the world, they can publish or suppress them, speak out or maintain silence, according to the commands of their spiritual superior, however deeply, however blindly in error they may believe him? If not (and we scarcely think they would affirm it), then what truths can, in *their* estimation (at least if we may judge by the earnestness and perseverance of their advocacy), be more important than those which their 'Tracts' were designed to exhibit,—truths which, as they pretended, were at once most precious in themselves, and forgotten by the world?

In the meantime they doubtless smiled in secret at the 'bru-

'um fulmen' of episcopal censure. They knew that 'what they had written, they had written;' that it had gone abroad to the world, and could not be recalled; that it would still be as extensively read as ever, and perhaps all the more eagerly, that the fountain of such precious streams was no longer open. They knew they had been quietly and uninterruptedly prosecuting their scheme for years; that the influence they had already exerted had not been inconsiderable, while perhaps the more sagacious amongst them rejoiced that a stop was put to the rash and too venturous proceedings of the most honest, but the most imprudent of their coadjutors. They knew, too, that they could still serve the sacred cause in other ways, and in their individual capacity, as effectually as ever; nay (as we have already said), more effectually, by their resumption of those very arts of moderation and concealment, the too sudden abandonment of which had well nigh hazarded their whole enterprise.

Certain it is, at all events, that the publications of this strange school have not been either less numerous or less insidious since the suppresion of the Tracts; while they have been, for the most part, more elaborate and quite as dangerous.

For all these reasons, it still behoves those who think the system of doctrine which the Tracts advocated, of fearful omen to the genuine interests of Christianity, as containing the germ and rudiment, the essence and spirit, of the most pernicious Romanism, to stand as much and as vigilantly on their guard as though the Tracts had never been suppressed; not to say more so. They *had* made many converts before they were discontinued; they are making converts still, for they are still read; and they are aided by new publications, issued, it is true, under other auspices, under different titles, and on individual responsibility, but imbued by the same principles, and written, if not by the same men, by men of precisely the same sentiments.

On these grounds we shall feel ourselves in duty bound often to return to this great controversy, and shall hail the appearance of every judicious and learned advocate on the side of evangelical truth with unfeigned pleasure. There are few from whom we should feel more sure of at least a candid and impartial judgment, than from one who must be so far removed from at least many of our prejudices as a Transatlantic divine. Doctor M'Ilvaine is not only a Transatlantic divine, but a Transatlantic bishop. In his decisive condemnation, therefore, of the Oxford Tract system, we feel entitled to see a strong presumption of his being in the right; for not only is he removed by distance from many of *our* prejudices, but, as a bishop, so far as he can be supposed to have had any of his own, they must, in many important points, have been rather *with* than *against* those whom he condemns.

The circumstances which induced Dr. M'Ilvaine to tal part in this controversy are stated in the introductory cha and they strikingly illustrate the spirit of earnest and pers ing proselytism, which has all along distinguished the advo of the Oxford Tract doctrines. They have, indeed, prosec their object with as much zeal as ever marked the propagan of Rome, and have set an example which is well worth imitation by the champions of purer and better principles. 'Oxford Tracts' were duly reprinted at New York, and their lication was accompanied with a promise of a reprint of a selection of other English publications on the same side o question. 'During the progress of these works,' says author, 'the most zealous efforts have been made to com 'the peculiarities of Oxford divinity to the diligent readin 'confidential reception of the clergy and laity of this co Dr. M'Ilvaine, though previously not uninterested in th gress of the controversy in England, thought it was no time for him, and his countrymen who thought with him, on their armour. 'The controversy,' he says, 'has beer 'upon those who, while the publications were confin 'transatlantic church, and only introduced amongst us b 'importations, would have been content to leave it wit 'to whom it especially belonged, however deeply cc 'themselves that Oxford divinity was most justly accus

We have no difficulty in saying that Dr. M'Ilvaine is a very valuable contribution to the cause of evangelic Popular, indeed, it cannot well be—and that for several It is too bulky. That is one thing. We regret to s that our author's style is often both rugged and pro sentences often inordinately long and cumbersome—w attempts he here and there makes at playfulness and ra not appear to us particularly happy. It is also so load citations, and repetitions of citations, as to endanger i places the weariness of the reader. We are aware, inde on such a subject it would be impossible to do any thing frequent quotation. But these should be as few as po never multiplied beyond necessity. Mr. Newman's or Dr. sentiments on some particular point may often be as de shown by one clear, brief citation as by half a dozen. B are slight matters; we only mention them because they s the way of the popularity of the work, and because, if our should enter the lists again (which seems to us by no improbable), he may avoid the repetition of the like erro

The principal aspect under which our author has beer consider the whole controversy, is sufficiently indicated title. He has designated his work 'Oxford Divinity co 'with that of the Romish and Anglican Churches;

cial view of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, as it was de of primary importance by the Reformers, and as it lies the foundation of all scriptural views of the Gospel of our rd Jesus Christ.' All the peculiarities of the system on ch he comments are viewed in relation more or less direct this central doctrine; to a denial or perversion of it he es almost all its distinguishing errors, and indeed takes but der and passing notice of any other of its monstrosities. n with this limitation, however, the survey of the Oxford ct doctrines may be tolerably comprehensive, for it is cer- ly true that almost all the controversies between Romanism Protestantism, or between the Oxford Tract writers and ir opponents (which we must be permitted to say is much same thing), depend more or less directly on the views tertained of this cardinal dogma. Almost all the subtle and inful corruptions of Rome ultimately result from its perver- on. Let this be but maintained entire, and all the contri- ances by which the priesthood of that church have taught men ow to supply their deficiencies, or expiate their sins, or pur- hase immunity from the necessity of making any expiation t all, are consigned to destruction as unprofitable vanities. Purgatory, penances, and indulgences, all are annihilated together. For he who properly apprehends the doctrine of 'justification by faith alone,' sees that the righteousness in virtue of which *he* must be accounted righteous must be a perfect one, and therefore not his own; for he dare not even imagine to himself that *that* is perfect. Nor is he in any danger of thinking, while he gazes on the bright and perfect exemplar of universal and sinless obedience, as the only ground of his hope of acceptance, that that righteousness of his own, which he is taught at the same time to cherish, and from the only adequate motives, can supply its deficiencies by acts which have not even a moral quality belonging to them, as, for example, by corporeal flagellations, or mechanical devotions, or offerings of money. The case is far otherwise where this great doctrine is denied or corrupted, and man is told that it must be by his own proper righteousness that he is to be justified, that is, treated as though he had never sinned:—strange inconsistency! one would think that the very terms in which the doctrine is propounded would be sufficient to refute it. As all experience, as all history testifies, the reception of this doctrine inevitably tends to encourage the most lamentable delusions respecting the real nature of holiness—to cut the very sinews of all cheerful hope and energy in the pursuit of it—and to encourage, under the despairing conviction that perfect holiness cannot be attained, the substitution of the most ridiculous counterfeits in its place. Such, as all ecclesiastical history shows, has been the consequence of the

denial or the corruption of the true doctrine; the process has been more or less accelerated or retarded according to the circumstances of the age or the complexion of individual minds; but it has always been the same, and inevitably will be so. He who has no more than superficial notions and superficial feelings, will content himself with the decent performance of the principal social duties, and the mechanical observance of his prescribed ritual; and he flatters himself that this is sufficient for his purpose. He who is of stronger mind and deeper feelings, who has attained more comprehensive views of the requirements of the Divine Law, sinks at once into despair under the consciousness of his deficiencies, and earnestly casts about for some soothing supplements. He resorts to austerities —he multiplies fasts—he doubles his devotions—he macerates his body—he enlarges the domain of morals over things indifferent in their nature, to make amends for having abridged their proper dominion—he compromises his violation of the law in one point by double diligence in another, or by extending its authority to a class of actions over which it neither demands nor desires control. Thus commences the subtle process of substitution—the balancing of acts of obedience against acts of disobedience—of ill deeds of one kind against good deeds of another—of transgressions of an undoubted law against compliances with man's own arbitrary requirements. As external observances and mechanical devotions are always easier than spiritual obedience and the subjugation of the passions, and form an altogether cheap and easy substitute—so a stronger and stronger stress is laid upon them, until at length the internal and spiritual is almost excluded, and the deluded mind reposes on the external and mechanical alone. Such is the *tendency* of the denial of the great central doctrine of Justification by Faith, even though that tendency may not fully develop itself. It may be indefinitely checked by circumstances—but if allowed fully to develop itself, it stops not at any thing short of the gross substitutions of Rome, and is even there fairly exhibited only in those last abominations of the system of indulgences as preached by Tetzel, which neither heaven nor earth could longer tolerate.

Far different is it with him who, believing indeed that none will ever enter heaven *without* holiness, is not infatuated enough to think that he can be justified *by* it. He stands in little danger of falling into any of the above delusions. While he is stimulated to a holy obedience by peculiar motives—motives far more powerful than any other—even by gratitude and love for unspeakable benefactions, he joyfully feels that it is not by the sufficiency or insufficiency of his obedience that he is to be justified; he is under little temptation, therefore, to attempt to

ply deficiencies by self-imposed duties unrecognized by the el, or by compounding for negligence in one point by abled diligence in another. Nor is it to be forgotten that the e generous and spirit-stirring motives from which he acts, der him better able to cope with those subtle and powerful ions, the very difficulty of subduing which, on any lower ciple than that of the constraining love of Christ, is one f reason for the melancholy substitution of external ob- nces for spiritual obedience. Neither is he in any danger of ing false or unworthy conceptions of that comprehensive ness which he is exhorted to aspire to and to 'perfect.' tten with gratitude to Him in whom that holiness is per- ly exemplified, desiring above all things to be assimilated to n, the disciple could not be content, even if he were allowed, ubstitute something intrinsically worthless for that substan- excellence of which he is enamoured. Neither has he any tive to do so; freely permitted, when pressed by his sense of llement, to repair at once to the fountain once opened, and ich flows on for ever, he contents not himself with musing gloom, sometimes almost in despair, over his past deficiences, nxiously balancing his meritorious or his sinful actions, or ing expedients by which, through exchange, or barter, or erwise, he may strike a more promising balance; but is left leisure to pursue, with that buoyant hope and that freedom of rt, without which all energetic action is out of the question, holiness 'without which no man shall see the Lord.'

It is true, indeed, that this doctrine is capable of being ed and perverted. And if such representations of the doc- e itself as those of Dr. Pusey were fair ones, it could hardly to be so. With Dr. M'Ilvaine, however, we protest against 'caricature' of the doctrine which such writers are pleased give us as a true portrait. It will not be denied by any did person that the immense majority of those who have ached the 'doctrine of justification by faith alone' have been strenuous in insisting on the necessity of personal holiness, l have as diligently cultivated that holiness themselves, as y of those who have repudiated the doctrine. The question, far, as concerns the effects of the two doctrines, is,—which nishes the highest, noblest, most efficient motives to obe- nce? Few, we think, who study human nature, will deny t the preference in this respect is to be given to the doc- e of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE. That doctrine we ieve to be the doctrine of Scripture, but it is no transcen- tal mystery, which must be received without our being able comprehend any thing about it. It bears the impress of the ine wisdom, and, considered as a mighty instrument of ral influence, could have resulted only from the profoundest

knowledge of human nature. Let but the madness, the folly, the absurdity of supposing that any can be admitted to heaven *without holiness* be duly guarded against, as it must be admitted it generally is, and we doubt not that the obedience to which this doctrine will prompt will far outstrip in zeal, perseverance, and uniformity, that which can be extorted by any other principle or any other set of principles whatsoever. And no wonder; the one is the obedience of the child, the other of the bondsman; the one is the offspring of hope, the other of fear; the one is the cheerful work of gratitude and love, the other the laborious task of a depressed and gloomy heart.

Viewing this doctrine as of such extreme importance, as involving in it the very glory of the gospel, as that without which we have no well-founded hopes of final acceptance, nor any sufficient motives to that very obedience—necessarily imperfect—to which in its absence we must alone look; convinced also that the denial or the perversion of this doctrine has been attended by such fearful consequences, we cannot wonder that Luther should have declared that its recognition or denial might be considered 'the criterion of a standing or a 'falling church;' we cannot wonder that Calvin declared that 'if this one point were yielded safe and entire, it would not pay 'the cost to make any great quarrel about other matters in con-'troversy with Rome;' we cannot wonder that the judicious Hooker calls it 'that grand question that hangeth in con-'troversy between us and Rome:' nor can we wonder that Dr. M'Ilvaine, with his views of its paramount importance, should in attacking the Oxford Tract writers, principally occupy himself with their perversion of it. Most truly do we believe that in the following paragraphs he has not overstated the tendencies of which we have already said so much.

'*Justification* and *peace* with God are essentially connected in Rom. v 1: '*Being justified—we have peace with God.*' But, says Mr. Newman, 'Justification consists in a righteousness dwelling in us, and that *righteousness is acceptableness.*' But this acceptableness, it is said, may be more or less. Of course, then, we may be more or less justified, and so more or less at peace with God. 'In the same degree (says Mr. Newman), that faith or obedience grows, so does justification. On the other hand, those who are declining in their obedience —as they are quenching the light within, so are they diminishing their justification,' and, of course, *so are they decreasing in peace with God.*

'Now in what way is a poor sinner, working out his salvation, ever to know whether he has peace with God, and may rejoice in hope, or not? He can have peace only so far as he is justified. And according to this doctrine, some are more justified than others; the same

[illegible], at various periods, may be in various stages of justification. [illegible]ks for the line or mark of justification, so that when *beneath* it, [illegible]ay know that he is not sufficiently justified to have peace with [illegible] and when *above* it, may know that he is justified enough to [illegible]peace with God. No such line is pointed out. Then, whether [illegible]at peace with God, or under his wrath,—for there is no medium, [illegible]can never know. Where then is the helmet of hope, that 'strong [illegible]ation' for him who 'has fled for refuge to Christ?' The 'hope [illegible]maketh not ashamed,' the confidence that when Christ shall [illegible]ar, he shall be like him, and see him as he is?

Now what is the natural consequence of such a miserable, com- [illegible]ess doctrine as this, this '*feeding us on husks and shells?*' 'A [illegible] who can never know whether his amount of inherent righteous- [illegible]s sufficient, will always be excogitating some device or other by [illegible]h God may be the more effectually propitiated and satisfied. A [illegible]my, or a poverty-stricken aspirant resorts to those unbidden aus- [illegible]ies and severe bodily macerations, by which it is fully hoped that [illegible] may be expiated and heaven meritoriously attained.' In such [illegible]teousness there is something that seems tangible, measurable, [illegible]eciable. A man can count his penances, measure his pilgrimages, [illegible]h his gifts, and thus keep account of his righteousness, and at last [illegible]e to account himself sufficiently righteous to be at peace with God. [illegible]ers of various descriptions will resort to different modes of esta- [illegible]ing such a righteousness, the rich will purchase what they are not [illegible]ng to work out, by the prayers of priests and the merits of saints, the virtue of indulgences, to save themselves the pain of austeri-

Thus will arise the monster of Supererogatory Merit. And so [illegible]e grows out of the mere effort of the troubled conscience to supply [illegible]awful uncertainty arising from a scheme of justification, which [illegible]ves nothing better for righteousness than our own works and per- [illegible]l holiness, that whole retinue of vain devices for the making of a [illegible]teousness of our own, and easing the conscience with nostrums of [illegible]'s quackery, by which the church of Rome has been for so many [illegible]uries so defiled and degraded.

The direct tendency to precisely such results, is manifest already [illegible]Oxford Divinity. Nothing is more evident, than that precisely the [illegible]e of uncertainty about one's actual peace with God, which we have [illegible]cribed, is inculcated there as a matter of duty. Any thing like a [illegible]' of hope,' a 'strong consolation,' a confidence of peace, is sternly [illegible]idiated as presumption and ultra-protestantism.'—pp. 86—89.

[illegible]here are, indeed, other monstrous corruptions involved in [illegible] Oxford Tracts, which are scarcely less important and [illegible]cely less pernicious than the denial of the doctrine of [illegible]tification by Faith only. We allude to the doctrines of [illegible]ramental Efficacy and Apostolical Succession. On the [illegible]er we are not sorry that Dr. M'Ilvaine has not entered; though we certainly feel some curiosity to know what so [illegible]ral a prelate might have to offer on the subject of that great [illegible]olum tribûs,' yet we can easily conceive that it might be a

much more inconvenient subject to treat than that of 'justifica-
'tion by faith;' nor, sooth to say, could we expect that his views would be satisfactory to us. Deeply as we feel with him, that the perversion of the doctrine of justification by faith alone lies at the foundation of many of the most pernicious errors of the Oxford system, we are equally assured that the views of its advocates on the subject of the Apostolical Succession and the Efficacy of the Sacraments are answerable for nearly a moiety of them. Indeed, we fear that the very same views which lead them to attach so much importance to these doctrines, have also (unconsciously, we would, in unfeigned charity, hope) biassed them in their modes of exhibiting the doctrine of Justification itself. We cannot but fear that the unconscious wish to magnify the office, functions, and prerogatives of the clergy, forms no inconsiderable element in the complication of motives which has led to this strange attempt to revive all the worst corruptions of Rome, and which, as it were instinctively, induces them to prefer those modifications, even of the doctrines lying most remote from the subject of ministerial office and authority, which most favor their preposterous and anti-christian claims. Thus Justification as well as Regeneration is made, in this strange scheme, absolutely dependent on baptism; it infallibly accompanies that rite when duly performed, and the efficacy of baptism, as they incessantly tell us, is valid only when performed by an episcopally ordained priest! We are far enough indeed from saying that a sordid, still less a *conscious* wish to aggrandize their order, determines the complexion of the theology they embrace and advocate, but we are persuaded that the bias in that direction has no inconsiderable influence. This bias is conjoined with another, with which it well harmonizes (indeed they derive mutual support the one from the other), we mean the notorious tendency to magnify the external in religion —to attach undue weight to observances and ceremonies, apart from the exercise of the understanding and the affections: and the two together will serve to explain most of the peculiarities of this obnoxious system. The harmony of these principles—the manner in which they conspire—the probability that he who embraces one of the great delusions founded upon them will also embrace the rest, is manifest upon the slightest reflection. He who believes in apostolical succession, for example—that is, that every one who is episcopally ordained, with the prescribed forms, is a true minister of Christ, no matter what his character or opinions, and that through him, as through a channel, mysterious efficacy flows, whenever he sprinkles the baptismal water or dispenses the bread and wine;—how easy is it for him to believe that there is a mysterious efficacy connected with the due administration of certain rites, even where the understanding and the heart

have nothing to do with the matter, and generally, that the greatest blessings of christianity are tied to certain mechanical and outward observances, and are absolutely dependent upon a system of forms; that they are invariably communicated where such forms and observances are duly adhered to! We say, how easy is it,—for what absurdity can any application of this principle involve, greater than that which is involved in the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession itself, as expounded and advocated by these writers?

These two things, then, which reciprocally aid one another—the wish to exalt the priesthood, and the wish to exalt the external and ritual in religion at the expense of the internal and spiritual—will serve to account for the chief innovations of our new school of Romanists, and together with the blind love of antiquity and veneration for the fathers, will account for the whole. These motives accordingly determine the general complexion of the system, and as they are all connected *inter se*, they give a certain harmony and self-consistency to its whole theology, closely approximating it, indeed, to that of Rome itself, which is the product of the very same conjunction of feelings and principles, operating over a larger space of time, under more favorable circumstances, and with a less vigorous counteraction from without. We say not—we have already disclaimed any such insinuation—that the most sordid of the above principles (that of advancing the priestly order) is *consciously* the motive of the chief champions of the Oxford Tract doctrines; but we have not the slightest doubt that it operates unconsciously in all of them, and is the chief, aye, and the *conscious* motive too, in the minds of thousands who abet them. Some of the worst corruptions of the Romish church were not the fruit of any direct desire, on the part of those who encouraged the innovations which terminated in them, to strengthen the interests of the priesthood; but they were adopted under the conjoint influence of many different but strictly harmonious principles, which insensibly gave consistency to the whole fabric of superstition from the foundation stone to the topmost pinnacle; determined the shape which the whole theology assumed, the modifications to which any doctrine and rite was to be subjected, and the further corruptions which should be practised upon them. It was enough that the innovations immediately introduced under the operation of any one principle were not adverse to or inconsistent with any other principle; their subserviency to all alike was sooner or later secured, until at length the well compacted system presented that aspect of utter, hopeless, and loathsome corruption, which roused the energy of the great Reformer.

The Oxford Tract doctrine of Justification, Dr. M'Ilvaine

has shown, with no slight degree of learning, to be in no important respect different from that of Rome: nor do we think that he has much difficulty in proving that, so far at least as the Thirty-nine Articles are concerned, it is equally at variance with that of the Church of England. Whether he is equally successful in showing other portions of the system to be condemned by the 'standards' and formularies of his own church, may well admit of doubt. But on this we make no remark at present. We confine ourselves to the important doctrine of Justification by Faith.

The whole book is principally taken up with this subject. After some preliminary matter, he proceeds, in the second chapter, to consider the germ of the Oxford Tract doctrine as developed, or rather not yet fully developed, in the pages of Alexander Knox. Its identity with that of the Oxford divines he fully proves, and moreover shows how strongly it was condemned in the 'British Critic' of the day—that journal which has now become so powerful an organ on the Oxford side. In the third chapter he proceeds to 'exhibit' the Doctrine of Oxford Divinity on the subject of Justification,—in the fourth to compare it with that of the schoolmen,—in the fifth, with that of the Council of Trent. In these chapters he shows that there is no essential difference between the views of our Oxford divines and those of the church of Rome. Let us see if there be any the slenderest appreciable distinction.

What is that which we are to interpose between the displeasure of God and our guilty spirits, so that we may be treated and accounted as righteous in his sight; that is, be treated as if we had not sinned? Or, as Hooker gives it—'What is the righteousness whereby a christian man is justi-'fied?' or, as Mr. Newman expresses it, 'What is that which 'constitutes a man righteous in God's sight?' The answer to this question, as given by Romanists and Protestants, forms the grand distinction (so our elder divines unanimously affirm) between the two parties.

To this question Hooker (and we may fairly take him for an expositor of Protestant views on this subject) replies, 'There be 'two *kinds* of christian righteousness; the one ***without*** us, 'which we have by imputation; the other ***within*** us, which 'consisteth of faith, hope, charity, and other christian virtues. 'God giveth us both the one justice and the other; the one by 'accepting us for righteous in Christ; the other by working 'christian righteousness in us.' The one righteousness is usually called justification, the other sanctification. 'No 'such thing,' says the church of Rome; 'justification is not 'merely the remission of sins, but also sanctification and re-'newal of the inward man by his voluntary reception of grace

'and gifts.' 'That which is called our righteousness because 'we are justified *through its being inherent in us*, that same is 'the righteousness of God, because *it is infused into us* by God 'through the merit of Christ.' 'If any one shall say that 'justification, once obtained, is not increased by good works, 'but that these are only the fruits and signs of justification, let 'him be accursed.' So says the Council of Trent, and hence, as so often alleged, they confound justification and sanctification; or as Bishop Downame says, 'of *two* benefits they make but 'one, and utterly abolish the benefit of sanctification.' 'This 'they do in two respects; first, they hold that to justify in this 'question signifieth to *make* righteous by righteousness inhe- 'rent, or by *infusion* of righteousness, that is to sanctify. 'Secondly, they make remission of sins to be not the pardoning 'and forgiving of sin, but the utter deletion and expulsion of 'sin by infusion of righteousness. Thus they make justification 'wholly to consist in the parts of sanctification.'

And now what says Mr. Newman, the Coryphæus of the Oxford party, in reply to the above question? 'It is usual at 'the present day to lay great stress on the *distinction* between 'deliverance from guilt and deliverance from sin; to lay down 'as a first principle that these are two coincident, indeed, and 'contemporary, but altogether independent benefits; to call 'them justification and renewal, and to consider that any con- 'fusion between them argues serious and alarming ignorance of 'christian truth. . . . . This distinction *is not scriptural.* . . . 'In truth Scripture speaks of but *one* gift, which it sometimes 'calls *renewal*, sometimes *justification*, according as it views it, 'passing to and fro from one to the other, so rapidly, so ab- 'ruptly, as to force upon us irresistibly the inference that they 'are *really one.*'

Again: 'By righteousness is meant acceptable obedience. 'We needed then a justification or making righteous; and this 'might become ours in two ways, either by dispensing with that '*exact obedience* which the law required, or by enabling us to 'fulfil it. Now the remedy lies in the *latter alternative only;* not 'in lowering the law, much less in abolishing it; but in bring- 'ing up our hearts to it—attuning them to its high harmonies.'

Again: 'If God *counts* righteous, it is by *making* righteous; 'if he *justifies*, it is by *renewing;* if he reconciles us to him, it is 'not by annihilating the law, but by erecting in us new wills 'and new powers for the observance of it.'

To these citations many more might be added; but they could add nothing to the clearness and explicitness of those we have already adduced. That God does not annihilate the law, that he does not even *lower* its claims—that he gives us new powers and new wills, will be readily admitted by those who

deny Mr. Newman's doctrine; for, as he himself admits, those who plead for the distinction between justification and sanctification contend that they are benefits which, though distinct in their nature, are inseparably coincident. The only question is whether that process which we call sanctification, is *essentially the same* as justification. Mr. Newman distinctly says, that they are really one gift. And in this he assuredly says nothing in any important degree different from what is said by the church of Rome.

One would think that if there be such a thing as justification at all, and if man be a sinner, then justification can in no sense and under no modifications be effected by a righteousness *within* us. For what is justification? *Man's being treated by God as if he were not sinful.* Now if this be the case, no righteousness created within us can answer the purpose, and that simply because we *have* been sinners. Let us suppose an individual living in sin to the middle of his life, and then becoming not merely a christian, but such a christian as the world never saw and never will see—one who from that period till his death exactly observes every punctilio of the divine law,—how could this obedience, which is still no more than he ought to have performed, and moreover ought to have performed for his whole life, not for the half of it, rescue him from the guilt and condemnation which he had already incurred? His being no longer a sinner could not alter the fact that he had been one, and therefore if treated as no sinner at all, it must be, one would think, in virtue of some special remedy. Nothing can convert the past into the present, and in like manner no present reformation can justify us from past guilt. A man may sincerely repent of some violation of the law of his country, and we may feel quite certain that he would not do the like again; but his repentance is not taken as compensation; it cannot obliterate the past, or convert a past guilt into present innocence; and if therefore regarded or treated as not guilty, it must be by the act of another, not by any of his own. Mr. Newman is surprised that any should conceive deliverance from sin to be different from deliverance from guilt; for our own parts, though we believe them to be inseparably coincident, they appear so essentially distinct *in their own nature*, that we wonder any should confound them, and cannot but deem such confusion of ideas, to use Mr. Newman's own language, 'as arguing serious and alarming ignorance of christian truth.'

One would imagine that justification from guilt must be something perfectly distinct from renewal of heart, even upon Mr. Newman's own showing, and we cannot but stand astonished that his own contradictions do not convict him. He says, in an extract already given, 'We needed a justification or 'making righteous, and this might become ours in two ways,

'either by dispensing with that exact obedience which the law 'required, or by enabling us to fulfil it.' And he says, that the latter is the only alternative. Now one would imagine, that if the exact obedience which the law requires is *not* to be dispensed with (as he clearly implies), then the obedience which will alone avail for our justification, and which, as he says, is the only alternative, must be commensurate with it. But did any one ever pretend that the obedience of the most exemplary christian that ever lived at all approached that point? Yet if this, according to Mr. Newman, be the ground of our justification, is not the exact obedience of the law dispensed with—is it not lowered? Nay, if we consider the utterly defective character of all christian obedience, may it not be said to be abolished? For our own parts we believe that the exact obedience which the law requires is *not* dispensed with (for neither man's guilt nor man's innocence can alter the character of that immutable and perfect rule); but for that very reason we believe that if man be treated as *not* guilty when he *is* so, it must be on account of something not his own, and that something we believe to be the perfect obedience and the expiatory sufferings of the Redeemer. To imagine that the exact obedience which the law requires is not to be dispensed with, and yet that it will accept of an altogether imperfect obedience as a release from its claims,—that it will, as it were, compound for the vast debt due to it by accepting the smallest possible fraction *per cent.*, appears to us something very like the grossest contradiction.

But if Mr. Newman's doctrine be the same essentially with that of Rome,—a fact, however, which, certain as it may be, we shall presently see that he denies—he has the felicity of holding it with some inconsistencies peculiarly his own. For be it known to our astonished readers, that Mr. Newman does not deny that the words 'justify' and 'justification,' as used in the New Testament, mean 'counting' righteous—not 'making' righteous; that is, he pleads for the fact that they 'impute' something, which (as yet at all events) is not. 'Issue is joined,' says he, 'on the following question,—whether justification mean 'in Scripture *counting* us righteous or *making* us righteous.' With more honesty as a critic than is consistent with the integrity of his system as a theologian, he contends for the former sense: and grants that but 'one passage can be produced 'where justification is used for *making* righteous, and there the 'reading is doubtful!'

How then does he get over the difficulty of representing the righteousness which justifies as *imputed*, while he maintains that it is inherent—a righteousness of obedience? By one certainly of the most extraordinary *fetches* that ever helped a divine out of his difficulties: by an explanation equally dis-

creditable to himself as a critic and theologian, and dishonorable to the Scriptures of truth. He says, in so many words, that though Scripture invariably *says* one thing, it as invariably signifies another. Hear him. 'To justify *means* 'counting 'righteous,' but includes *under* its meaning 'making righ- 'teous;' in other words, the sense of the *term* is counting 'righteous, and the sense of the *thing* denoted by it is making 'righteous. In the *abstract*, it is counting righteous; in the 'concrete, it is making righteous.' The reconciliation of the theory by which he maintains that the righteousness by which we are justified is *inherent*—our own proper obedience—with the theory which he nevertheless holds that the righteousness is an *imputative* one, is effected by a contrivance equally happy with that we have already mentioned. He says this righteousness is imputed to us, though as yet we have it not, because God intends that we shall have it; just as a man may be said to be born to-day though he will not be born till to-morrow, because God intends that he shall be so. 'The imputation of 'righteousness,' says Mr. Newman, 'is a sort of prophecy, 'announcing God's purposes (of *making* us righteous) before the 'event, and working towards their fulfilment.' 'In justifica- 'tion,' he says, 'the whole course of sanctification is *anticipated*, 'reckoned or imputed to us in its very beginning.'

In the Oxford Tracts, we find the writers generally exhibiting a wise distrust of *reason* and *reasoning*, both of which, as applied to religious matters, they never fail to take every opportunity of depreciating. They generally prefer resting the monstrous dogmas they defend on their simple assertion, coupled with another, that they are the dogmas of the 'church,' and that with a third, that any dogmas so recommended are to be the objects of implicit and unquestioning belief. They therefore fail not to inveigh against the *rationalistic* tendency of the present times, condemning under that convenient word any and every awkward question as to the reasons of the peculiar doctrine they think it right to propound. We must say that we think this is their wisest course; for they never fail to make themselves ridiculous whenever they resort to reasoning. By lofty pretensions—by 'sacred reserve'—by mysterious silence—by airs of infallibility, they may, for a time at all events, succeed in deluding or awing the ignorant; but let them beware of logic, if they do not wish to expose themselves to the utter derision and contempt of the world. No doubt they give us the best reasons for their monstrous paradoxes which the paradoxes themselves will allow, but such reasons must in the nature of things be wholly unsatisfactory. Indeed, if such mysteries as they are employed in teaching be reasoned upon at all, it can only be by reasoning as mystical as the things it

is employed to explain. Accordingly we may observe that in Mr. Newman's *reasonings* (such as they are) there is as much of vain quibbling and metaphysical hair-splitting as in Thomas Aquinas himself, or any of his brethren of the schools.

We have a striking proof of this in the present case. Plainly as Mr. Newman's doctrine on the subject of justification is essentially identical with that of Rome; plainly as he declares that justification and sanctification are not really distinct—that they are really one gift; plainly as he declares that 'justification' may be *increased* or *diminished* according as the subject of it lives a life of obedience or disobedience—he yet strenuously denies, with Dr. Pusey, that their doctrine is the same with that of Rome, and that *expressly* because the church of Rome confounds justification with sanctification. All we can do is to append Mr. Newman's explanation in his own words, with the assurance that we have honestly endeavored to detect some glimmering of meaning in it, but that after our utmost efforts it appears to us utterly and hopelessly unintelligible. We subjoin the passages which treat of this subject, with Dr. M'Ilvaine's comments thereon. Dr. M'Ilvaine says—

'Dr. Pusey expressly declares that he and those who bear him company do '*exclude sanctification from having any place in our justification.*' Where the line runs, or what it is, he does not say. But he does tell us, with singular contradiction, that 'the state of justification admits of degrees according to the degree of *sanctification.*'

'Mr. Newman maintains the same denial.

'' This is really and truly our justification, *not faith, not holiness,* not (much less) a mere imputation; but the very presence of Christ,' 'not faith, not renovation, not obedience, not any thing cognizable by man, but a certain *divine* gift in which all these qualifications are included.' 'Scripture expressly declares that righteousness is a divine inward gift, while at the same time it teaches that it is not any mere quality of mind, whether faith or holiness.' Justification is 'not *renewal* or the *principle* of renewal.' 'The apostle goes on to say that the only true justification is the being *made* holy or renewed; does not this imply from the very nature of the case that renewal was not just the same thing as justification?' (The implication is beyond our ken. But again): 'If the justifying word be attended by the spiritual entrance of Christ into the soul, justification is perfectly distinct from renewal, with which Romanists identify it.'

'Now the question of the astonished reader must be, where, in the name of all scriptural and Protestant, and common sense, divinity, is the distinction aimed at—a distinction between justification, as *being made holy or renewed,* and justification as being *holiness and renewal?* between righteousness as being *in* us and being a *quality of* us? All the answer of Mr. Newman is found in the following extracts, which the reader may understand if he can.

'"If we say that justification consists in a supernatural quality imparted to the soul by God's grace, as the Romanists say, then in like manner the question arises, is this quality *all that is in us of heaven*? does not the grace itself, as an immediate divine power or presence, dwell in the hearts which are gifted with this renovating principle? It may or it may not; but if it does, then surely its *possession* is really our justification; and not renewal or the principle of renewal.'

'Here then is the attempted distinction. Something there is called 'grace,' which is supposed to dwell in the heart, and which *works* holiness, but is not holiness; it is holy, but not holiness. It is 'the *presence* of the Holy Ghost shed abroad in our hearts, the Author both of faith and of renewal. This is really that which makes us righteous (or justifies us), and our righteousness is *the possession of the presence*.'

'So then the possession of the *presence* of the Holy Ghost—the *simple presence*, irrespective of effects upon our hearts, is our justification. But as faith and spiritual renovation are said to be '*fruits* of that presence, if justification be that presence, faith must *follow* after justification, while St. Paul says we are 'justified *by* faith.'

'But we have this distinction differently expressed.

'"The righteousness on which we are called righteous, or are justified, that in which justification results or *consists*—this *justifying principle*, though *within* us as it must be, if it is to separate us from the world, yet is not *of* us, or *in* us, not any quality or act of our minds, not faith, not renovation, not obedience, not any thing cognizable by man, but a certain divine gift in which all these qualifications are included.'

'Now let us mark! This 'divine *presence*' by which we are justified, viz. 'the habitation in us of God the Father, and the Word incarnate through the Holy Ghost,' is a '*righteousness*;' it is also a '*principle*' (the divine presence a *principle!*); this presence is also a '*gift*.' This righteousness, or principle, or gift, is WITHIN us, WITHIN our hearts, our minds, our affections, yet is not OF us; it is not IN us; is not IN our hearts, and minds, and affections. It is our righteousness, a principle, a possession and gift of our minds, and yet 'not *any quality or act of our minds*.' It is not the qualities of faith, renovation, obedience, but something which includes them all as the qualities of which that gift is the occult essence.

'Such is the strongest exhibition of the whole middle wall of partition on which Oxford divinity relies for the separation of its doctrine of justification from that of Romanism, *by inherent righteousness* or sanctification. 'Oh this sad, misty divinity (as Coleridge said of some in Donne), far too scholastical for the pulpit, far too vague and unphilosophical for the study.'"—pp. 93—96.

Our author's sixth and seventh chapters are taken up with a comparison of the Oxford divinity with that of the Romish church, as respects the *nature and office of justifying faith, and the office and efficacy of the sacraments, especially of baptism*; the eighth examines the effects of the Oxford divinity upon other doctrines,

and is altogether one of the most painfully interesting in the book. Our author has selected and brought into one view all those passages from the tracts which imply either direct approval of some of the most pernicious corruptions of Rome, or an undeniable tendency towards them: and a most offensive assemblage of testimonies it is.

In the ninth, tenth, and last chapters, our author compares the doctrine of Oxford divinity as to the righteousness of justification, the nature and office of faith and baptismal justification with that of the *Anglican church and some of her standard divines.* Here we cannot think that Dr. M'Ilvaine's success is more than partial. In his own views, indeed, we generally coincide, and so far as Scripture and the testimonies of a vast number of individual theologians of the Anglican church are concerned, we think they are triumphantly established. But there is no such thing as making inconsistency itself consistent, or reconciling palpable contradictions; so long therefore as the articles, canons, and prayer-book of the Anglican church continue to assert things opposite or repugnant, so long must any attempt to show their harmony be hopeless. In the single doctrine of justification by faith alone, Dr. M'Ilvaine, and those who think with him, have strong ground, even looking exclusively at the standards of the Anglican church; but in most other controverted points between the evangelical party and the Oxford divines, we must say, though we say it with sorrow of heart, that the Tractators have the best of it; that though the former may allege many things in their favor, the latter can adduce still more. In fact, though neither party can in our judgment be consistent, simply because they have pledged themselves to believe inconsistencies, the Oxford party appear to us, *upon the whole,* quite as consistent as their opponents, not to say more so. Thus, for example, our author delivers a noble testimony against the desperate delusion of baptismal regeneration, yet he who should deny that it is explicitly taught, aye, and as grossly as the Oxford party represent, in the office for baptism, would appear to us to deny as plain a proposition as that two and two make four, and has hardly any right to complain of the tergiversation and sophistry of the Oxford school in other matters.

We cannot find that Dr. M'Ilvaine has attempted to grapple with the strong language of the baptismal formularies. It was certainly wise, but hardly fair, to leave them untouched. In the mean time it is impossible, as already said, that either party can be consistent, and that because the church is itself inconsistent. The Oxford divines, looking exclusively at the things which make for themselves, affirm that their opponents are innovators, and that they are but anxious to rescue from obli-

vion sundry 'great and precious' truths, which have either almost gone out of date, or have of late years been far too cautiously and timidly insisted upon. In their estimation, the spirit of the church resides rather in the liturgy, rubrics, and canons than in the articles. There is another large party who reverse these views; who think the articles more truly exhibit the doctrine of the church; that there are many things in the rubrics which had better remain in the oblivion to which they have in fact long been consigned; that there are some points in the liturgy, especially in the offices of baptism, absolution, and burial, which much need a reformation, and of which, until that desired reformation be effected, the less that is said the better.

Great is the din in the church as to which of these two sets of opinions most nearly approximates to the truth. As usual, there is a formidable array of authorities on each side; and, as is also usual, many of these authorities, like other oracles, speak with equal pertinence on both.

Meanwhile, as all the belligerents have yielded an *ex animo* assent (enforced by appropriate subscriptions) to all and every thing contained both in the liturgy and articles, it is no wonder that the two parties find themselves sometimes awkwardly situated, and better qualified for attack than defence. It is a war of reprisals, and the *argumentum ad hominem* is constantly resorted to with most edifying efficacy. 'How do you ma-'nage?' says the editor of a Church of England magazine to a volunteer champion of the Oxford Tractists, 'how do you 'reconcile your conscience to the homilies' (which the thirty-fifth article declares to contain 'a godly and wholesome 'doctrine')—'to the homilies, saying that the church of Rome 'is antichrist'? 'Ah! are you there?' retorts the Oxford champion; 'and how do *you* reconcile to *your* conscience the ho-'milies, saying that the 'Holy Ghost doth teach in the Book of '' Tobit, and that they five times call books of the Apocrypha '' Scripture?''

Truly, as one looks at this merry rencontre, one can hardly help humming a stanza from Southey's ballad of the King of the Crocodiles:

> 'Two crocodile princes, as they played on the sand,
> She caught, and grasping them one in each hand,
> Thrust the head of one into the throat of the other,
> And made each prince-crocodile choke his brother.'

Or one is reminded of that curious scene in the 'Critic,' in which Mr. Puff has reduced all his principal characters to that peculiar situation called the 'dead lock.' 'There's a situ-'ation for you!' he exclaims,—'There's an heroic group! I have 'them all at a 'dead lock,' *for every one of them is afraid to*

'*let go first.*' The manner in which the gentleman gets out of the difficulty is truly edifying, and strongly savours of Oxford, and No. 90. He denies, that when he has subscribed his belief that the homilies contain 'a wholesome and godly doctrine,' he did more than approve of the general 'mould or cast' of doctrine, and that he was still at liberty to reject much of it. It is *a* doctrine it seems, and not *all* the doctrines, of which he thus signified his approbation. Each subscriber has, of course, the same liberty.

It thus appears, that every man is at liberty to object to any *particular doctrines* in the homilies, only he must approve of the *doctrine in general.* What particular doctrines may be rejected will, of course, depend on individual judgment, and some will reject what others will receive. Still, like the Mahometans, who ate up the whole hog, while each abstained from one part or the other, the homilies will be devoured by the subscribers together, though each turns up his nose at some particular joint.

> 'Much controversy straight arose,
> These choose the back, the belly those:
> By some 'tis confidently said
> The prophet could not mean the head,
> While others at that doctrine rail,
> And piously prefer the tail.'

But though we honestly believe that the Oxford Tract writers can adduce, from the standards of the inconsistent Church of England, as strong evidence for many of their views, as their opponents can for many of theirs; we are by no means disposed to deny that the former have manifested a degree of shamelessness and profligacy in their mode of *dealing* with evidence and *managing* testimonies, of which the latter have never been guilty. Thus in their construction of that curious thing, which they are pleased to call 'Catena Patrum,' they have not only restricted themselves to the writers who favor their opinions, leaving men quite as eminent uncited, but they have taken no notice whatever of the *opposite* passages in the very writers they cite; nay, have often, in the most unfair manner, insulated passages from the context, so as seriously to affect the meaning; and, in some cases, have infamously garbled statements for the purpose of making them speak their sentiments. With regard to the first of these artifices:—when it is said, 'But there are as many writers on the *other* side, in 'your church, who teach different doctrine,' the reply is, 'Oh! we do not say that many *individuals* have not thought and spoken very erroneously! We think nothing of individuals—it is *the undivided church* we look at!' But what are those they

cite but individuals? we thought that their rule was, 'that 'that only was true which had been taught every where, 'always, and BY ALL.' If *individuals*, selected arbitrarily, constitute a 'Catena Patrum,' it will be easy to construct a Catena Patrum, or half a dozen of them, on the other side. As to the second artifice;—if it is shown that in any of the authors they cite, as in Jeremy Taylor for example, we may find passages which are inconsistent with, or absolutely repugnant to such as these writers have cited, the reply again is, 'Oh! we 'do not deny that they may have been *inconsistent*, but it is 'only so far as they have taught catholic truth that we cite 'them.' But then, what right have they to cite the authority of such men, on one side rather than the other, when their authority can be adduced on behalf of both, unless indeed these Oxford divines pretend that they may constitute themselves sole judges of what *is* catholic truth? in which case we think their shortest plan would be to abstain from all tedious citations whatever; but certainly, nothing less than a claim like this can justify them in taking a passage from Jeremy Taylor, for example, as an authority for their opinions, and leaving unnoticed another in the very same writer, wholly opposed to it. Permit us all to do the same, and it will be easy to construct a 'Catena Patrum' for any thing whatsoever. But as to the third artifice;—downright garbling, we should have imagined would scarcely pass in any quarter for fair dealing, unless indeed these Oxford gentlemen have imported, amongst other things from Rome, a taste for 'pious frauds,' and have arrived at the conviction, that so good an end as theirs will sanctify any means, however flagitious. One of the most offensive exhibitions of unfair artifice which ever fell under our eye, is given in Dr. M'Ilvaine's work, and it may fairly be taken as a specimen of the mode in which these divines often deal with authorities. Speaking of the essential identity of the faith of the Old Testament saints with that of the christian church, our author says—

'But what does our church in her homilies say? We adduce the following passage, not to show the truth, for it needs no showing, but to show the miserable shifts to which this system is driven. The second part of the homily on faith, after describing the faith of those fathers and martyrs, and other holy men whom St. Paul spoke of in Hebrews xi., says, 'This is the *christian* faith which these holy men had, and we also ought to have.

'''And although they were not named christian men, yet was it a christian faith that they had: *for they looked for all benefits of God the Father, through the merits of his Son Jesus Christ, as we now do. This difference is between them and us—that they looked when Christ should come, and we be in the time when he is come. Therefore saith*

***St. Augustine**, the time is altered and changed, but not the faith. For we have both one faith, in one Christ. The same Holy Ghost also that we have, had they* (2 *Corin.* iv. 13), *saith St. Paul. For as the Holy Ghost doth teach us to trust in God, and to call upon him as our Father; so did he teach them to say, as it is written, 'Thou, Lord, art our Father and Redeemer; and thy name is without beginning, and everlasting.'* (Isa. lxiii. 16.) God gave them then grace to be his children, as he doth us now. But now, by the coming of our Saviour Christ, we have received more abundantly the Spirit of God in our hearts; whereby we may conceive a greater faith, and a surer trust, than many of them had. But in effect they and we be all one: we have the same faith that they had in God, and they the same that we have.'

'Now is it credible that such a passage could be produced by our Oxford gentlemen, as evidence that the church teaches nothing opposed to their doctrine? It is extracted in Tract No. 82, a tract in express defence of Dr. Pusey, on Baptismal Regeneration; and the remarks succeeding it are a fair specimen of the treatment which the standards of the Church, as well as the Scriptures, receive from those scholars and logicians. Thus writes the Tractarian immediately after that extract:—

'Though man's duties were the same, his gifts were greater after Christ came. Whatever spiritual aid was vouchsafed before, yet *afterwards it was a divine presence in the soul,* abiding, abundant, and efficacious. In a word, it was the Holy Ghost himself, who influenced indeed the heart before, but is not revealed *as residing in it.*'

'But the reader will ask, in astonishment, how can men thus write under pretence of not being inconsistent with the standards of the Church, when the homily says expressly, that as we have the Holy Ghost, so had the Old Testament fathers? If he will look at the extract from the homily, he will see how such things may be done. The Tract-writer sets out to quote the homilies. He begins with the first sentence of the extract as above. Then all that follows, and what we have distinguished by italics, is *omitted;* the very pith of the passage, just what asserts the very opposite of his doctrine—*all omitted.* But does he give us any notice of an omission? So far from it that the two sentences, next before and after the italics, are joined by a *colon,* precisely as if they were members of the same sentence, and not a word is said, nor is a remark made, to indicate that a word of the passage has been left out. Comment upon such shifts to hide the glaring departure of this wretched coveting of popery, from the doctrines of that church, which these writers profess to love and to be consistent with, is needless.'

Upon the whole, we cannot but regard the work of Dr. M'Ilvaine as highly valuable. It is fair, honest, and learned; is imbued with a delightful spirit, and characterized by a noble zeal for those great verities, which the extravagancies of the Oxford school have brought into such imminent peril. Of its defects, which are not inconsiderable, we have already spoken.

Dr. M'Ilvaine's work has detained us so long, that we have but little space to give to the lectures of Mr. Sortain, nor is it necessary we should say much. In the views they contain, we, for the most part, heartily concur; and to the careful research they display, we also bear cheerful testimony. Yet we cannot but think that the author has committed a great mistake in publishing his Lectures in the form in which they were first delivered. It would be superfluous to remind a man of Mr. Sortain's undoubted talents and learning, that a style which may have been very suitable to the purposes of popular declamation, is not the style best adapted to the press; that in the latter we look for more calmness, severity, compression, and masculine strength. We have heard that his lectures when delivered produced a considerable effect, and we can easily believe it; but we are confident that they would have been read with tenfold pleasure and profit, if they had been carefully reconstructed for the press. We confess, indeed, that we prefer a style less declamatory and more severe, even for popular address, but in printed works we deem it indispensable. We must be considered, however, as speaking solely of the mould in which our author has, as we think, injudiciously cast his thoughts. The matter itself is everywhere valuable, and is often enforced with considerable spirit and power.

Art. III. *A Winter in the Azores; and a Summer at the Baths of the Furnas.* By Joseph Bullar, M.D., and Henry Bullar of Lincoln's Inn. Two volumes. London. Van Voorst. 1841.

THESE volumes possess in their subject, at least, the charm of novelty, which is further recommended by the lively and natural manner in which it is treated. Regions scarcely known to us are described by those who visited them, having a special object in view, and which object is of great importance to the public. Here we have the result of their experiment, and a great fund of general information and amusement into the bargain. Health was the object,—the Azores the field in which it was sought by an invalid whose brother accompanied him, and whose united lucubrations are before us: 'The one thing needful,' namely, health, is never lost sight of. But natural phenomena, scenery, men, manners, religious customs, social habits, incidents and adventures, and an occasional dash of science and philosophy, form the staple of these well written volumes. The contents are a transcript of the journals of the two travellers, which are thrown into a tolerably connected narrative, in which *present-*

ment the brothers appear so much alike, and so closely blended in their tastes and pursuits, that they remind us of the Gemini of the Zodiac, so perfect is their similarity.

That the field of observation selected by the Messrs. Bullar has hitherto been a sort of terra incognita, appears from the amusing account which the geographical and historical ignorance of a slipshod Friar drew forth.

'His knowledge of England,' say the travellers, 'was about as extensive as our ignorance of his native place; an ignorance participated in by a large class of persons, ecclesiastic as well as civil, within the compass of her majesty's dominions. For example, (if indeed the reader of this sentence be not an example) a clergyman, formerly appointed to the chaplaincy of these Islands, on taking leave of his diocesan, a learned bishop since dead, one of the most 'learned' on the bench,—was stopped at the study door with the question, 'One moment, my good sir, you must pardon my ignorance, but pray where *are* the Azores?' So, also, a grey-headed traveller gravely assured me that he had landed on one of these Islands on his way to the Brazils. He had not time, he said, to see much of them; but they just landed at Teneriffe. A young lady, too, with characteristic fondness for a scarlet coat, asked, 'what regiment was quartered there now?' and an old gentleman, an officer who had been through the peninsular campaign, referred to his cyclopædia, and said he understood they were Islands where there were no venomous reptiles, 'no toads, and that sort of thing.' Farther down the scale, a respectable seller of St. Michael's oranges, who was asked how the mail-bags were sent to the Islands, civilly replied, that 'he believed the letters went first to Lisbon by steam, and were then forwarded to St. Michael's overland.' As this seemed unsatisfactory, application was made to the general post-office in St. Mary-le-bone (St. Martin's-le-Grand) when the man at the shutter, in his pert, jack-in-office way, answered, slapping to the slide, 'The Azores are not in our list.'—Vol. i. p. 229—231.

The authors return to this subject in the following chapter, that is, chapter xiii., for we have dashed in '*medias res*' into the work, in order formally to commence the subject. But first we must inform our readers from another source that the Azores are sometimes called the Western Isles—that they are seven in number, viz., Tercera, St. Michael's, St. Mary's, Graciosa, St. George's Islands, Pico, and Fayal; that they are islands in the Atlantic Ocean, lying between twenty-five and thirty-three degrees of west longitude, and between thirty-six and forty degrees of north latitude. The account before us thus proceeds.

'This Island of St. Mary was the first of the group which was colonized by the Portuguese; but according to Candido Lusitano, a Portuguese author, their existence had been previously known and laid down in a map. The Portuguese, it is said, became acquainted with them in the following manner;—Don Pedro, one of the sons of Don

John I., of Portugal, set out on his travels in 1424, and returned in 1428. In the course of his wanderings he visited the courts of the Grand Turk and of the Sultan of Babylon, from whence he returned to Rome, and proceeding thence to the court of the Emperor Sigismond, he visited Hungary, Denmark, and England, where he was invested by Henry VI. with the Order of the Garter. He was also well received by the kings of Spain and Arragon. The tradition is that he became possessed, while pursuing his travels, of a map of the world; that he brought the treasure home with him and presented it to Don Henry his brother; that Don Henry discovering in it unknown territories, directed his subject, Francisco Gonzalo Velho Cabral, 'to sail towards the setting sun, and on discovering an island to return with an account of it.' Cabral obeyed his orders, but finding nothing but a cluster of rocks which he called Formigas, or Ants, he returned to Portugal with much disappointment. The prince, however, having confidence in his map, despatched him again the following year. Accordingly he once more set sail, and on the 15th of August 1432, discovered an island which he named Santa Maria. The Prince was delighted, and conferred the lordship of it on the discoverer. 'Some persons,' says Lusitano, 'were inclined to attribute the confidence with which the prince spoke to divine inspiration; but, for my part, I am rather inclined to the prince's having received from Don Pedro, on his return from his travels, *a map of the world.*' Where this map could have been procured is doubtful. Venice was rich in maps of all the known world. But the earliest is thought to be that of Andrea Bianco in the library of St. Mark, dated 1436, and on which all the Western Islands are laid down.

'It was not until several years after St. Mary's had been colonized, that a negro who had run away from his master discovered from the top of a mountain another island. The truth of the story was soon ascertained, and communicated to the prince, who 'found that the thing agreed with his old map.' On the 8th of May, 1444, Cabral landed on this island, and gave it the name of St. Michael's. The other islands were discovered as a matter of course. They were all without human inhabitants, and from their abounding with hawks were called Azores or Hawk Islands. Such is the account given by Lusitano in his life of Don Henry, third son of John I. of Portugal, and for it I am indebted to a writer in the 'Quarterly Review,' for 1814, who appears to have been well read in Portuguese history, and was personally acquainted with these islands. He is reviewing a 'History of the Azores,' a fair and full-sized quarto, hot-pressed, cream-colored, and dedicated to the Earl of Moira by 'Captain F. A. of *the* Light Dragoons;' and the reviewer takes more pains to prove the book to be trash, than perhaps he would have done had he known its history. He suspects it is the compilation of one of those gentlemen who write travels by the fire-side, and perform their voyages up 'four pairs of stairs;' but he is wrong. The writer, according to tradition here, was an unprincipled, roving, military man, who visited the slands many years ago, and spent some little time at St. Michael's. After various adventures in several parts of the globe, he found a rest-

ing-place in the King's Bench prison; and to employ himself profitably in his confinement wrote this history, in which, without the slightest regard for truth or any fear of detection, he seems to have indulged his own taste for humbug, whilst providing such a bookful of wonders as would have suited most novel readers, before Walter Scott improved their tastes. It is a bombastic fiction, founded on a few facts; somewhat amusing when read on the spot, from the cool impudence of the writer, who takes for granted in every page the enormous gullibility of his readers.'—Vol. i. 245—249.

While we are on the subject, we may as well introduce here the estimate which the writers of 'A Winter in the Azores' have formed of Dr. Webster's work, an American visitor to St. Michael's, and who published his description of the Island in 1821.

'It is chiefly geological, but contains much amusing information on the manners, customs, and religious ceremonies of the people. Twenty years have made changes in the habits of the wealthier classes, who seem to be now much more like other wealthy people, all over the civilized globe, than they were when Dr. Webster wrote. He says, that glass windows were then hardly known; that chairs had been very recently introduced, the richer people sitting cross-legged on the floor, or on a platform built on one side of the apartment and raised about a foot from it, covered with a carpet and projecting from the wall nearly to the centre of the room, and called 'estrado.' He says, also, that there were no carriages, except a few cabriolets for visiting; that the 'morgados' (the Azorean 'squires') were slovenly and dirty; that it was a rare thing to meet with a person of any class who could read or write with accuracy; and that gentlemen attended ladies in the streets, with cocked hats and swords, &c. Now, all but the poor look through glass windows, and sit on chairs; the streets are clean, so are the 'morgados;' there are carriages where the roads are good; and an inability to read and write, among the richer sort, is unusual. The cocked hats and swords are replaced by round black beaver hats, canes, and the ordinary covering of civilized man.

'Of course Dr. Webster, as an American, ascribes all indolence and ignorance to priests, or to the system of entail; but whatever were the causes, the love of St. Michael's oranges by us English seems to have overcome some of the effects, and to have wrought the gradual change. St. Michael's scatters her golden fruit all over Great Britain; it is to be seen in shop-windows in every street of every city and town, and piled against the casements of every little village shop in the remotest districts; and in return, she sends the islanders the means of sitting on chairs, looking through windows, riding in carriages, learning to read and write, and of importing the last female fashion from Paris, or the most recent absurdity in man's dress from London. Dr. Webster had every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the island and its inhabitants, and he has made good use of his advantages.'

—Ib. pp. 147—149.

It is pleasing to contemplate the gradual improvement of any given portion of the species which seemed doomed to perpetual semi-barbarism, and especially to know that the social state advances in proportion as the human faculties are awakened by commercial intercourse. Such intercourse, thanks to the energies of modern science, will ere long become far more intimate, and in its extending circle at length embrace the whole world, nor leave in it a single inhabited nook that shall be unvisited by its benefits.

St. Michael's will soon be as celebrated for the sanative qualities of its volcanic baths, and its health-breathing atmosphere, as it is now for its oranges. This 'Winter in the 'Azores' will be the means of turning the languid eyes of many an invalid to its lofty mountain shores, though some of the more timid, perhaps, may be deterred from encountering the perils of its landing-place, which is at Ponta Delgada, a principal town in St. Michael's, whose bordering coast and roadstead at the western point bristle with black rocks.

'Against these the surf was dashing with a long groaning sound; while at intervals along the coast, wherever the sea broke on the rocks with greater force, jets of foam were thrown high into the air, and blown abroad by the wind or scattered on the black lava.'—Ib. p. 19.

The boat which received our voyagers from the schooner in which they sailed is well described, and the nine jabbering boatmen who manned it, all talking and hallooing at one time, make us tremble for their fate.

'The boat was like a rough unpainted wherry of coarse timbers, which, from their size, gave it the appearance of a larger vessel cut down to the size of a boat; and was furnished with two small decks or cuddies fore and aft, and four cross benches. It had four oars,—long unhewn branches of trees, like irregular hop-poles,—working on a slab with a hole in it, over a peg in the gunwale. One man stood and another sat at each oar, pulling and pushing without reference to stroke. They were healthy, handsome, muscular fellows, with tawny feet and legs that never wore shoe or stocking. They wore loose linen trowsers, and all sorts of upper garments,—such as the left-off jacket of an English sailor, a speckled Guernsey frock, a rough monkey-coat, or a sea-captain's faded silk waistcoat, buttoned tightly over a scarlet woollen shirt.

'Their head-dresses were equally piebald,—scarlet caps, hats of black glazed canvas and sunburned straw, and the conical caps of party-colored worsted knit by the natives.

'Notwithstanding all their apparent confusion they manage their boats skilfully, and are admitted to be excellent boatmen: they swim, too, like fish. 'If de wave fill de boat, sare' (was Peter the Italian mate's parting advice), 'you catch hold of a Portugee, and stick to him; you no be drowned.'

'Now the landing-place at Ponta Delgada, which in smooth weather is commodious enough, has this difficulty when a surf, such as I have described, was bursting over the rocks.

'The steps are within a small basin, and the entrance to this basin being at the side, when the surf is high, you are either in the dilemma of being forced too far on shore, or you may be sucked back into the deep water before you can turn the corner; in either of which events it is probable that your boat would be swamped, and hence the useful caution of our friend, Peter Becco.

'As we approached the landing-place, a crowd of persons had collected to watch our proceedings; who, as we afterwards learned, were anticipating the amusement of seeing us swamped. Among them, on the parapet-wall of the quay, a bare-legged fellow stood ready to fling a coil of rope to us in case of accident. We sat on the stern deck, which was on a level with the water; and on which, also, immediately behind us, the young man who steered the boat squatted on his heels. He was a handsome lad, with a clear dark skin, black eyes, and a youthful moustache. His commands were incessant; as the waves carried us towards the shore or receded, he gave his different orders, and accompanied his rapid words with corresponding expressions of face and most energetic actions.

'A heavy wave, which had followed us for some distance, and finally broke astern, sweeping clean over our stern sheets, and swilling the bottom of the boat, was a signal to our men to turn her head to the waves, and wait for smoother water,—their long oars being lightly dipped to keep her in proper trim. Every seventh wave, as is well known to those who have landed through surf, is said to be the critical one, after which the water becomes smoother. This our boatmen obviously disregarded, and trusted rather to their well-practised eyes than to a rule of uncertain application. Having waited a due time, our coxswain gave his orders, and we turned about to make a pounce for the entrance. Another sweeping wave came after us, and bore us along like a swing; the men lay on their oars, and as the back-water sucked the boat backwards pulled with all their vigor: another wave followed; again they lay still, till, the back-water returning, a cheer from the steersman urged them to a final effort; with all their heart and strength they once more struggled against and slowly overcame the force of the recoiling sea, and round we came into the basin in gallant style. The thunder of the enormous waves that rolled before us on the rocks—the roar of breakers behind—the gurgling of the back-water—the bubbling of the sea—the hissing of the froth—the vociferous cheers of the steersman, stamping out his orders to his men—the breathless hurry of the boat's crew pulling for their lives—their struggle for victory over the power of the mighty waters, and their exhilarating triumph of success as we turned from the noisy crash outside to the muffled stillness within the basin, was a delicious piece of excitement, such as seemed at the time worth all the petty annoyances of a stormy passage, for the sake ing.'—Ib. pp. 20—24.

We cannot follow our travellers through their various adventures, nor can we allow them space in our pages to tell their own story; but shall confine ourselves to what relates to the main object—the recovery of health—and the importance of the Azores as affording to invalids a natural sanatorium.

The Furnas will therefore demand our first attention. Furnas, in Portuguese, signifies caverns. From Villa Franca, where the Messrs. Bullar took up their first temporary residence, the Valley of the Furnas was distant about twelve miles. We pass over their journey to this extraordinary spot, undoubtedly of volcanic origin, as well as the island of St. Michael's and the whole group which have obtained the name of the Azores. The writers thus describe the warm baths which are the great attraction of the Furnas.

'It is the fashion to take these early in the morning, and after a draught from an iron-spring, to return, with what appetite you may, to a late breakfast. We adopted the plan of the natives, and found it to be a very good one. The warm springs, or caldeiras, are about a mile from this house. In going to them, you pass over two broad streams, one of them so strongly impregnated with iron, as to dye every stone that it touches, and all the vegetation within its reach, of a bright orange color; and the other, an ordinary brook, having some sulphur in its composition, that tinges the stones over which it flows with a dull yellowish grey. The road is like an English lane, now dirty enough, with cottages and banks on each side, brambles, ferns, grass, and moss in the hedges; and here and there a few lanky stems of cane straggling through the brambles.

'As you approach the springs, you see clouds of vapour, in three or four places, rising like peat smoke to a height of twenty or thirty feet, according as the day is warmer or colder, and sometimes stretching away even to the edge of the mountains. At the end of the lane the ground becomes white, and the bank on one side is streaked with yellow and red, is warm to the touch, and smells strongly of sulphur. The spot where the springs flow is a very irregular hill, and the soil, which in some places is loose, and in others of the consistency of pipe-clay, is broken into all kinds of shapes; and, where there is no vegetation, is colored glaring white and yellow. The principal caldeira is a sulphurous one. The water comes hissing and boiling out of the ground into a basin about ten feet across, from which it flows through small channels of stone to supply the baths. It bubbles up through a loose bottom of broken rock; and the column of water in the centre, like the small Icelandic Geysers described by Dr. Henderson, is usually three feet high, gradually lessening towards its edges until it merely ripples and undulates on the margin of the basin.

'Suppose a conglomeration of half-a-dozen London New River Company fire-plugs, spouting up their water into a large shallow basin, well furred with white stony matter, and then suppose this huge basin set on some enormous hidden fire, and made to boil at a rapid rate, and

you will have as good an idea as I can convey to you, of the principal caldeira in this valley. But you will still want the concomitants that give something like sublimity to the boiling caldron of the Furnas. You must possess yourself with a feeling of insecurity,—you must imagine that it is just possible that the crust on which you stand may give way, and divulge the hidden force below; for the ground trembles, and a pumping sound, like that of a powerful engine at a distance far below you, is going on with great regularity of movement, impressing you with the conviction that the ebullition on the surface of the ground is only the result of this pumping, and that the power at work beneath your feet, would, if it were not for the vents you see about you, blow up the whole surface on which you stand. So great indeed, formerly, was the fear of the islanders in general, that at one time none but the natives of the valley came to this place; and it was not until the intelligence and enterprise of the father of the present vice-consul of the United States had brought him to the spot, and had thereby gradually weakened the prejudices which the citizens entertained against it, that his example was followed, until at length the Furnas became what it now is, the Baden Baden of the Island of St. Michael.'—Ib. pp. 111—114.

Again:—

'After looking at the caldeiras, we took our bath, and it certainly was never my good fortune before to bathe in an *invigorating* warm bath. It produced a feeling of strength instead of lassitude, and the skin seemed not alone to have been cleansed and rendered most agreeably smooth, but to have been actually renewed.

'While bathing, our man cooked eggs for us in one of the small boiling springs, and we afterwards went to the iron-spring for a draught. This flows from a stone spout into a hollow stone basin, and then trickles down a bank into a stream below: it has a strong but not disagreeable iron flavor, effervesces slightly, and is extremely grateful and refreshing. The bath and the spring seemed the two things best suited to the outside and inside of man, on first rising from his bed; natural luxuries when in health, natural remedies when sick; —luxuries without after-pain, remedies without misery in taking them;—both which evils seem to be inseparable from the luxuries and the remedies of our own invention. Most invalids feel that before-breakfast existence is burdensome; but this bath and draught of liquid iron were as a breakfast in producing serenity and happiness, and were more than a breakfast in giving warmth and briskness, and a feeling of health, as of the flowing of younger blood through the veins; and instead of destroying the power of making another they rather increased it many fold.'—Ib. pp. 116—118.

Quitting Villa Franca, which they did on a fine morning in April, the travellers bent their way to the caldeiras at Ribeira Grande. We pass over the episode of Maria the Maid of the Mountain; nor shall we describe the bathing-house built by the town's people at Ribeira Grande for the good of the public;

it is more important to direct the reader's attention to the following.

'The accommodations for bathers are coarse and clean, and, in this moderate climate, sufficient. In one corner of each room is a raised bench, on which you may dry and dress youself. Manoel, as he goes out, closes behind him a pair of tall folding-doors, having a semicircular opening above them, through which the light and wind find their way, and chinks which were not detected outside become apparent. But when you have subsided into your bath, you listen to the gusts of wind that sweep through the crater, and shake the tiles above your head, with the same feelings of complacent defiance with which you regard from a warm English bed the 'windy suspirations' in your bed-room chimney-pots. The slight fanning of the wind upon your face, so far from being unpleasant, is an agreeable accompaniment; and as the sulphur-water stimulates the skin, and, instead of depressing in the least measure, invigorates the whole body, so as to make shivering impossible, you become quite insensible, on stepping out, to the few draughts and eddies that blow about the room.

'The sulphur-waters of these caldeiras are not so luxurious as those at the Furnas; and the supply is comparatively small and inefficient. They are more acid, and less soapy; but quite as invigorating. In taste they resemble smoky warm water which has been slightly acidulated. The acid which the waters contained seemed, from the taste, to be free sulphuric acid, and thus they differ considerably from the sulphurous springs at the Furnas, which are alkaline; these corrugate the skin, instead of giving it the silky smoothness produced by the Furnas waters. I had no means of testing it, except by taste. Sulphuric acid does exist in a free state in a few mineral springs. One of these is in the mineral waters of Byron, Genessee county, ten miles south of the Erie canal, which are called there the 'Sour Springs.' It also exists with free muriatic acid in the cascades of Vinaigre, in Columbia. The gases which rise from these caldeiras are probably carbonic acid gas, with a small quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen; there is the 'boiled egg' smell of the latter. The samples which we collected extinguished flame.

'In addition to the sulphur springs, there is one strongly impregnated with iron, which supplies one bath. This may be taken at a higher temperature than the sulphur baths. It dyes the bottom and edges of the pond in which it rises a deep orange color, and is extremely rough, and almost rasping to the skin.'—Ib. pp. 271—273.

One more reference to the baths at the Furnas, and we must close the volumes and our notice of them with reluctance.

'The choice of baths at the springs lies between sulphur, iron, and the mixture of both. There are four bathing houses: one belonging to the Baron de Laranjeiros, which is the best; another open to the public, which is the worst; a third, the property of the American vice-consul Mr. Hickling; and a fourth, which contains the iron and sulphur waters mixed, or the cold iron water alone, and called the

Misturas, the property of I know not whom. In each bathing-house there is a reclining board; and the custom of many of the Azoreans is to take their baths at a high temperature, to get into a profuse perspiration, dress, wrap themselves in a huge cloth cloak, and lie their lengths on the board for a period varying from a quarter of an hour to a whole one: after this, to envelope their mouths and neck, and occasionally the entire head, in a pocket-handkerchief or napkin, that they may imbibe no breath of cold air on their way home; and sometimes on their arrival there to lie down once more and perspire again. But in neither of these habits have we followed them in our daily baths.

'The most agreeable temperature for the sulphur baths is from 92° to 95° Fah.; hotter than this they are debilitating, and much cooler, chilly. The mixture of sulphur and iron, as it is more stimulating, may be made somewhat cooler; but a temperature between 90° and 95° is the most pleasant.

'Never has it been my good fortune to bathe in so luxurious a bath as the unmixed sulphur-water. If any thing could possibly be found to reconcile one to earthquakes, it is assuredly to be found in the baths of the Furnas. Here they are, whenever you may choose to enjoy them, by night and by day, in cold and in heat, summer and winter, always the same, welling from their source in never-failing abundance; open at all hours, free to all, and free of cost. But let it not be supposed that we are in a Bath pump-room, with its marble luxuries. Nothing can be less inviting than the appearance of these bathing-houses, which, for the most part, have a subterraneous aspect; but, except to the fastidious, they are all sufficient for the one purpose for which they have been built,—that of amply enjoying the waters. And let a rheumatic and sour-tempered Englishman, exercising his national privilege of grumbling to its fullest extent, and whose every word and work, complexion, gait, and temper, whose very clothes, hanging on the pegs of the bath-room, indicate bile, after despising the appearance of these rooms, slowly, quietly, otter-like, subside into a sulphur-bath, tempered by old John Quiet, to the moderate warmth of 95°; and then let him confess whether he be not at once a wiser and a better man, whether his discontent has not lessened, his lust for purple and fine linen vanished, and his care for marble and pump-rooms faded away.

'My bath to-day was unexceptionable. The word sulphur-bath is an unattractive word, reminding you of brimstone and matches, and offensive fumes; but the truth is, that had it not been ascertained from analysis that there is sulphur in the composition of the water, you could scarcely believe that any could be found. It is soft and soapy to the touch, delicately smooth, and slightly oleaginous on the skin, free from smell, of an opaline look, is refreshing and detersive, and probably quite as pleasurable to the bodily feelings as were those translucent baths of milk, which, after affording ease and relaxation to the limbs and body of a late noble duke, are said to have afterwards appeared in smaller vessels on the breakfast-tables and tea-trays of the 'humbler classes' of London society.'—Vol. ii. pp. 168—170.

'The diseases for which these baths are particularly suitable are gout and rheumatism, when chronic; all affections in which the skin is dry and harsh, and does not perspire naturally, whether from actual disease of the skin itself, as in pityriasis, &c., or where this state of the skin is merely a symptom of internal disease, as in diabetes, kidney dropsy, &c. For that form of dropsy, attended with an albuminous secretion from the kidneys, and depending (as Dr. Bright has shown) on diseases of those organs, these baths would be deserving of a lengthened trial; for the principal means which medical art has yet suggested, and which seems feasible, must be directed to improve the condition of the skin, and baths in which the patient can remain, if necessary, several hours daily, and which produce such softness of the skin, would seem to supply the great desideratum in the cure. They are likewise suitable in all chronic diseases of the skin: if these affections are acute, or if there is much attendant inflammation, the stimulus may be injurious, and their use should be delayed. Where the lithic acid diathesis exists, and the deposition seems to depend on indigestion or on a gouty state of the body, or the individual lives too freely, or errs particularly in the quantity of his food, and is unwilling to undergo the necessary restrictions, these baths may be tried. On the contrary, in the phosphatic diathesis, where there is much irritability and debility of the body, or when there seems a breaking-up of the system, they would probably be injurious, as well from their alkaline nature as their heat.

'In a general plethoric state of the system, in persons (generally of the sanguineous temperament) about the middle of life, who are growing fat and abdominous from indulging in full living and in indolence, and who are often on the verge of disease, these baths, used 'ad sudorem,' reduce this plethoric condition, and enable the individual to persevere in his old habits with greater impunity than he otherwise could. The German physicians recommend similar baths in a condition which they call abdominal plethora (unterleibsvollblütigkeit), by which term they explain the occurrence of indigestion, biliary derangements, hæmorrhoids, &c., in elderly persons who live freely, on the supposition that the venous circulation in the abdomen is sluggish and obstructed.

'There are other diseases in which the propriety of the use of these baths is more doubtful: they may prove beneficial or otherwise, according to the peculiar nature of the case. Such are the whole class of nervous diseases. In a case of hemiplegia from apoplexy, in a plethoric gentleman who would not reduce his diet sufficiently, these warm baths were certainly somewhat beneficial in restoring the lost power: but in a case of similar paralysis, arising from another cause (ramollissement of the brain in an elderly lady), they were decidedly injurious. In hemiplegia from recent apoplexy, and also in determinations of blood to the brain in plethoric and strong persons, it would be unsafe to recommend these baths; but in such determinations of blood to the head as weakly and debilitated persons are subject to, where there are a feeble pulse, cold feet, and general want of power, their

cautious and moderate employment is likely to prove beneficial, by equalizing the circulation without exhausting the strength.'

—Ib. pp. 353—355.

One anecdote we must quote, and with a hearty laugh, commend 'A Winter in the Azores' to the patronage of our readers.

'Leaving the shore for the town, we looked into several cottages and chatted with their good-humored inmates. In one of these I saw, to my great surprise, a print of Alderman Wood fixed to the black lava wall. The print, which was as big as half a newspaper, was a coarse woodcut, changing the respectable aldermanic face, which cannot fail to belong to so worthy a functionary, into a visage so ungentle and grim as almost to justify the woman's answer to my query of—'Whose face is that, Senhora?'—'Ah! Senhor, he ó diabo.'—(Why, sir, 't is the devil.)'—Vol. i. pp. 212, 213.

After this, who does not sigh and say, 'What shall I do to be for ever known?'

Art. IV. Palestine. *The Physical Geography and Natural History of the Holy Land.* By John Kitto, Editor of the Pictorial Bible; *Illustrated by one hundred and seventy-one Woodcuts, by the most eminent Artists.* London: Charles Knight and Co., Ludgate Street, 1841.

2. Palestine. *The Bible History of the Holy Land. By the same; Illustrated with three hundred and sixteen Woodcuts, by the most eminent Artists.* London: Charles Knight and Co. 1841.

BIBLICAL readers are under considerable obligations to the author and publisher of the valuable works whose titles we have just transcribed, and which make a welcome addition to the store of information previously communicated to the public in the notes to the Pictorial Bible. It is pleasing to believe, that as the opportunities of obtaining a knowledge of the materials of Bible illustration are multiplied, the number will be multiplied of those who take an intelligent interest in the study of the Holy Scriptures. Publications of the character of those now under review, do not, indeed, constitute the only, or even principal aids to the right understanding of the Scriptures as a divine revelation, intended to awaken and instruct the conscience, and thus become the great instrument of that all-important moral discipline, under which it is essential for man, as a probationer for another world, to live. For this purpose works of a different and, it must be admitted, a higher

kind are necessary; but still, considered in due subordination to that end, the present class of writings has a value which it is by no means easy to calculate, and it is impossible to witness their increasing number, especially when executed with the ability which Mr. Kitto's labors evince, without the liveliest gratification.

Although the titles to the present volumes sufficiently determine their general character, our readers will be gratified with a more particular description of their contents. The 'Physical Geography and Natural History' comprises, in eight chapters and 438 imperial 8vo. pages, a full, elaborate, and carefully digested account of the scenery and zoology of the Holy Land. In the first chapter Mr. Kitto has very judiciously introduced his own labors with an account of the previous 'sources of 'information' on the subject. This is the method of all the more distinguished German authors; and though sometimes, even in their case, made a cloak for pedantry, it would be well were the custom more general in this country, where, unfortunately, writers seem to be anxious that the publications of their predecessors should be consigned to oblivion. Mr. Kitto has, however, done justice to his own production, and duly accredited his own originality by the course which he has taken, and we should have been pleased to have given some extracts from the chapter, but the quantity of other matter we have to render an account of forbids it. We must content ourselves with observing, that the reader will find in this chapter, and in the supplementary notes (which are, we believe, in every instance deserving of very careful perusal, particularly by students), succinct notices of the Hierozoicon of Bochart; 'Arboretum Biblicum,' 'Sacra Phytologia,' 'Herbarius Sacer,' and 'Hortus Aromati-'cus' of Ursinus; Hiller's Hierophyticon, the Hierobotanicon of Olaus Celsius; the Physica Sacra of Scheuchzer; Harmer's 'Observations;' Taylor's 'Expository Index,' and 'Frag-'ments;' Paxton's 'Illustrations of Scripture,' and Dr. Harris's Natural History of the Bible, the last edition of which, published in this country, was very much enlarged and improved, though printed in a smaller and more beautiful form, by the care and diligence of its able editor, Mr. Josiah Conder. In addition to these compilations, numerous original works of travellers in Palestine are also briefly treated of. For their titles, particularly those of the works of the older travellers, we must refer to Mr. Kitto's pages, who has furnished his readers with a rich bibliographical treat; it will be sufficient here to observe, that all the most distinguished modern names, as Shaw, (1722); Volney, (1733—1735); Pococke, (1738); Hasselquist, (1752); Clarke, (1801); Seetzen, (1805—1807); Burckhardt, (1810—1812); Irby and Mangles, (1818); Richardson,

(1818); Buckingham, (1821); and Elliot (1839), who have furnished contributions to our knowledge of the physical geography and natural history of the Holy Land, have honor rendered to them in proportion to their claims upon the public gratitude.

The third chapter gives a view of the geology and mineralogy of Palestine, which contains information of much interest. We hardly know why that portion of the following chapter, which treats of volcanic indications, was separated from this, with which it is so closely connected, but the arrangement can occasion no material disadvantage, and the account (pp. lxxv. —lxxvii.) of the hot springs, besides the interest which it possesses in itself, is valuable, as reminding geologists of the presence of volcanic agency in them, and the consideration due to thermal waters in geological investigations.

The seventh chapter is entitled 'History of the Months,' and is, on every account, deserving of the attention of the studious reader. Mr. Kitto has, in the commencement of this chapter, made honorable mention of the Calendaria of Buhle and Walch, from which he has derived a portion, but by no means the greater part, of the materials of the chapter. It is more easy to commend this chapter than to point out another instance of mixed compilation and original matter equally deserving of attention. Hardly any thing of interest appears to have escaped the author's mind, and the thermometrical observations of Mr. Turner, which we do not remember to have seen noticed elsewhere, though extremely valuable, are here brought forward to give completeness to the calendarial information which is furnished. Of the value of this portion of the work no one can judge who has not habitually consulted it. It is also richly illustrated with wood engravings.

But our readers will, by this time, desire to peruse a specimen of the work under review. From so large a production it is not easy to select one—and for more we have not room—which will do justice to the work; and yet among many which are full of interest it is difficult to choose. Our readers are, perhaps most of them, aware, that the lamented Burckhardt first broached the idea, since so generally adopted, and, indeed, represented upon the best continental maps, that through the great valley, which stretches from El Akaba towards the Dead Sea, the waters of the Jordan once rolled. This hint of Burckhardt's was received as offering the best explanation which a general survey of the country suggested, of what must have been the former state of things, and seemed to confirm what was considered to have probably taken place when Sodom and the other cities of the plain were destroyed by fire, as described in the book of Genesis. Recent observation has, however, not merely thrown

doubt over this explanation; it may be said to have overturned it altogether. The learned and able author of the work before us, using the materials which were alone accessible when his work was commenced, coincided with others in Burckhardt's view, and it was not till after careful consideration that he was willing to renounce it. The following extract gives his present views upon the subject:—

'We have on more than one occasion stated as a fact, to which we attached much importance, that the great valley, which extends between the Dead Sea and the Elanitic Gulf, was probably a continuation of the ancient valley of the Jordan, by which the river made its way to the Red Sea, before its waters were arrested in the Asphaltic Lake. This opinion was first started by Burckhardt, and was adopted by others who afterwards visited the valley. Burckhardt, however, did not *see* how this valley connected itself with the Dead Sea. Irby and Mangles, who did so, observe, that the plain at the end of it 'opens considerably to the south, and is bounded at the distance of about eight miles by a sandy cliff, from sixty to eighty feet in height, and which runs directly across, and closes the valley of El Ghor, thus forming a margin for the uttermost limits of the Dead Sea to the southward, when its waters are at the greatest height. We are told that the plain, at the top of this range of cliffs, continues all the way to Mecca without any interruption of mountains.' This fact, confirmed and followed up, is no other than that on which the former conclusion has been lately questioned; and, we are almost sorry to admit, overturned. How it happened that the statement of Mangles was not considered to oppose an obstacle to this conclusion we do not know, unless, as in our own case, from an unwillingness to dwell on this single incident as irreconcilable with an opinion which such a traveller as Burckhardt thought he had good reasons to form; and also perhaps from some vague notion, that these cliffs might prove to be mere sandbanks, thrown up in the course of ages, at high water mark. Count De Bertou examined this matter more closely. As all the passages which bear on the question have been produced in the preceding chapter, we shall not here repeat them. These, it will be recollected, show that the confining southern hills are of sandstone; that there is indeed the broad valley of a river or torrent passing through, or at the end of this chain of hills, but this slopes sensibly *towards* the Dead Sea, and could never, therefore, have been the bed of a river flowing in the opposite direction; that all the torrents and streams, far to the south of this, tend towards the basin of the Dead Sea; and that the point where the waters separate occurs below Wady Mousa, or rather at Wady Talh, about midway between the hills which border on the Dead Sea, and the head of the Elanitic Gulf. All the waters north of this limit tend to the former basin, and all south of the same limit to the latter.

'Professor Robinson* confirms this statement in all essential points.

* *i. e.* Of New York, whose Biblical Researches were noticed in our last

The following passage deserves attention, as explaining something which is rather obscure in the notices of the Count. 'Before us, as we advanced southward, appeared a line of cliffs, *fifty to one hundred and fifty feet in height*,—['fifty or sixty,' *Count B.*]—stretching across the whole broad valley, and apparently barring all further progress. They proved to be of marl—['friable sandstone,' *Count B.*]—and run off from this point—[the western end]—S. S. E., across the valley. All along their base are fountains of brackish water, oozing out and forming a track of marshy land towards the north. Our route now lay along the base of these cliffs, and we came in two hours to the mouth of Wady Jib—[the same which Count De B. calls Wady Araba, but which is here distinguished as a Wady *in* Wady Araba]—a deep valley *coming down from the south* through the cliffs, and showing the latter to be only an offset between the lower plain which we had just crossed, and *the higher level of the same great valley further south.* The name El Ghor is applied to the valley between the Dead Sea and this offset: further south the whole of the broad valley takes the name of El Araba, quite to Akabah. These apparent cliffs I take to be the Akrabbim of Scripture. The Wady Jib begins far to the south of Mount Hor, beyond Wady Gharandel, and flows down in a winding course *through the midst of El Araba, draining off all its waters northward to the Dead Sea.* Where we entered Wady Jib, at its northern end, it is half a mile broad, with precipitous banks of chalky earth or marl, 100 to 150 feet high, and exhibiting traces of an immense volume of water, *flowing northward.* It may be recollected, that the waters of Wady Jarafeh, in the western desert, which drains the south-east part of that desert, far to the southward of Akabah, also flows northward into El Araba, and so of course through Wady Jib. Hence, instead of the Jordan flowing southward into the Gulf of Akabah, we find the waters of the desert, further south than Akabah, *flowing northward into the Dead Sea.* The very nature of the country shows, without measurement, that the surface of the Dead Sea must be lower than that of the Red Sea or Mediterranean.'

'This is still stronger than the statement of Count De Bertou; for while he divides the waters which flow into the Araba, between the Dead Sea and the Elanitic Gulf, Dr. Robinson gives them all to the Dead Sea. But seeing that the statement of the former is the result of an actual observation, it is rather to be received, in this point, than that of Dr. Robinson, which is a conclusion in the absence of such observation.'

Such is the view adopted by our author in the latter portion of the work; and the way in which the whole question is

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number. The works of Dr. Robinson and Count Bertou had not appeared when the earlier portion of that now under review was published, and the promptitude with which Mr. Kitto availed himself of their investigations as first published, though in fragmentary, speaks much in favor of his trust-worthiness as [illegible] his kind.

treated by him is deserving of imitation by all who are engaged in doubtful inquiries. Referring to the subject on a previous page, before he had the opportunity of going fairly into the question, he had said, 'We must honestly confess that we 'have received this announcement with more pain and reluc- 'tance than we ever thought that a mere geographical fact could 'possibly occasion. In the next chapter we shall have a more 'suitable occasion than now offers, of subjecting it to the ex- 'amination which it requires, and to receive it without mur- 'muring, if we find that it must be received; even though, in 'its obvious consequences, it overturns a most satisfactory and 'beautiful explanation on which the mind could repose of very 'serious difficulties, and revives them into greater force than 'they even formerly possessed.' This is the spirit of a genuine student. But we must continue our extract, as one adapted to show the mixed descriptive and philosophical character of the work before us.

'After this the serious and difficult question recurs, which was obviated by the explanation by which the waters of the Jordan were carried to the Red Sea—namely, what became of the Jordan, when, as is generally supposed, it merely passed through and watered the plain which the Dead Sea now covers?—i. Were its waters consumed like those of the Barrady at Damascus, in irrigating the fields and gardens, and in supplying water to the towns of the plain?—ii. May there not have been a lake in this basin in former times to receive the Jordan, and then may not the 'plain' or 'vale' in question mean merely the borders of that lake; according to what appears to be the meaning of Josephus, who seems to speak of the land of Sodom as still existing *as land*, though in a condition sadly altered from its former state? It would not be necessary to suppose that the lake then encroached beyond the channel and ford, which we have already described, and where there are appearances which may be construed to intimate to the geographer, that there was an ancient breach of the waters at that point, whereby the whole country southward, down to the hills, was inundated, as it still seems to be during the season of flood, although the water beyond the ford only remains permanently in the southern lake or back-water. This would give a tract above twenty miles long by ten or twelve broad, beside the borders of the lake, as the land, which was ruined at the overthrow of Sodom, and in which the 'cities of the plain' were situated. In confirmation of this we might point to Genesis x. 19, in which the five cities, by being opposed to Gaza, seemed to be brought together near the present southern extremity of the lake. To this may also be added, that Sodom, at least, could not well have been to the north of the channel formed by the tongue of land; for the short time which was taken by the family of Lot in escaping to Zoar shows it could not have been far from that city, which unquestionably was on the borders of the present southern extremity of the Asphaltic Lake. When viewed

apart from our preconceptions on the subject, there will be found no passage of Scripture which distinctly intimates that 'the plain of Siddim' was submerged. It is described as having become a region of salt, and burning, and bitterness, and desolation, but not *of water*. iii. If neither of the above hypotheses be considered feasible, there seems no alternative but to consider that the overthrow of Sodom was attended by a far greater and more extensive derangement of the earth's surface—by the depression of high level, and the elevation of low ones, through large tracts of country—than has hitherto been imagined, or than the Scripture would lead us to expect. We refrain, at present, from attempting to make up our minds to either of these alternatives, expecting that some further and clearer light may speedily be obtained from the researches which are now in progress, or which we may hope soon to be undertaken.—

Physical Geography, pp. clxxxix., cxc.

The work is largely embellished with cuts, comprising views of interesting scenery, and illustrations in natural history. The plants and animals are admirably figured, and the distinguished names attached to many of them, as designers or engravers, are by no means disgraced by their work. Among the views we might specify those of the cedars of Lebanon, page cccv.; those of Sinai, pp. xlvii. xlix.; the Pool of Siloam, p. cxcvi.; and the Dead Sea, p. clxxiv.; but most of them are beautiful. In a few instances we observed that the source was not acknowledged from which an illustration had been derived, but this is not a general case. It is also some annoyance in consulting the work, that the paging of this volume is all in Roman numerals. The candid reader will remember, that this portion of Mr. Kitto's labors extended considerably beyond the original intention, which was to furnish a physical introduction to the 'Bible History.' We hope that there will soon be occasion for a new edition, when this inconvenience may be done away.

Although the 'Bible History of the Holy Land' is, on the whole, a more important volume than that we have just noticed, still the greater familiarity of its subject will render it less necessary that we should enlarge upon it. Possessing a common subject, at least in part, with Mr. Milman's History of the Jews, the present is a very different and much superior work. In style and beauty of description the palm must certainly be assigned to Milman, but there his advantage ends. Mr. Kitto has treated the history at greater length, and thus, not only have his opportunities of doing justice to many difficult or interesting subjects been greater than those of his predecessor, but the details have admitted of a greater variety and fulness of illustration. The crowning distinction, however, is in the spirit of the history; and it is bare justice to say that Mr. Kitto's work is, of all that have been written on Old Testament

history in our language, the book which we should use in the instruction of our children, and recommend to the conductors of Bible classes. To an unremitting application of every kind of useful illustration, literary, archæological, natural, or scientific, and a courage which allows him to evade no historical difficulty, the author evidently adds a deep reverence for the Scriptures; and the result is, that the work is not merely free from being, what too many of its apparent class have been, the ambuscade of infidelity; it is a valuable addition to the positive literary bulwarks of our faith. Another congenial excellence of the work, but which, it is important to add, is not overdone, is the interest which the author evidently takes in the great characters of Scripture history. The wide difference of age, country, climate, habit, &c., between the Old Testament saints and ourselves, has caused various transactions of their lives to assume, when judged according to modern principles and manners, a questionable, or at times disgraceful character, by no means attaching to them as belonging to ancient days and oriental or early forms of civil and political society; and it is a great recommendation of the present work that on several such occasions, where the infidel, blinded by prejudice, has made haste to the prey, and the christian divine, under an unfortunate combination of ignorance, indolence, and misplaced candour, has joined in the cry, and made a merit of his sin, Mr. Kitto has subjected the apparent scandal to the test of a more appropriate examination than it had received before, and vindicated the object of undeserved reproach. Bad as the world is, a disposition to do full justice to the great characters of antiquity, the men whose moral lineaments stand out in high relief upon the monuments, whether sacred or profane, of the history of mankind, is an essential requisite of the real historian, more *essential* than the most elaborate and most successful efforts of style and diction, though these, in combination with it, can hardly be overvalued.

As specimens of Mr. Kitto's manner of treating historical and other questions, we may refer to his supplementary note on antediluvian chronology, pp. 15—18; his views respecting the nomadic race which overran Egypt at an early period of its history, pp. 34, 35, 83—85; his proposed solution (p. 34) of the difficulty occasioned by the accounts (Gen. xii. 14, 15. xx. 5) of Sarah's detention by Pharaoh and Abimelech; the journey of Moses and Zipporah, Exod. iv. 20—26, p. 161; and, as illustrative of our remarks in the preceding paragraph, his defence of Joseph's administration in Egypt, pp. 122—126. The whole of the fifth chapter, also, which contains an elaborate critical abstract of the Mosaic law, will afford abundant satisfaction on that head.

That Mr. Kitto, by applying his large stores of historical and archæological knowledge to the elucidation of difficult questions in Scripture history, has rendered his book a very important contribution to biblical literature, every candid reader will admit; and that such investigations are not uncalled for his own note on page 124, if such proofs were wanted, sufficiently evinces. When Larcher, for example, in a note in his edition of Herodotus, tom. ii. p. 237, says (we quote from Mr. Kitto): 'When Pharaoh, king of Egypt, possessed himself of the money, cattle, and lands of his people *by the barbarous counsel of a stranger*, whom he had made his minister, and who had espoused the daughter of the high priest of the sun, he touched not the possessions of the priests: and while the people chose rather to make themselves *slaves* than perish with famine, the ministers of the altars felt nothing of the public miseries, and were furnished with corn in abundance;' we have a specimen of that denial of divine providence, and undisguised perversion of the Scripture history which, though happily not so influential in what is considered respectable literature as they formerly were, are still not so entirely suppressed as to render nugatory or superfluous any honest and intelligent attempts to counteract them.

Before leaving this subject we would again observe, that our author's interest in the great characters of Scripture history is secure from the charge of partiality. He is entirely free, and this in a biblical historian is a very important matter, from Milton's pernicious dogma, 'that the practice of the Old Testament saints is the best interpretation of the law and will of God.'

In conclusion, we thank Mr. Kitto most sincerely for his useful labors. If we have spoken of his volumes in terms which some may think too unqualified, we have done no more than express our deliberate judgment of them, after a very careful perusal and consideration. We could have supplied abundant justification of our judgment, had a fuller evidence been necessary. The cuts, as in the former volume, are both numerous and beautiful. The splendid volumes of Laborde and Wilkinson have greatly aided the pictorial richness of the work. It would give us considerable pleasure to hear that it was likely to be followed up with the view of the subsequent period of Jewish history proposed in the concluding number of the present publication.

Art. V. *Capital Punishment: the Importance of its Abolition: a Prize Essay.* By JAMES PEGGS, late Missionary in India. London: Ward and Co. 1841.

IT is fortunate for mankind that all systems, injurious to society at large, have some palpable feature upon which the finger of philanthropy may be laid, to demonstrate its hideousness or deformity. This remark is applicable to politics as well as philosophy. Immense efforts have been recently made, both in England and on the continent, to revive something like admiration, were it possible, for a well administered despotism or aristocracy. The disadvantages, connected with these forms of government, are ingeniously thrown into the shade, or concealed in the back ground. Every picturesque association is awakened, to draw off attention from the innate nature of the monster, which some persons desire that we should either fondle or cherish. But the wisest way to break the charm, whenever we feel its force coming upon us, is just to contemplate that mark of Cain, which an almighty providence will never suffer to be altogether effaced from the forehead of what is wrong. After reading conservative pamphlets, or listening to historical dissertations upon the good old times, which are never to return again, we have been struck with the conduct of our own government, and the general spirit of our legislation, with regard to capital punishment. From the year 1500 to 1640, as we have once before shown, our constitution, nominally popular, was to all intents and purposes autocratic: from the Revolution to the Reform Bill, it never proved itself any thing else than oligarchical. Now throughout both these periods hanging was the order of the day. The elixir which the law put forward on all conceivable occasions, as the remedy for social nuisances, as the safeguard of the rights of person, property, and conscience, —was a rope! Venerable judges, in wigs so religiously large, that had they been seated in the royal oak, there would have been more hair than leaves on it, as Mackenzie observes; sages, whose wisdom has constituted them the very Aristotles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,—legislators, whose mouths opened only to distil the eloquent honey of political knowledge,—nearly all, with one most extraordinary and wonderful assent, recommended the hempen cravat! True it was, that whenever noble blood and gentle extraction happened to have elevated any right honorable scoundrel above the vulgar herd, instead of elevating him still further to the gallows, they lowered his unfortunate head upon a block, on which it was

wered from its body by an orthodox executioner in a black mask, as a French writer says, 'to excite the terror of the people.' Burke ought to have expatiated upon this fact, as another illustration of the sublime, when he was pouring out pails of highly colored Toryism in his Remarks upon the French Revolution. But, as is well ascertained, under the Tudors, an offence, for which a culprit in most countries would have been whipped, led, with fearful certainty, to the gibbet! Capital punishment was the great cannibal of the period;—a political hydra, with many mouths, and one insatiable appetite;—the talisman with which nobles and princes of a certain grade kept their retainers in order;—the awful catholicon of an established church, when she quoted Genesis to explain the sixth commandment, and then assured the guardians of our Draconian code, that *their* killing was no murder! Exceptions there were, as there always were and will be, in the cases of enlightened individuals, whose minds being of nobler altitude than those of their contemporaries, first caught the refulgence of rising light and knowledge, which it requires a long lapse of ages to render national. Harrison assures us that Henry the Eighth, the gallant hero of one division of the History of England by Sharon Turner, executed his laws with such severity, that 72,000 'great and petty thieves were put to death during his 'reign. Under Elizabeth also, rogues were trussed up apace,' at the rate commonly of at least from three to four hundred of them per annum. The curious part, too, of the whole matter is, that robbers and vagabonds rapidly multiplied. Like the results of rat-destroyers in our own day, the vermin which statesmen professed to slay by thousands, multiplied by tens of thousands! Every part of the kingdom swarmed with thieves. Sheepfolds, cottages, mansions, and often castles too, were attacked and plundered with frightful frequency; while Sir Thomas More informs us, that it was no unusual sight to see twenty banditti launched at once into eternity from one and the same gibbet! The following is a genuine poor law act passed 27 Henry VIII.:

'A sturdy beggar is to be whipped the first time,—his right ear 'chopped off the second,—and if he offend a third time (by 'begging) to be sent to the next gaol till the next Quarter 'Sessions, there to be indicted for wandering, loitering, and 'idleness; at which sessions, if convicted, he shall suffer execution of death *as a felon, and an enemy to the commonwealth.*'

The mind of Lord Bacon presents us with an instance of one of those superior intellects to which we have already alluded. 'There are no worse snares,' says he, 'than the snares of laws, 'especially penal. If they be immense for number, and through 'the alterations of times unprofitable, they do not present a 'torch, but spread a net for our feet. There are some penal

'laws fit to be retained, but their penalty is too great: and it is 'ever a rule, that any over great penalty, besides the acerbity 'of it, deadens the execution of the law. *Let there be no ru-* '*brics in blood.*' Well written are these sentences of common sense, then very uncommon: but what was the conduct of the noble writer himself? What drops of mercy distilled from the sceptre of his royal master,—from the enactments of his fellow senators or contemporaneous privy councillors,—or from the sermons and charges of the most reverend and right reverend fathers in God, the prelates in High Commission Courts and Star Chambers in that day? Coke, in his treatise on Criminal Law, after inscribing his margin with these three significant words, *Sta,—perlege,—plora!* 'Stand,—read,—weep!'—and citing the celebrated sentiment from Seneca, that *non minus principi turpia sunt multa supplicia, quam medico multa funera*, goes on to tell his readers 'What a lamentable case it is to see 'so many christian men and women strangled on that cursed 'tree of the gallows; insomuch, that if in a large field, a man 'might see together all the christians that in one year, through-'out England, come to that untimely, ignominious death; if there 'were any spark of grace or charity in him, it would make his 'heart bleed for pity and compassion.' All these, we say again, are fine and affecting words, but nothing effectual was done to stay the plague. Had any real and practical reformer started up to turn words into deeds, he would have presently been hanged, decapitated, 'trussed up apace,' or driven into cruel exile himself, as an intolerably pestilent traitor or heretic. The human race then preyed upon one another. The royal basilisk disposed of the noble snakes, just as these last disposed of lesser ones than themselves; whom they estimated as so many worms of the earth,—and no more. A French author, in 1558, thus describes England and Scotland: 'In these countries you will 'not meet with many great lords, the heads of whose near 'relatives have not been cut off. Truly I would love better to 'be (with reverence to my reader be it spoken) a swineherd, 'and preserve my head; for this evil falls heavily on the heads 'of great lords. You here see noblemen in great pomp and 'magnificence for a time, and, almost on the turn of the hand, 'you see them under the axe of the executioner. On this 'account they have a proverb, which says, that there have been 'many, who if they had remained humble, or in low estate, or in 'exile would have lived securely, and without constraint; but being 'exalted and made great lords, they fell into peril and confu-'sion.' In the course of time, their descendants and successors, a set of 'great lords' also, got the upper hand in these countries; and, trampling upon the people with one foot, whilst menacing the sovereign with the other, they continued to make

all the new laws, and mend all the old ones, after their own fashion. Was it discovered that an aristocracy, with the additional advantage of that old almanack, history, to instruct it, loved public and capital executions less than absolute monarchs? It must, moreover, be recollected, before we answer the question, that its sway commenced under, and continued throughout generations much less barbarous than those, which had been demoralized by the mutilations, and almost infernal savagery (if one may coin such a word for the purpose), of the Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stuarts. Sir William Temple, Addison, and Sir Roger de Coverly, with a constellation of wits, poets, and divines, softened men's manners, and professedly attempted to improve their morals. And now what was the result? From 1688 to 1787, there were no less than SEVENTY THOUSAND EXECUTIONS in Great Britain! At and after the rate of seven hundred capital punishments per annum; or as nearly as possible a couple per diem! Such was aristocratic legislation; or rather the consequences of it; for matters would have been incalculably worse, had not plebeian juries checked in some degree the appetite for human life, which landed magnates would fain have encouraged to its uttermost extent, that pheasants might breed in safety, and that feudalism might keep its preserves uninjured, whether of game, privileges, power, or universal monopoly. We fearlessly appeal to the statutes at large,—to the regulations for protecting hares and partridges,—to our entire fiscal system from the land-tax to the corn laws,—to our public seminaries and institutions,—to the church, the law, the army, and the navy,—to our criminal jurisprudence,—to the malignant hostility with which such men as Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh were met when they vainly attempted for years to modify, however slightly, these crimson stains,—we repeat it, that we appeal to one and all for irrefragable testimony that we have not exaggerated in such statements. For a period of a hundred years, the Moloch of aristocracy, from John o' Groat's House to the Land's End (without including Ireland), devoured its two human sacrifices a day! Three hundred and fifty mornings, without omitting even the Sabbaths from our calculation, in each revolution of our earth around the sun,—the yesterdays and the morrows of that protracted space of time, were all thus horribly marked with the legal extinction of life! No one knowing us will insinuate that we are palliating the culpability and guilt of those who suffered: but we cannot, as public journalists, overlook, without bitter reproach and reprobation, the heinous mistake of those who so wantonly and needlessly inflicted that amount of capital execution. Could the corpses of those cut down from the horrible upas tree of the law, between the reigns

of our third and fourth Williams, be presented to our survey, as Lord Coke observes, in a single enormous plain, we should be reminded of the blasted hosts of Sennacherib, and turn away with execrations from that Aceldama of the oppressors of mankind!

But perhaps we shall be here reminded, that the most distinguished political leader of the day has reaped his best harvest of fame, through his ameliorating that very evil of which we now complain. Two things, however, must be here kept in view; in the first place, the fact that Sir Robert Peel entered into other men's labors: and, secondly, the growth of public opinion in a right direction, which has coerced conservatism to win popularity, by measures, which fifty years ago the House of Lords would have branded as jacobinical or ruinous. The repeated and recorded sentiments of an aged chancellor are well known; nor were Whig lords for a long time much more enlightened, through the inevitable and irresistible operation of the prejudices then, and even now, connected with a coronet. The voices of nations utter thunders at present, where only whispers were heard formerly. Toryism, since the commencement of this century, has sometimes laid aside its nature, and, on set occasions, has bidden very high for popularity. *Skin for skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life;* a maxim which conservatism can act upon for retaining political power; although its predecessors and present allies forgot its spirit towards others, through several successive generations. The schoolmaster nevertheless has at length come abroad not altogether in vain. Much genuine liberalism is about to be appropriated by conservatism, just as if it were in very deed and truth its legitimate offspring. Short memories are what Tories ought without ceasing to pray for. Yet we are almost falling into this ourselves, by not having before brought forward the little treatise which has started these ideas, and which stands at the head of this article. We propose laying before our readers a brief analysis of its contents, and then giving them our own views upon the general theory of punishments.

Sir Edward French Brownhead, of Thurlby Hall, Lincolnshire, on the 22nd of August, 1838, put forth an advertisement, offering the premium of five guineas to any one who should compose the best essay on capital punishments. Our author proved the successful competitor; and hence the present publication. He demonstrates the importance of the subject, even from the admissions of Judge Blackstone, and the heathen who said, *Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est.* The two points proposed for consideration are, 'Whether the civil ma-
'gistrate is at liberty, under the law of God, to dispense with
'capital execution in cases of wilful murder: and whether it be

'expedient to abolish the same, if the law leaves the magistrate 'at liberty to do so?' He shows, that far off as we have, until quite recently, been from correct legislation on this matter, yet that the restriction of the gibbet to actual and wilful murder would accomplish much, as most persons are now ready to admit. Sir Samuel Romilly once said in the House of Commons, that the best, or at least the shortest way to purify our penal code, would be to burn the statutes of the last three centuries. It is remarkable, as Sir Fowell Buxton has observed, that whilst the Plantagenets made four offences capital, the Tudors twenty-seven, and the Stuarts thirty-six, the house of Brunswick has augmented their number by one hundred and fifty-six additional cases; so that 'more crimes were denounced 'as capital under George the Third,' than in the reigns of the three dynasties, preceding the Hanoverian family, combined together. The state of the law, three years ago, had however marvellously improved. Death attached, as the awful penalty, only to high treason, murder, attempts against life by poison or mortal weapons, rape, sodomy, piracy, burglary, arson, endangering vessels at sea, and to the accessories before the fact, as well as to the principals, in these enumerated crimes. The Riot Act, however, involves a capital felony, where there fails to be a dispersion within an hour from the proclamation. Johnson, Franklin, Montesquieu, Adam Clarke, Oliver Goldsmith, Lord George Grenville, the unfortunate Doctor Dodd, and Jeremy Bentham, form a phalanx of respectable authorities on the side of philanthropy and mercy mingled with justice. Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell are added to the list with great propriety. Our essayist then proceeds to prosecute his inquiry through the antediluvian, patriarchal, and Mosaical dispensations. 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall 'his blood be shed,' Gen. ix. 5, 6, is considered by him as rather a declaration of what would generally happen, than as a specific injunction. At all events, he thinks that the principles of christianity appear opposed to capital punishments.

'These principles invest man with a character, which, viewed in reference to his immortality, places his life beyond the powers of human legislation. His life, affecting as it does his eternal destiny, ought to be held sacred; and this sacredness of the life of a criminal would tend to promote its inviolability in society, more than ten thousand public executions. Indeed, the reverse would be the effect of such a prodigal destruction of man.'—p. 28.

He ably maintains similar ground with regard to the precepts and genius of christianity, as well as its principles. But after touching on the prospects of man in a future state, he closes the second chapter with a catena of venerable supporters, com-

mencing oddly enough with William the Conqueror! The words of that wicked man-slayer were these: 'I prohibit that 'any man should be put to death for any cause whatever!' His voice may be the voice of Jacob, but his hands were the hands of Esau. We should as soon quote the dictum of some illustrious highwayman on the excellence of honesty, or a homily of George the Fourth on the beauty of moral virtue, were such a production in existence. These testimonials go to weaken, and not to strengthen a good cause. The maudlin reluctance, by the way, which the last-mentioned sovereign was said to exhibit about affixing his sign manual to death-warrants, might far better have been omitted, for the same reason:

'Haud defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.'

In the third chapter he investigates the second portion of his argument; taking it for granted that the first has been sufficiently and satisfactorily handled. He deems it to be in the highest sense expedient that capital punishments should be altogether abolished, from the bearings of the question upon the interests of political economy. He unveils the sanguinary character of the criminal code of former generations,—at Athens, —in Scythia,—in Macedonia,—Egypt,—and throughout the Roman Empire. We have already glanced at the state of things during the sixteenth century amongst ourselves: but of late years the growth of our middle classes, and the consequent development of a generous public opinion have wrought wonders. Under the gallant Harry, commonly called Henry the Eighth, Hume tells us that '2000 criminals, on an average, 'were executed annually for theft and robbery, besides other 'malefactors.' But since 1820, the executions in England and Wales have been as follows: 372 for the four years ending 1823; 229 for the same period ending in 1827; 230 for the same space of time terminating in 1831; 155 for the four years ending in 1835: altogether presenting a total of 986 in fifteen years, from 1820 to 1835. In London and Middlesex, for the three years ending 1830, there were 52 executions; for the three years closing in 1833, there were 12; and down to 1836, out of 823 commitments, NONE. In 1836, there were only 17 persons hanged throughout England and Wales, of whom six were for murder. These returns, which are borrowed from parliamentary papers, are certainly very gratifying. The celebrated Marquess Beccaria had long ago remarked, that 'the countries 'and times most notorious for severity of punishments, were 'always those in which the most bloody and inhuman actions, 'and the most atrocious crimes were committed; for the hand 'of the legislator and the assassin were directed by the same

spirit of ferocity; which on the throne dictated laws of iron to slaves and savages, and in private instigated the subject to sacrifice one tyrant to make room for another.' The positive inefficacy of sanguinary penalties is made to appear, from the fact, that one of the jury who tried Doctor Dodd was himself within two years afterwards tried in the same court of justice, for the same offence, and suspended on the same gallows. A most worthy and well known Baptist pastor at Bristol, who has inquired in 167 instances of condemned convicts, whether they had ever witnessed executions, received an answer *in the affirmative* from all, with only three exceptions. Montague has shown that in China, just in proportion as the punishments of criminals are multiplied, this enormous and most conservative empire approaches a revolution. Mild laws, therefore, are plainly the most efficacious for suppressing crime. Even Dr. Johnson, opposed as he was to the very sound and shadow of innovation, could pen this observation: 'He who knows not how often rigorous laws *produce total impunity*, and how many crimes are concealed and forgotten for fear of hurrying the offender to that state in which there is no repentance, has conversed very little with mankind.' Another argument, which our author adduces, that capital punishment should be dispensed with, because it is very dangerous in times of popular tumult and revolution, does not strike our minds as carrying much force with it. The use of razors might be protested against upon analogous grounds; namely, that some unhappy operators have applied these instruments to their throats instead of their chins. *Abusus non tollit usus.* Revolution will quickly manufacture fire-arms if it should not happen to find them ready made; and as in the case of firearms, so would it act in that of gibbets. Deductions can never be wisely drawn from periods of insecurity to society. If once mankind have gone so far as to plunge into the horrors of civil war, whether for a day or a year, until the calm returns, nothing can be predicated with accuracy, or answered for, with any thing like satisfaction. The beneficial effects in favor of civilization in general (and so rendering all violent revolutions more and more unlikely), to be derived through the abolition of the fatal penalty, constitutes in our judgment a far weightier consideration. Not that we are led astray by the specious example of Russia, which has graciously substituted the knout for the wheel,—or in other words, a most protracted torture for one which, however dreadful, was at least limited by a certain number of hours: we rather look to Denmark, Tuscany, or Belgium, where popular opinion has been suffered to bring forth precisely that fruit of philanthropy bearing on the matter in hand. In Holland, and some parts of North America, not to omit Tahiti, we may also see similar results. In Iceland none could be found,

long before the constitutional change occurred, to officiate at executions. Paley was always of opinion that barbarous spectacles of human agony harden and deprave public feeling. Pickpockets reap their richest harvests on such occasions.

'The gibbet, with its appendant human scare-crow, was once not an unfrequent object of English scenery, as the banks of the Thames bear witness, even to our own time; where foreigners, entering the beautiful and majestic river, have been shocked at these symbolic horrors of our *raw head and bloody bones legislation*; yet these exhibitions did not prevent, or even diminish, the crime of murder. On the contrary, it went on increasing.'

These lines are a quotation from the work of a fellow-laborer with our essayist in the same cause: and we are also tempted to add an illustration of the injurious effects formerly produced by men hanging in chains, even upon the most interesting sympathies of our nature. There was a criminal once thus exposed near a turnpike, on a road leading from a provincial town in Derbyshire, if we mistake not. His widow, whenever she went to market, used to lock the door of her house; and taking her little children with her to the foot of the gallows, she would there leave them to play, *under the care of their father*, as she callously expressed it, until it was convenient for her to call for them again on her way home! Montgomery mentions this, in a paper published by him on Juvenile Delinquency some years ago.

Mr. Peggs, indeed, has demonstrated what can no longer be denied, that morality suffers by the frequency of capital punishment. Whether the mischief may not by possibility lie *in that frequency*, we think not altogether disproved; although even in this point he has very much shaken us, as we candidly allow. He also considers that the interests of religion are thereby materially injured. Nor must it be forgotten, that sometimes the innocent become victims, to whom of course no reparation can be afforded. Human justice, in adjudging felons to death, reminds us of the lion's den in Horace: *Vestigia nulla retrorsum!* Yet *that* justice is fallible! No form of mortal trial, no mode of collecting evidence, nor skilfulness nor severity in sifting it, can exempt an earthly tribunal from the liability to terrible mistakes. O'Connell once described, in a speech at Exeter Hall, an error of this sort:

'I myself defended three brothers of the name of Cremming, within the last ten years. They were indicted for murder. The evidence was most unsatisfactory. The judge had a leaning in favor of the crown prosecution, and he almost compelled the jury to convict them. I sat at my window as they passed by, after sentence of death had been pronounced; there was a large military guard taking them back

jail, positively forbidden to allow any communication with the three unfortunate youths. But their mother was there, and she, armed in the strength of her affection, broke through the soldiers. I saw her grasp her eldest son, who was but twenty-two years of age,—I saw her spring upon her second, who was not twenty,—I saw her faint, when she clung to the neck of her youngest, who was but eighteen,—and I shrank, what recompense could be made for such agony? They were executed,—and—they *were all innocent.*'—p. 66.

Another similar case of fatal atrocity came many years ago within our own knowledge. A lad of about nineteen suffered the last penalty of the law for stealing a watch. He had been a very depraved youth; but it was afterwards ascertained that he was not the real culprit in that crime. The Home Office, when under the auspices of a living nobleman, who shall be nameless, but to whom an unsatisfactory application was made with respect to this very case, might have won laurels in the days of more palmy Toryism than would now be endured. We cannot forbear citing the following passage from Pastoret: 'The history of mankind is an immense sea of errors, in which a few obscure truths are here and there observed to float. Let it not be urged, then, that almost all nations, in all ages, have punished certain crimes with death. The force of example and of prescription vanishes when opposed to truth. Is it any plea in favor of the barbarous superstition which has sanctioned the sacrifice of man upon the altar of its divinity, that human victims have bled in almost every temple?'

In the fourth and last chapter of the prize essay before us, its author touches again and again on the momentous importance of the point under discussion. He proceeds, also, like another Hercules, to the demolition of objections. He denies, for instance, that the ancient and universal existence of capital punishment, whether for murder or other crimes, can of itself support its propriety. In the same manner he meets all inferences from the Mosaic law; the penalties in the Pentateuch being no more than typical, peculiar, or local, 'adapted to the particular circumstances of the Israelites.' It has been honestly asked, however, 'Whether christianity does not sanction something of the kind, through St. Paul having used the expression concerning a civil ruler, that *he beareth not the sword in vain?* Romans xiii. 1—5.' Most reasonable persons, we think, would here concur with Mr. Peggs, that the apostle only meant to inculcate obedience upon principle to the 'powers that be.' The pressure of truth must be close whenever advocates in opposition are driven in upon the figurative language of Scripture. At all events, it may justly be demanded whether any one in his sound senses would have the temerity 'to rest the authority for putting any man to death upon such a passage?'

Others inquire, whether innocent blood ought not to be avenged,—whether a land is not polluted by suffering a murderer to live,—and whether human life would not be placed in jeopardy by the milder system of secondary punishments? As respects this last query, an answer has been already given. Mercy, and not vengeance, will be found in the long run the noblest safeguard of our species. If it be then questioned as to what substitution may advantageously be proposed for capital punishment, imprisonment for life is offered by our author, and the general mass of those excellent persons ranged in the line of argument under his banner. Jeremy Bentham, no mean philosopher, felt certain that perpetual incarceration and hard labor would leave more profound impressions on the mind of criminals than death. Mr. Hume stated in his place in parliament, that he had witnessed in a Belgian prison 900 persons who had been capitally convicted, whose superintendant assured him that the total absence of executions 'tended greatly to 'soften the dispositions of the mass of the people.' In conclusion, Mr. Peggs appeals 'to jurors and judges, the ministers of 'religion and the nation, the parliament, the advisers of the 'crown, and the sovereign.' We have only room for the following important statement of Mr. Ewart, made in the House of Commons, May, 1837:

'In 1834 the population of France and Prussia was fifty millions, yet the number of capital punishments in those countries, in that year, amounted to only seventeen; whilst in England and Wales, the population of which was only fifteen millions, the executions were thirty-four. This was a proof that as the criminal code got less sanguinary, crimes became less frequent. For five years ending in 1829, the executions in France amounted to 352, and the trials to 1182: but in the five years ending 1834, when the punishment of death was very much lessened, the executions were 131, and the trials 1132; thus showing that as capital punishment decreased, crimes also decreased. This was shown in the case of Belgium. For the four years ending 1829, the executions were seventeen, and the trials forty-nine: while in the four years ending in 1834, there were no executions, and yet trials had decreased, for they were then only forty-one.'—p. 98.

In these instances, the results are the more extraordinary, when we take into account, that the latter period was a time of intense political excitement, accompanied with heavy commercial pressure; as also, that population had increased, instead of having diminished.

It now only remains for us to offer a few remarks upon that general theory of punishments which we venture to defend as founded upon solid principles. We have endeavored to give a full and impartial outline of the essay before us,—which indeed commands our admiration, as to its spirit and style altogether;

[illegible]at there is exceedingly little as to its arguments requiring [illegible]to express any real difference of opinion. The absolute [illegible]ror with which we regard every thing approaching *frequency* [illegible]capital punishment can hardly fail to appear, we should [illegible]agine, from our remarks at the commencement of this article. [illegible]at as already intimated, we can conceive it possible that cer[illegible]n rare occasions may happen when an execution, clearly [illegible]lled for by the sober, reflective, and religious sections of the [illegible]mmunity, and carried through with appropriate solemnity, [illegible]uld be productive on the whole of more good than harm. [illegible]w all that we should contend for is, that society *has a right* [illegible]inflict such a punishment under the implied circumstances. [illegible]e whole question seems to resolve itself into one of expediency [illegible]er all. Penalties are the appointments of law; which, to be [illegible]cially correct and beneficial, must repose upon the two con[illegible]tions of equity and utility. Where the word of God is silent, [illegible]e are compelled to apply to the next best fountain of wisdom [illegible]n the subject. Capital, and even too severe punishments of a [illegible]econdary sort, are obviously at variance with the spirit of a [illegible]ivine revelation, which has taught mercy to rejoice against [illegible]dgment. Nevertheless, the Scriptures, as it appears to us, [illegible]lo not prohibit society from taking away the life of an indi[illegible]vidual where necessity demands it. We are only bound to re[illegible]member a rule, as true in morals and politics as it is in poetry, *Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus:* in other words, let [illegible]no man be put to death unless equity and utility, beyond all [illegible]doubt, require it. With respect to the former, it 'grows out,' as Burke observes, 'from the great rule of equality, which is 'grounded upon our common nature, and which Philo, with 'propriety and beauty, calls the Mother of Justice. All human 'laws are, properly speaking, only declaratory; they may alter 'the mode and application, but have no power over the sub'stance of original justice. The other foundation of law, which 'is utility, must be understood not of partial or limited, but of 'general and public utility, connected with, and directly derived 'from our rational nature; for any other utility may be that of 'a robber.' We are friendly to the utilitarian hypothesis just so far, and only so far, as it is supported by, or does not run counter to revelation. With regard to the unrevealed will of God, it would seem that the το δεον, the thing which ought to be done, is to be gathered by man from the goodness of his Maker, and from the general tendencies of human actions. Inasmuch as the former is unlimited and perfect, none can deny but that He designs the greatest happiness of all his sentient creatures. He wills that the aggregate of their enjoyments shall find no other bounds than those which are inherent in our finite and imperfect nature. From the probable effects of any indi-

vidual case of punishment, for instance, on the greatest happiness of our race, as well as from the tendencies of human actions to increase or diminish that aggregate, we may safely infer the mind of the Almighty, which He may not have vouchsafed to express or reveal in the inspired volume. There is much, as we are well aware, to be said in explanation of these views, had we sufficient space, or were the present occasion a suitable one for that purpose.

Blending these principles with the ideas of Montesquieu, we are friendly to his scheme for estimating the merits of any criminal code. He would derive all punishments from the peculiar nature of the crimes committed, as nearly as possible. He classifies them under the four heads of offences against religion,—against manners,—against the peace of society,—and against the security of the citizens. Under the first class he holds, that in matters relating to the Divinity, where there is no public act, there is no ground for accusation. In such cases the affair lies solely between the Creator and his creature: the magistrate can have nothing to do with it, without introducing an inquisition which is highly impolitic, for it destroys the liberty of the people by arming against them the united zeal of every timid and intolerant conscience. The second class of offences will only require corrective penalties drawn from the nature of that which is to be prevented; such as deprivation of all those advantages which society has connected with mere external purity of manners,—shame,—public infamy,—expulsion, or even in extreme cases, expatriation. The crimes of the third class require such punishments as most tend to the reformation of unquiet spirits, and the bringing them back to established order. But the penalties of the fourth and last class of offences seem those which should be more strictly denominated punishments. They arise from a sort of *lex talionis*, which requires that the society should withdraw its protection from him who has deprived, or endeavored to deprive, another of that protection. The French philosopher would here carry out his principle much further than we feel disposed to go, looking to the genius of the New Testament. Yet nevertheless, the *suprema salus populi* must not be overridden altogether: or else, what becomes of the right of self-defence, the guardianship of civil or religious liberty, and the like? If a second Guy Fawkes were to arise, we can conceive that his solemn execution, more especially if capital punishments only occurred once or twice in a generation, might produce deep impressions on the national mind, and prevent any future imitators. We may concur, as intimated before, with Montesquieu, *in certain rare and strongly defined instances*, that this sort of penalty is derived from the nature of things, is founded in reason, and has a direct reference

the very principles themselves of good and evil. A citizen, abstractedly speaking, 'deserves death when he has violated the public security so far as to have deprived another of life. But this punishment of death ought to be regarded as *an extreme remedy for diseased society.* It may sometimes happen, that when the public security with regard to property' (as in the case of aggravated arson, injury of ships at sea, or a few other instances) 'has been invaded, there may be reasons for inflicting capital pain; yet it were perhaps wiser, and would be certainly more agreeable to the nature of things, if the punishment even here were confined to the loss or forfeiture of property. However, as it usually happens that the property of others is attacked by those who have none of their own, corporal punishment supplies, of necessity, the place of pecuniary.'

Whether we are so happy as to secure the coincidence of a majority of our readers, or otherwise, all will be of one mind with regard to the importance of having the whole question of capital punishments more and more sifted, analyzed, and discussed. Considerable improvements have marked even the present year; and we confidently refer to the speeches of Mr. Kelly and Lord John Russell, as evincing how strongly the humanity of liberalism is penetrating the public mind, without respect to personal bias or party interests. Meanwhile, whenever autocrats abolish the infliction of death on the scaffold in their dominions, or conservatism in a free country becomes a late and reluctant convert to the expediency of mercy rather than vengeance pervading our criminal code, we claim fearlessly the honor for popular principles, of having taught both despotism and oligarchy that important lesson, to which their respective systems were once so naturally opposed. We gladly transcribe the language of our ardent and enlightened essayist: Let the politician, the philosopher, the philanthropist, the divine, bring their united wisdom and experience to the elucidation of this subject.—Who can reflect upon the blood shed by unjust and merciless laws, in our own country and in the various nations of the earth, without feeling a deep interest in the prevalence of judicial reform?'

Art. VI. *A Collection of English Sonnets.* By Robert Fletcher Houseman.

As various as the subjects which our native poets have taken for their themes, are the measures in which they have sung them; and an interesting task is it to trace the introduction, one after another, of those varieties of rhyme, which have each been consecrated to verse by our great poet-fathers. At the earliest period of English poetry there was little variety of metre. The octosyllabic, and that fourteen syllable measure, which from its very general use has been designated 'common 'metre,' were the measures exclusively used by Wace, Gaimar, Benoit, St. More, and their contemporaries, in their 'romans,' and the earliest English versifiers copying their style, even to its minutest peculiarities, and, indeed, often translating from them, adopted the self-same forms of rhyme; and thus Robert of Gloster's 'Chronicle' is in the 'common measure,' while Langtoft's Chronicle, as translated by Brunne, is in the lighter octosyllabic. From the same source we derived the six-line measure,—that which is in old psalm-books designated as 'the 'same as the 113th psalm.' From a Saxon source we do not seem to have derived any form of versification: rhyme was unused among the Saxon poets,—but it is not improbable that our noble blank verse may have been formed from their peculiar alliterative but rhymeless verse, an English specimen of which may be seen in the 'Vision of Pierce Ploughman.'

While the Anglo-Norman trouvères were thus content with two, or at most three, forms of versification, their southern contemporaries, the troubadours, revelled in an almost countless variety. Most of their productions were distinguished by a very intricate system of rhyme, and many of them by every extravagance, of which some of our versifiers in the sixteenth century have left us specimens, where pyramidal and lozenge shaped verses attest the laborious trifling of the writers. Still, it would have been strange if, amid the constant experimenting on every kind of verse, something worthy of general adoption had not been discovered, and thus, to the troubadours and their productions we owe the terza rima, and the beautiful seven line stanza, used with such admirable effect by Chaucer in his exquisite 'Floure and the Lefe,' and in many other of his poems; the octave stanza, too, scarcely so well known as it deserves to be, although two admirable poems, though very opposite in character, Mr. Merrivale's 'Orlando at Rounce-'valles,' and 'Anster Fair,' have been written in it; and we

y add that noble stanza, which, from its great master, is med Spenserian. It is probable that the seven line stanza ve the first hint of the sonnet—that most difficult, but most utiful species of short poem, that 'most exquisite gem of the uses,' as an enthusiastic writer has termed it.

Whether the troubadours ever composed the regular sonnet very uncertain, but ere their decline it was naturalized in y, for there are sonnets of Guittone d'Arezzo of as early a e as 1250. The early Italian poets, Dante not excepted, tivated it, and the influence of Petrarch rendered the sonnet, e her who was its chief theme, illustrious throughout all rope. It has generally been considered that the sonnet was roduced into England by the unfortunate Henry Howard, rl of Surrey; but it was known much earlier. It is singular t neither Gower, in his exquisite French poems, nor Chaucer, is English, though from his acquaintance with Italian litera- e he must have well known its form and laws, ever adopted but we find in the works of Lydgate the first English cimen; and we also find that it was called, probably on count of its intricacy as compared with ballad metre, 'balade oyale.' It does not, however, appear to have been used by ydgate as forming a poem in itself, but merely as a stanza; and ne of these, a very good sonnet, is given us by worthy Master tow, as the commencing verse of a poem which he indited on e occasion of the lord mayor and aldermen going 'to Stepney to hunt on May-day.' Lydgate was the last of that band of ets who made illustrious the courts of our later Plantagenets, nd from his time to that of Lord Surrey—full fourscore years —the voice of the English muse was silent.

Although the sonnet, in its rhythmical form at least, had een already introduced, yet its re-introduction must be ascribed o Lord Surrey, who returned from his travels in Italy an en- husiast in every thing Italian. We cannot consider his sonnets qual to his other poems: the sonnet, more than any other pecies of composition, requires a language that has attained its ull perfection, and that was scarcely the case in the reign of Henry the Eighth;—indeed, comparing the productions, prose s well as poetical, of the time of Chaucer with those of the irst half of the sixteenth century, we think our language, on the vhole, had retrograded. It was during the reign of Elizabeth hat our language so rapidly advanced to perfection, and the onnets of the writers of that period are second to none. From he death of Lord Surrey to the time of the 'all accomplished Sidney,' the sonnet—indeed every species of poetry save the ramatic, was neglected; but in Sidney's hands the sonnet be- ame almost Petrarchan in its precision and graceful beauty. How finished and elegant is this—

'With how sad steps, O Moon, thou climb'st the skies!
How silently, and with how wan a face!
What!—may it be, that ev'n in heavenly place
That busy archer his sharp arrows tries?
Sure, if that long-with-love-acquainted eyes
Can judge of love, thou feel'st a lover's case;
I read it in thy looks; thy languish'd grace,
To me, that feel the like, thy state descries.
Then, ev'n of fellowship, O Moon, tell me,
Is constant love deemed there but want of wit?
Are beauties there as proud as here they be?
Do they above love to be loved, and yet
Those lovers scorn, whom that love doth possess?
Do they call virtue there—ungratefulness?'—p. 4.

The deserved popularity of Sir Philip Sidney's sonnets rendered this form of composition all at once a favorite. Spenser, Daniels, Drayton, Raleigh, Lady Pembroke, every writer of poetry except the dramatists, have left us specimens. And one dramatic writer, the first poet of England, like Wordsworth felt

'Twas pastime to be bound
Within the sonnet's narrow plot of ground.'

And how various, and yet, in every mood, how beautiful are the sonnets of Shakspere! Not so rigidly modelled on the Italian form as those of later but inferior writers, but all of them distinguished for that weight of thought, that marvellous affluence of diction, gaining additional richness from its severe condensation, without which the sonnet, however carefully constructed, will be but a mere piece of versification fourteen lines in length. How full of rich 'vernal thoughts' is this—

'From you have I been absent in the Spring,
When proud-pied April, dressed in all his trim,
Hath put a spirit of youth in every thing—
That heavy Saturn laughed and leap'd with him.
Yet nor the lays of birds, nor the sweet smell
Of different flowers in odour and in hue,
Could make me any summer's story tell,
Or from their proud lap pluck them where they grew.
Nor did I wonder at the lilies white,
Nor praise the deep vermilion in the rose;
They were but sweet, but figures of delight,
Drawn after you—you, pattern of all those.
Yet seem'd it winter still, and you away—
As with your shadow I with these did play.'—p. 36.

ow graceful this—

'Oh! how much more doth Beauty beauteous seem,
By that sweet ornament which Truth doth give!
The Rose looks fair, but fairer we it deem
For that sweet odour which doth in it live.
The canker-blooms have full as deep a dye
As the perfumed tincture of the roses,
Hang on such thorns, and play as wantonly,
When Summer's breath their masked buds discloses.
But (for their virtue only is their show),
They live unwoo'd, and unrespected fade;
Die to themselves. Sweet roses do not so:
Of their sweet deaths are sweetest odours made;
And so of you, beauteous and lovely youth,
When that shall fade, my verse distils your truth.'—p. 26.

nd how condensed and beautiful this, so strangely entitled the compiler, 'Personal Regrets.' Regrets! why it is the mph of sweet recollections over sorrowful thoughts, and joy, the lark, out-soaring every cloud that adverse fate had around him.

'When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,
I all alone beweep my outcast state,
And trouble deaf heaven with my bootless cries,
And look upon myself, and curse my fate,
Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
Featur'd like him, like him with friends possess'd,
Desiring this man's heart, and that man's scope,
With that I most enjoy contented least:
Yet in these thoughts myself almost despising,
Haply I think on thee—and then my state
(Like to the lark at break of day arising
From sullen earth) sings hymns at heaven's gate:
For thy sweet love remember'd, such wealth brings,
That then I scorn to change my state with kings.'—p. 24.

he sonnets of Spenser might be more admired, had his fame ed upon them alone, but his longer poems present such a ıxy of beauties, that we pass over his shorter productions. se of Drayton and Daniels are too frequently injured by intness; the same may be said of Donne's. These, too, ough abounding in fine thoughts, are greatly disfigured by ruggedness which, however it may be passed over in other positions, is always fatal to the full effect of the sonnet, se 'linked sweetness long drawn out' is an essential part s character. The sonnets of Drummond have been greatly e think by far too greatly—praised, and it is probable that r superior fluency and polish have been the cause. But

although beauty of versification is necessary to the full effect of the sonnet, rich imagery, and above all, the development of some noble or beautiful thought is indispensable; and these we but seldom find in Drummond. Some of his best are little more than copies of similar ones of Petrarch, and although the generation which admired the vapid sonnets of Mr. Hayley, and the tame sweetness of Charlotte Smith's, viewed those of Drummond as surpassingly excellent, we, in the present day, can yield them only a second or third rate meed of praise.

But what praise can be too high for the sonnets which in this pretty volume stand next?—those of Milton. What glorious gems!—each 'one entire and faultless chrysolite.' That to the nightingale, breathing the very spirit of Petrarch—that to Vane, and that to Cromwell, each in its condensed force reminding us of some noble classical inscription. And those two sonnets, so different to any others in our language—the graceful address to the 'virgin wise and pure,' who 'fills her odorous lamp with 'deeds of light;' and that 'to the religious memory' of her whose 'works, and alms, and all her good endeavor,' 'clad o'er with purple beams,' and led by faith and love, followed,

> 'And spake the truth of thee on glorious themes
> Before the Judge; who thenceforth bid thee rest,
> And drink thy fill of pure immortal streams.'

Two sonnets which, in their fine allegory and severe beauty, remind us of those which Dante has consecrated to the memory of his Beatrice. But first of all, and unmatched for grandeur in any tongue, is that when the assault was intended to the city.

> 'Captain, or Colonel, or Knight in arms,
> Whose chance on these defenceless doors may seize,
> If deed of honor did thee ever please,
> Guard them, and him within protect from harms.
> He can requite thee; for he knows the charms
> That call fame on such gentle acts as these;
> And he can spread thy name o'er lands and seas,
> Whatever clime the sun's bright circle warms.
> Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower!
> The great Emathian conqueror did spare
> The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground; and the repeated air
> Of sad Electra's poet had the power
> To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare.'—p. 75.

We have often thought that the seventeen English sonnets of Milton supply the best answer to that silly prattle about the

ying 'uniformity' of the sonnet, which some pseudo-critics indulged in. The length is the same, the form of verse rely the same, and yet where can we find poetry more e in its character than the address to the virtuous young and that to Cromwell, or the one just quoted?—than raceful invocation to the nightingale, and those withering ciations poured out against the authors of the Piedmontese cre?

ith the death of Milton, the sonnet ceased. The writers of ext school of English poetry, in their ambitious attempts uild the lofty rhyme,' scorned the sonnet; and it was well hy an age that placed Rowe and Southern above Shakspere, the light *vers de societé* of Prior and Phillips, above the ie Queen and the minor poems of Milton, to scorn that es of composition which more than any other has flourished ded just as true poetry has been appreciated or not. In n, in Portugal, and in Italy, consentaneously with the appear- of their greatest poets, we find the sonnet. So was it in land throughout that truly golden period of our literature; is no wonder, therefore, that the era of Queen Anne exhi- l not a single specimen.

recurrence to our ancient and well nigh forgotten poets, it the middle of last century, seems to have been the cause he resurrection of the sonnet, and with it, of the spirit of ine poetry. Thomas Warton, a writer whose influence n our present literature has never been sufficiently appre- d, in his search among the relics of our ancient poetry, overed (and at that period it was indeed a discovery), that before Mr. Addison gave 'his little senate laws,' and Pope ted he had added the last polish to verse, England pos- ed a band of poets as unrivalled in sweetness of diction as ofty thoughts and fine imagination. These he read over, made his own, until his poems, his sonnets especially, show diligent a pupil he had been. This, to the river Loddon, is thy a place beside those of his great masters.

'Ah! what a weary race my feet have run,
Since first I trod thy banks with alders crown'd,
And thought my way was all through fairy ground,
Beneath thy azure sky and golden sun;
Where first my Muse to lisp her notes begun!
While pensive Memory traces back the round
Which fills the varied interval between,
Much pleasure, more of sorrow, marks the scene!
Sweet native Stream! those skies and suns so pure
No more return, to cheer my evening road!
Yet still one joy remains—that not obscure,
Nor useless, all my vacant days have flowed,

From youth's gay dawn to manhood's prime mature:
Nor with the Muse's laurel unbestow'd.'—p. 100.

And delightfully characteristic of the scholar to whom we owe the history of English poetry, of him who first showed the literary world that the antiquary had no need to be plodding and prosing, for his pursuit was one in which the most poetical mind might find its fitting element, is the following, written on a blank leaf of Dugdale's Monasticon.

'Deem not devoid of elegance, the sage,
By Fancy's genuine feelings unbeguil'd,
Of painful pedantry the poring child,
Who turns, of these proud tomes, th' historic page.
Now sunk by Time and Henry's fiercer rage.
Think'st thou the warbling Muses never smiled
On his lone hours? Ingenuous views engage
His thoughts, on themes, unclassic falsely styled,
Intent. While cloister'd Piety displays
Her mouldering roll, the piercing eye explores
New manners, and the pomp of elder days,
Whence culls the pensive bard his pictur'd stores.
Nor rough, nor barren, are the winding ways
Of hoar Antiquity, but strown with flowers.'—p. 96.

The example of Thomas Warton incited many of his contemporaries to cultivate the sonnet. Those of Mason may be mentioned as deserving of high praise.

To William Lisle Bowles, the last surviving link of the poets of this generation, the present day owes more than it is perhaps aware. He joined earnestly in the introduction of a better style of poetry, and his now well nigh forgotten poem on Maritime Discoveries has passages of splendid magnificence. His sonnets are best known, and they well deserve to be so; we give the following exquisite one.

'When last we parted, thou wert young and fair—
How beautiful, let fond remembrance say!
Alas! since then old Time has stol'n away
Full thirty years, leaving my temples bare.
So hath it perish'd like a thing of air,
That dream of love and youth. My locks are grey:
Yet still, remembering Hope's enchanting lay,
Though Time has chang'd my look and blanch'd my hair:
Though I remember one dark hour with pain,
And never thought, as long as I might live,
Parted for years, to hear that voice again;
I can a sad but cordial greeting give,
And for thy welfare breathe as warm a prayer,
Lady! as when I loved thee, young and fair.'—p. 117.

e name of William Wordsworth stands first among the of this age; and pre-eminent, as in the other walks of , is he as a writer of sonnets. Indeed, in looking over collectively, the difficulty is how to choose from among for all present such various features of beauty. How fine

'Where lies the land to which yon ship must go?
Festively she puts forth in trim array,
As vigorous as a lark at break of day;
Is she for tropic suns, or polar snow?
What boots th' inquiry? Neither friend nor foe
She cares for; let her travel where she may,
She finds familiar names, a beaten way
Ever before her, and a wind to blow.
Yet still I ask, what haven is her mark?
And, almost as it was when ships were rare,
(From time to time, like pilgrims, here and there
Crossing the waters) doubt, and something dark,
Of the old sea some reverential fear,
Is with me at thy farewell, joyous Bark!'—p. 126.

ow beautiful these twin sonnets—

'Wings have we, and as far as we can go
We may find pleasure; wilderness and wood,
Blank ocean and mere sky, support that mood
Which with the lofty sanctifies the low.
Dreams, books, are each a world; and books, we know,
Are a substantial world, both pure and good;
Round these, with tendrils strong as flesh and blood,
Our pastime and our happiness will grow.
There find I personal themes, a plenteous store;
Matter wherein right voluble I am;
To which I listen with a ready ear;
Two shall be named, pre-eminently dear—
The gentle Lady married to the Moor;
And heavenly Una with her milk-white lamb.'—p. 131.

'Nor can I not believe but that hereby
Great gains are mine; for thus I live remote
From evil-speaking; rancour, never sought,
Comes to me not; malignant truth, or lie.
Hence have I genial seasons—hence have I
Smooth passions, smooth discourse, and joyous thought;
And thus from day to day my little boat
Rocks in its harbour, lodging peaceably.
Blessings be with them, and eternal praise,
Who gave us nobler loves, and nobler cares—
The Poets, who on earth have made us heirs
Of truth and pure delight by heavenly lays!

Oh! might my name be numbered among theirs,
Then gladly would I end my mortal days!'—p. 132.

The healthful character of all Wordsworth's writings is indeed delightful. There are no mawkish lamentations with him over the woes which, according to some silly sentimentalists, ever accompany genius. The muse has been to him a bountiful friend, shedding joy over his daily path, and pointing him to the lowliest and the commonest objects as sources alike of intensest delight and deepest thought. Thousands of verses have been written in celebration of the rose and the 'queenly' lily, but Wordsworth has shown what glad thoughts can be awakened by the 'little lowly celadine,' and how the heart of the true poet 'danceth with the daffodil.' It is to Wordsworth, more than to any other, we owe the lesson, that the poet's best teachers are

'The woods and rills,
The silence that is in the starry skies,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills.'

Coleridge, that splendid thinker and splendid writer, has not left many sonnets: there is but one of his in this collection—but how characteristic of that dreamy enthusiast, how marked by that rich and musical diction which almost beyond any other poet he possessed. It is well entitled 'Fancies in Nubibus.'

'Oh, it is pleasant, with a heart at ease,
Just after sunset, or by moonlight skies,
To make the shifting clouds be what you please,
Or let the easily-persuaded eyes
Own each quaint likeness issuing from the mould
Of a friend's fancy; or, with head bent low,
And cheek aslant, see rivers flow of gold,
'Twixt crimson banks; and then a traveller go
From mount to mount, through Cloudland—gorgeous land!
Or, listening to the tide, with closed sight,
Be that blind Bard, who on the Chian strand,
By those deep sounds possessed with inward light,
Beheld the Iliad and the Odyssey
Rise to the swelling of the voiceful sea.'—p. 176.

Among our best living poets it is difficult to point out one who has not written sonnets, and written them well. The 'antique cast,' which pervades all Leigh Hunt's poetry, renders his sonnets very delightful; and the fine imagination and musical flow of Barry Cornwall's muse place him, as a writer of

sonnets, scarcely below Wordsworth. How bright and joyous is this to the skylark.

'O earliest singer! O care-charming bird!
Married to Morning by a sweeter hymn
Than priest e'er chanted from his cloister dim
At midnight; or veil'd virgin's holier word,
At sunrise, or the paler evening, heard;
To which of all Heaven's young and lovely Hours,
Who wreathe soft light in hyacinthine bowers,
Beautiful spirit, is thy suit preferred?
Unlike the creatures of this dull low earth,
Still dost thou woo, although thy suit be won,
And thus thy mistress bright is pleased ever:
Oh, lose not thou this mark of finer birth;
So may'st thou yet live on from sun to sun,
Thy joy uncheck'd, thy sweet song silent never!'—p. 197.

Hartley Coleridge, Alfred Tennyson, and Chevenix Trench, writers who are placed among our minor poets from the fewness of their productions, not from their inferiority, have all succeeded well in the sonnet.

There are one or two names which we should have liked to have seen here. Thomas Hood, chiefly known as a comic writer, has written sonnets which might be placed beside any in this volume. Edward Moxon's sonnets, too, are distinguished by no ordinary grace and delicacy; while those of a newer candidate for fame—the Rev. Frederic Faber, give proof that the 'English Hippocrene' still gives out to the earnest and gifted seeker, streams as abundant, as clear, as inspiring, as she did in the days of yore. In conclusion, we thank Mr. Houseman for his neat volume. In the present day we scarcely require new poetry so much as to be reminded of the well nigh forgotten stores of our elder poets. Among these, most forgotten, but in truth most worthy of preservation, are those exquisite gems, our sonnets;—those highly finished compositions, which to the careless eye, and to the thoughtless mind, may appear comparatively uninteresting, but which beyond every other species of composition, the loftiest minds have delighted in, and the finest poets cultivated.

'Scorn not the Sonnet; critic, you have frowned,
Mindless of its just honors. With this Key
Shakspere unlocked his heart; the melody
Of this small Lute gave ease to Petrarch's wound;
A thousand times this Pipe did Tasso sound;
Camoens soothed with it an exile's grief;
The Sonnet glittered a gay myrtle Leaf

Amid the cypress with which Dante crowned
His visionary brow; a glow-worm Lamp,
It cheered mild Spenser, called from Faery-land
To struggle through dark ways; and when a damp
Fell round the path of Milton, in his hand
The thing became a Trumpet, whence he blew
Soul-animating strains—alas, too few!'—*Wordsworth.*

Art. VII. 1. *Notes on the Book of Genesis.* By GEORGE BUSH, Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature, New York City University.

2. *Notes on the Epistle to the Corinthians.* By ALBERT BARNES.

3. *A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, 1656—1674. (Reprint.)

4. *An Exposition of the Gospel according to John.* By GEORGE HUTCHESON, 1657. (Reprint.)

NEARLY five hundred years before the time of Christ we find the practice of publicly expounding the Scriptures sanctioned by no less a person than Ezra. The loss of the written law had induced among the people great ignorance of God's word; and when it was discovered and publicly read, under the direction of Nehemiah and Ezra, an exposition was deemed necessary to a right understanding of its import. That was properly a great and happy revival of religion. Ezra stood upon a pulpit of wood and opened the Book, and read from it in the audience of all the people. Many of the Levites appear to have assisted him in the work of public instruction, which that day commenced, and the effects of which are simply but emphatically related—'all the people wept when they heard 'the words of the law.' The practice no doubt became general, and was certainly continued to the times of our Lord. For his instructions consisted frequently, that is when they were regular discourses, and not merely conversations, in expositions and applications by parable, of portions of the law and the prophets. It is probable that expositions were offered in most of the synagogues of the Jews even in foreign lands; for when Paul and Barnabas, who was a Levite (Acts iv. 36), came to Antioch in Pisidia, and entered into the synagogue, after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers sent to them saying, 'Men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation 'for the people, say on,' Acts xiii. 15. The public discourses of the apostles and their coadjutors were always eminently

adapted to their various audiences. When they addressed assemblies of Jews they reasoned with them out of the law and the prophets, because these were inspired authorities to which all Jews professed reverential obedience, and with the contents of which they were generally familiar. But to the Gentile nations they made a different appeal, telling the story of Jesus of Nazareth as an evidence of the mercy of God, and calling upon them to repent and turn from their dumb idols to serve the only living and true God.

After the establishment of christianity throughout the Roman empire, the general corruption of the church and degeneracy of all orders of the clergy brought on, to a great extent, the disuse of public teaching, or such a restriction and perversion of it, that it ceased to be the mighty agent which Christ intended to make it, for bringing the vigor of his religion to bear universally upon the hearts of men. It became a mere eulogy on the rites and ceremonies of the church. The glad tidings were rarely heard, and efficient preaching, as a call to repentance and unfeigned faith, or any edifying exposition, as a means of growth in grace and in the knowledge of the living God, was superseded and laid aside, to make way for philippics against heretics, commendations of asceticism, and orations on the efficacy of ecclesiastical ceremonies. In the dark or middle ages, a faithful preacher even of those grand gospel truths which the church professedly held, became as rare and portentous as a comet.

When the reformation commenced, preaching, as an instrument of divine ordination for the salvation of mankind, was scarcely known. The revival of the joyful sound, by the harbingers of that happy time, proved as hateful to churchmen as the denunciations of the ancient prophets to Israel, and were treated with as much contempt as the fanatical ravings of Cassandra by the infatuated Trojans. But the sound of the gospel from the lips of the reformers proved mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of sin and Satan. The powerful appeal of the truth burst like the voice of thunder upon the sleepers. They started from the repose of ages, and listened with amazement to the fervid eloquence and powerful arguments of the *gospellers*. Multitudes heard them just as the heathens had listened to the apostles. They recognized the authority of inspiration, forsook Rome, as Lot when he came out of Sodom, and fled for refuge to the hope set before them in the gospel. The effect was marvellous: the glad tidings were uttered by a thousand voices, and gratefully heard by millions of the people.

In the churches gathered under the influence of the reformation, public preaching was restored to its primitive importance and prominence; though in a great measure, from the necessity of the times, it partook of a controversial character. The

minds of both preachers and hearers were kept in a state of antagonism towards Rome and its system, from the rebound they had experienced, and from the assaults which thickened on every side. There was little leisure for the calm and critical study of the sacred records, though, even in this respect, the labors of some of the reformers prove them to have been men as distinguished for learning and wisdom as for heroism and independence. What was essential to the success and permanence of the reformation, as well as to the universal triumph of gospel truth, was well understood by the leaders of that blessed revival of religion; and both in England and on the continent, the attention paid by all the leading reformers to the accurate exposition of holy Scripture may well excite both our wonder and our gratitude—our wonder that, in the ferment of controversies furiously raging on every side, they should have found time for studies which demanded so much close attention and learned research—and gratitude that they should have effected so much, in the way both of carefully editing versions and critically expounding such large portions of the word of God.

All the churches of the reformation became more or less distinguished for their expositors and preachers, their critics and commentators. Up to the time of the Act of Uniformity, in England the Protestant church might be considered fairly on a par with the churches of the continent. But the loss of two thousand of her most learned and distinguished ministers, and the corrupting influence of a restored hierarchy, resting mainly upon the favor of a court remarkable for its destitution of every thing like piety, deprived the pulpits of the Church of England of that power which, in common with the other churches of the reformation, it had shown in the days of its high and palmy state. It has never recovered from the paralyzing influence of the Act of Ejectment. We do not mean to say that it has not contributed its share to the cause of sacred learning, criticism, and able exposition of Scripture. But we intend that, as to oral instruction by preaching and exposition of Scripture in public, it has never regained its hold upon the intellect of the people; it has never returned to the standard of the reformation; it has never risen to an equality with the preachers of other churches—and it is still even at this day deplorably and miserably behind the Protestant churches of the continent and the Kirk of Scotland. With this, however, is perfectly reconcileable the admission that the Church of England possesses most eminent divines in the character of writers, as well as preachers, whose eloquence, learning, and piety are surpassed by none. But it is indeed a rare thing to meet with any public, critical, argumentative exposition of sacred Scripture in its pulpits. Preaching has become either an elegant classical

dissertation, a fervid, powerful oration upon a topic, or a tame essay upon the dogmas and sacraments of 'our church.' Such able, practical explanation of the word of God as may be heard in a great majority of the pulpits of Scotland, both in the church and among all classes of dissenters, is scarcely to be met with in any cathedral, parish church, or university in England. Even the better part of the clergy seem to be more anxious to make the people understand what the Church of England teaches, than what the Bible teaches. They doubtless believe that the teaching of the one is identical with that of the other—but, even upon this principle, they ought to be concerned with the apostle Paul, to establish the faith of their people 'not 'in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God.' This they never can accomplish till the cry of their pulpits is 'thus saith 'the Lord,' and no more 'thus saith the church.'

Among the nonconformists of the present day preaching, if not in the highest state of excellence, is nevertheless vastly more scriptural and efficient than it was fifty years ago, or than it is in the parish churches. Many of the dissenting ministers have adopted the plan of regularly expounding the Scriptures. We believe it has been found both highly acceptable and useful. It tends to a more thorough knowledge of God's word, and to the edification of the people. We trust it will become the universal practice. Not that we would desire or recommend that it should supersede what is commonly understood by preaching, but that it should be connected with the regular service on one part of the Lord's day in all our congregations.

With this view we hail the several publications placed at the head of this article. They supply valuable aid to the public expositor of the holy Scripture, and will, we have no doubt, prove acceptable to the rising ministry, as well as to private christians who wish to avail themselves of the learning and piety of the best expositors.

The two volumes by American divines are favorable specimens of the state of critical and biblical knowledge in that country, and may be reckoned among the best productions of their theological schools.

Mr. Bush's 'Notes on Genesis' contain much valuable criticism and excellent practical remarks. Our former notice of the American edition supersedes the necessity of enlargement here.*

Mr. Barnes's Notes on the two Epistles to the Corinthians are, in the main, very excellent and judicious; well adapted to assist preachers and expositors in arriving at the just inter-

* New Series, vol. viii. p. 571.

pretation of Scripture. The critics of the New Testament have, however, left far less for the present age to accomplish than those who have treated of the Old. Mr. Barnes has brought the labors of his predecessors to bear upon the elucidation of these two epistles with very commendable skill and diligence. It rather surprised us, however, to find in 1 Cor. vii., that he falls in with the too commonly received opinion, that Paul, in ver. 6, 10, 12, 25, disclaims inspired authority. After the admirable vindication of the apostle's inspiration, and clear exposition of these passages, published nearly thirty years ago, by a divine and critic no less distinguished than Dr. Wardlaw, in his Notes to the '*Discourses on the Socinian Controversy*,' it appears remarkable that Mr. Barnes should either not be aware of the existence of such an exposition, or not introduce any allusion to it, or the important principle it is intended to vindicate. There are some other instances we need not specify, in which we differ in opinion from Mr. Barnes. We think, moreover, he might have gathered up, from modern authors, many invaluable fragments of criticism that explain several difficult passages, which, for the most part, he leaves as the expounders of other days have left them. Upon the whole, however, the work will be found highly valuable and useful, especially to those who have not the leisure nor the means for consulting more elaborate criticism, and who wish to combine practical improvement with judicious exposition.

Fergusson on the six epistles, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, as well as Hutcheson on John, are reprints of old commentators of the Scottish school, well known to the collectors of puritanical divinity. They are not distinguished for critical learning or eloquent originality, as were some few of the commentators of the olden time, but they are eminently pious and practical. Their style is disfigured by Scotticisms, which will prove offensive to English readers, but the excellence of the matter will edify those who have patience enough for the task of perusal. The Scottish divines of the seventeenth century were greatly inferior, as writers, to the English of the same period. There are, however, comparatively few whose works have come down to our times, which, considering their general identity in sentiment with the English puritans, and the amazing mass of excellent works which these latter writers have bequeathed to us, is an extraordinary circumstance. It seems to intimate, that the taste for reading, and the cultivation of the public mind generally, must have been vastly behind that of England. The civil and ecclesiastical contentions of James the First's and Charles the First's days, which convulsed society through all its gradations, was in England a period of extraordinary activity and vigor of

mind. The fecundity of the press of that age has never been surpassed, except in these days of steam engines and penny cyclopedias. But the press of Scotland, and we may add the mind of Scotland, was not quickened into similar activity. Even the period of Scotland's domestic ecclesiastical contentions, when episcopacy was attempted to be forced upon her, was not a period of intellectual activity through the press, whatever it might be through the pulpit. The battle was neither fought nor gained by the pen, but by the broadsword and the heroism of her people. They were then eminent for *deeds, not words.* This is remarkable, considering that the Scotch have generally been considered both a thinking and a disputatious people. Their schools and colleges are of ancient foundation; their clergy have never been deficient in learning, and, ever since the reformation, popular education has always been in advance of England. Yet it is undeniable that Scotland, with some few exceptions, possesses comparatively but a few fragments of theological literature. Through the periods which, in England, were the most prolific in works of genius, in learning generally, and theology in particular, the sister kingdom appears to have produced few works of lasting merit; so that properly speaking, Scotland has little or no theological literature of its own. How well she has redeemed her character in later times through every department of literature, art, and science, need not be stated.

But we fear our readers will charge us with wandering far from our subject. To return, therefore to the *Library of Standard Divinity,* we beg to offer a few remarks upon the general plan and execution of these works. We shall first say of the execution, we admire the typography; it is excellent, and compresses an immensity of matter into a small compass, thereby lessening the expense to that vast majority of divines, old and young, who wish to purchase many books, and peruse many authors, for little money. So far, too, as we have examined, they are quite as well edited, in point of correctness, as any works of the day. We have observed but very few typographical errors. The only thing that offends us, and which appears to be out of character with the generally excellent manner of getting up the work, is the despicably mean, flimsy, and magazine-like wrapper which forms the exterior garb of four or five hundred pages; as if the French and German style of publishing were worthy of imitation in England, where typography, paper-making, and book-binding are immeasurably in advance of every other country in the world. We have long been congratulating ourselves, upon those admirable improvements in binding up new publications, which have secured them against dropping to pieces upon the first perusal, and saved us

the enormous expense of having them bound in leather before they could appear upon our shelves. But this Library of *Standard* Divinity is done up so much in the pamphlet style, that it appears fit only for a slight and temporary perusal. In whatever other sense it may be deemed *standard*, it certainly will not *stand* using, for the single examination of these volumes to qualify us to review them, has nearly brought them into a state of dissolution. Stiff covers are indispensable. All the thick volumes ought to be bound in a style equal to any of the works of the day, and adapted for permanent use without rebinding. We trust Mr. Ward will take notice that this innovation, this deterioration in the binding part, is perfectly out of keeping with the admirable letter press and excellent paper of these gigantic volumes. We congratulate him on one point, at least if our conjecture is right—that he has abandoned the plan of publishing mere tracts. In these days nobody likes to purchase pamphlets; and no divine or student of divinity would think of buying a single sermon of John Howe's—a single tract of Bishop Hall's—a single little treatise of Charnock's. We hope, therefore, that the plan of publishing larger works, of which there are yet scores and hundreds of great value, which deserve reprinting, will be adhered to, and that the series will be found answerable to its name—a *Library of Standard Divinity*. It will then undoubtedly receive the patronage which it will deserve. So far as it has gone, in presenting to the public complete and standard works by authors of established repute for piety and learning, it has our decided approval and hearty commendation. We trust the patronage of the public will reward the enterprise of the publisher.

Art. VIII. *Homilies for the Times; or Rome and her new Allies; a Plea for the Reformation.* By the Rev. JOHN MORISON, D.D. London: Ward and Co., 1841.

J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, in the Preface to his History of the Great Reformation, without being at all aware of it, has at once described the nature and accounted for the origin of Puseyism in the Anglican Episcopal Church: he has done more—he has placed the Gospel—the religion of God—between its two greatest antagonists, popery and rationalism, and shown the impossibility of their amalgamation. The passage is original, and with it we cannot more appropriately introduce the few observations we intend to make on the volume before us, and the occasion which produced it.

'There can be but three kinds of religion on this earth, 'according as God, man, or the priest, is its author or head. 'I call that the religion of the priest which is devised by the 'priest for the glory of the priest, and in which a priestly caste 'is dominant. I apply the name of the religion of man to 'those systems and various opinions framed by man's reason, 'and which, as they are the offspring of his infirmity, are, by 'consequence, destitute of all sanative efficiency. I apply the 'words, religion of God, to the truth, such as God himself has 'given it, and of which the object and the effect are God's 'glory and man's salvation.

'Hierarchism, or the religion of the priest; christianity, or 'the religion of God; rationalism, or the religion of man:— 'such are the three doctrines which in our day divide christen- 'dom. There is no salvation, either for man or society, in 'hierarchism, or in rationalism. Christianity alone can give 'life to the world; and unhappily, of the three prevailing sys- 'tems, it is not that which numbers most followers."

Puseyism is the religion of the priest, devised by the priest for the glory of the priest, and in it a priestly caste is predominant. It is a religion which, though popish in its character, is the natural growth of a so-called protestant hierarchy. Pure christianity, developing its life-giving spiritual doctrines, and diffusing its sanative influences through a christian community, cannot exist in a hierarchy. A priesthood, in the pagan and the Roman Catholic sense, has always been fatal to evangelical religion, or what M. D'Aubigné calls the religion of God. Hierarchical christianity, and the christianity of the New Testament, are as opposite as darkness and light. Accordingly, the great reformation from popery, wherever it retained a hierarchy, ensured the neutralization of its own power,—by thus leaving the roots of popery in the soil, circumstances have not failed, sooner or later, to favor and foster their growth.

A hierarchy has always placed christianity in a false position with the civil power, and has thus perverted and debased its character. It has either usurped the prerogatives of civil government, and converted the magistrate into a public persecutor, or it has succumbed to civil tyranny, and placed its priests as spiritual janisaries around the throne;—always the determined enemy of human freedom. Alluding to the support which the hierarchy thus gave to the tottering and despoiled monarchy of France, which at length involved both the altar and the throne in one fearful ruin, Sir James Mackintosh speaks of spiritual power—the 'religion of the priest'—as standing alone in history; and he says, that an enlightened observer, at some future distant period, when it shall cease to exist, 'will contemplate, with peculiar astonishment, the rise,

'progress, decay, and downfall, of spiritual power in christian 'Europe. Its connexion in all stages of its progress with the 'civil power will peculiarly occupy his mind. He will remark 'the unpresuming humility by which it gradually gained the 'favor and divided the power of the magistrate: the haughty 'and despotic tone in which it afterwards gave law to sovereign 'and subjects; the zeal with which, in the first desperate 'moments of decline, it armed the people against the magis- 'trate, and aimed at re-establishing spiritual despotism on the 'ruins of social order; and the asylum which it at last found 'against the hostilities of reason in the prerogatives of tem- 'poral despotism, of which it had so long been the implaca- 'ble foe.'

The Puseyites in the English hierarchy—before the recent change in the ministry, and the removal of a liberal to give place to a Tory government—betrayed various symptoms of impatience under secular control, and whispered ominous threats, that if they should succeed in proselyting the people, they would soon seize the sceptre which Henry the Eighth wrested from the hands of the Pope. They doubtless cherish the same intentions still, and with brighter prospects before them. Dominion they fondly hope is founded on apostolic succession, and that priests may again become lords of the earth.

Hierarchism is essentially pagan, and it cannot employ christianity without changing the simplicity of its machinery, and destroying all its characteristics as a religion of heaven. The hierarchism of England, though avowedly protestant, is a mere clerisy assimilating its priesthood to the hierarchy of Rome, by destroying the authority, perverting the doctrines, and changing the ecclesiastical usages of the New Testament; establishing on the throne of the christian lawgiver a spiritual despotism, which is intended to prostrate the laity at the feet of a proud, insolent, and overbearing priesthood.

It is the hierarchism of the Anglican church which, at every crisis in her history, has threatened her protestantism and endangered her existence.

Lord Falkland thus describes the clergy of his day, who brought destruction upon the state as well as the church, and stained the scaffold with their monarch's blood:—'It seems 'to have been their wish to try how much of a papist might be 'brought in without popery, and to destroy as much as they 'could of the gospel, without bringing themselves into danger 'of being destroyed by the law. To go yet farther, some of 'them have labored so industriously to deduce themselves from 'Rome, that they have given great suspicion, that in gratitude 'they desire to return thither, or at least to meet it half way.

'*(via media)*. Some have evidently labored to bring in an 'English, not a Roman popery; I mean not the outside and 'dress only, but equally absolute; a blind obedience of the 'people upon the clergy, and of the clergy upon themselves; 'and have opposed popery beyond the sea, that they might 'settle one beyond the water at Lambeth; nay, common fame 'is more than ordinarily false, if some of them have not found a 'way to reconcile the opinions of Rome to the preferments of 'England; and to be so absolutely, directly, and cordially 'papists, that it is all £1500 per annum can do to keep them 'from confessing it."

How exactly this describes the Puseyites of our own times! The attempt of Mr. Newman in tract ninety, and in his subsequent letter to Dr. Jelf, to reconcile the articles of the Church of England with the popery of the Tridentine fathers, and thus to prepare the way for settling a popery of his own beyond the water at Lambeth, as corrupt, as infallible, and as intolerant, as that beyond the sea at Rome, has not the merit of originality. Christopher Davenport, a Romish propagandist, who assumed the name of Franciscus of Sancta Clara, and was one of the chaplains to Henrietta Maria, the consort of Charles the First, pursued the same method, in endeavoring to propitiate the English clergy to the object of his mission.

Though there is an almost perfect identity in the spirit, object, and antichristian character of the two hierarchies of England and Rome, it is not at all probable that, as churches, they will ever unite. The probability is, that Puseyism, as the subtle coadjutor of the English and Irish propagandists, who have never for a moment been unfaithful to their missions, and who are now more numerous and more indefatigable than ever, will work so fearfully upon the state and nation, that the protestant hierarchy will be shaken to its foundation, and that by some violent convulsion, produced by its own insufferable tyranny and oppression, it will be severed from the state—that there will thus be two grand divisions of religionists in the land—Romanists and Protestants; that the conflict between them will be a conflict of principles rather than interests, and that then truth and falsehood will have to grapple in a free and open encounter.

Instead of being alarmed at the rapid diffusion of the tractarian heresies, while they are the legitimate offspring of the hierarchy, and stamp its character, we rather regard it as a circumstance peculiarly auspicious to the cause of truth and christian liberty. The battle of the Reformation, which ought never to have been suspended while a vestige of the man of sin remained, will re-commence. Indeed, able champions are already in the field, and many are buckling on their armour.

Rome and her new allies must divert their quiet energies from the work of making proselytes, and make them be felt in the arena of controversy. The crisis of every kind of despotism is at hand, and Babylon the Great and the little Puseyite excresence must fall together in the dust. This must be the achievement of the mighty principles contained in that golden sentence of Chillingworth—the Bible, the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants. Scriptural doctrines based alone on scriptural authority, and propagated with an affectionate and holy zeal among the millions of our people, will be the consuming spirit of the mouth of the Lord, the brightness of his coming to destroy the lawless one, and every form of antichrist which he has either sustained or encouraged.

Of all the tracts, treatises, and lectures for the times, we hesitate not to pronounce Dr. Morison's Homilies as among the best adapted for the purpose. He has mastered the whole argument. He has refuted every error by the exhibition of the truth of which it is a perversion. No statements can be more clear, while an evangelical strain of devout and holy sentiment is the pervading spirit of the whole.

The subjects discussed are, the Rule of Faith—the Doctrine of Justification—the Church—the Sacraments—and the Duties of Protestants at the present Crisis. With this announcement, and the following appropriate observations, he closes the first lecture on 'the Duty of Private Judgment.'

'A wide and interesting field of inquiry is thus opened to our view; in endeavoring to occupy which we shall have occasion to expose many a subtle error, and to exhibit the truth of God as its only effectual antagonist. May the light of grace fall on our understandings, and the love of truth be infused into our hearts, that thus we may see light in God's light, and that the result of our inquiries may be a more settled, comforting, and influential belief of the truth as it is in Jesus.'
—p. 12.

The second homily treats on 'the Popish Rule of Faith.' Dr. Wiseman's fallacies are clearly exposed, and the popish rule of faith proved to be of a mixed and unsound character; as placed under a fatal restriction which deprives it of all real value to the individual mind. Here we have the question well discussed as to the right and duty of exercising individual judgment on all subjects proposed to our faith. The unity secured by denying it to the lay-members of the Romish church, is shown to be no unity at all.

'Rome is always flourishing about her unity, and pronouncing her anathemas upon the presumption of those who dare to think for themselves in religion. The celebrated Bossuet, having held a private dis-

putation with Claude, in 1678, in the house of a protestant lady, afterwards referred to the conference in the following terms.

'' I urged, in a few words, what presumption it was to believe that we can better understand the word of God than all the rest of the church, and that nothing would thus prevent there being as many religions as persons.' To this very specious but stale observation, Mr. Hallam, in his 'Introduction to the Literature of Europe,' makes the following just and cutting reply: 'But there can be no presumption in supposing that we may understand any thing better than one who has never examined it at all; and if the rest of the church, so magnificently brought forward, have commonly acted on Bossuet's principle, and thought it presumptuous to judge for themselves; if out of many millions of persons a few only have deliberately reasoned on religion, and the rest have been, like true zeros, nothing in themselves, but much in sequence; if also, as is most frequently the case, this presumptuousness is not the assertion of a paradox or novelty, but the preference of one denomination of christians, or one tenet maintained by respectable authority to another, we can only scorn the emptiness, as well as the effrontery, of this common-place that rings so often in our ears. Certainly reason is so far from condemning a deference to the judgment of the wise and good, that nothing is more irrational than to neglect it; but when this is claimed for those whom we need not believe to have been wiser and better than ourselves, nay, sometimes whom, without vain glory, we may esteem less, and that so as to set aside the real authority of the most philosophical, unbiassed, and judicious of mankind, it is not pride or presumption, but a sober use of our faculties that rejects the jurisdiction.' '—pp. 25, 26.

Having shown that the Romanists' notion of Scripture itself is not admissible, that their theory of the word of God is equally objectionable, and that it is especially to be repudiated as a rule of faith which is not to be examined and received upon the individual conviction of those whom it concerns, and to whose reception it is formally submitted; and having quoted apostolical example and precedent in favor of his views, Dr. Morison eloquently observes—

'How unlike is all this to the conduct of the church of Rome! She submits her complicated, absurd, and contradictory rule of faith to the attention of mankind; but in the same breath, she prohibits them from the exercise of their judgments upon a single item of her creed. If they will receive what the church receives, then will she embrace them in the arms of her affection. But if they venture to ask a reason of the hope that is in her; if they pause to investigate what she submits to them as the materials of their faith; if they think it necessary to understand and believe the truth for themselves; if they hesitate to surrender themselves implicitly to the authority and infallible guidance of the church; then does she repudiate them, as men destitute of true faith; and enfolding herself in her cloak of

mystery, refuses to subject her pretensions to any tribunal less infallible than herself.

'We firmly believe, that the principle of the church of Rome, honestly carried out, is incompatible with all genuine belief of the truth of God. It strikes a death-blow at all the ordinary laws of evidence; it calls on a man to receive what it forbids him to investigate; it excludes from religion the grand element of personal conviction, founded on conscientious inquiry; it makes faith to consist in obedience to the church, instead of submission to the grand truths on which the church rests; it demands of mankind that they should merge their individual responsibility in that of the church; and it presents the imposing but deceptive spectacle of a vast multitude of individuals held together, not by any common bond of truth, which they have examined and approved for themselves, but by the shadowy authority of the church, 'whose right it is to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of sacred writ,' and to dictate a creed which all are bound to believe.'—pp. 31, 32.

With how much greater force does this apply to some of the prelates, and to all the Puseyites in the English hierarchy, who among protestants contend for the popish rule of faith, merely to get rid of the right of private judgment, in order that the priests may 'lord it over God's heritage!' The subject of the third homily is 'the Protestant Rule of Faith.' In this discourse the all-sufficiency of the Bible as a rule of faith is argued from its avowed object as a revelation from God; from its exquisite adaptation to answer all the purposes of such a rule; and from the utter uncertainty which must hang over the interests of men's salvation if any other rule is permitted to interpose.

The fourth homily is entitled 'Deviations from, and abuses of, 'the Protestant Rule of Faith.' This lecture is as interesting as it is important. It is a melancholy display of the weakness of the human mind and the corrupting influence of hierarchical pride, in debasing truth and depriving the Scriptures of all their efficacy.

'Can any thoughtful christian,' exclaims Dr. Morison, 'mark the movements of the tractarians, and not perceive with what rapid strides they are advancing towards the errors of Romanism? They indeed disavow this, and tell us that they are our only protectors from the encroachments of Rome; but facts speak louder than words; and Romanists are full of exultation at what is now transpiring in England. Go, as we have done, into the churches of some of these pseudo-protestants, and what do we hear? Such doctrines, brethren, as these:—Salvation by the sacraments—baptismal justification—the church the dispenser of forgiveness—sins after baptism only to be removed by *penance* and fasting. With this class of theologians, the Lord's supper is a *sacrifice*, and the communion table an altar, before which

their repeated genuflexions afford but too striking proof that in all things they are too superstitious.

'You hear them proclaiming the value, or at least the harmlessness, of saintly relics, defending the use of images and crucifixes, extolling the superior sanctity of a state of celibacy, encouraging prayers for the departed, and contending for their succession from the apostles, with as much pertinacity as if they possessed the power of working miracles, or as if they believed that Rome was the mother of all churches, and that Peter was the first of the popes.

'If these are not to be regarded as prophetic signs of what is coming upon us, it must be because a spirit of slumber and infatuation has fallen upon the minds of the people. As are the first fruits, such will be the approaching harvest. It is high time for sober-minded and enlightened christians to bestir themselves, and to contend earnestly for the simple faith of Scripture, unsupplemented by the traditions and superstitious usages of an age far removed from the simplicity of the gospel.'—pp. 84, 85.

Having briefly illustrated the propositions, that 'the protes-' testant rule of faith is in danger from two extremes, the ex-' treme of rationalism and of enthusiasm,' the author proceeds, in the fifth homily, to a consideration of the grand and fundamental doctrine of Scripture, and the basis of all scriptural christianity—the 'Doctrine of Justification by Faith.' In this part of his work Dr. Morison appears to the greatest advantage. The soundness of his theology—the extent of the knowledge which he brings to bear upon the several questions at issue between evangelical protestants and Romanists—and the forcible manner in which he presses his arguments home to the understandings and consciences of his hearers, reflect the highest credit on his talents, diligence, and piety.

Under the head of Oxford Errors, in reference to Justification, which occupies the sixth homily, Dr. Morison has borne a faithful testimony.

'The Papal Church; its Apocalyptic Character,' is the subject of the seventh homily. It does not possess much originality. The case against Rome, as the man of sin, is made out in the usual manner, and with the usual success. It is, however, perfectly free from every thing of a sectarian character or bitter spirit. The system is denounced, and not the men who uphold it, except in notorious instances of a flagitious departure from truth and honesty.

The Duty of Separating from the Papal Church forms the topic of the eighth homily. Here again the ancient path of christian argument, against all communion with the arch-apostasy is trodden with a firm foot, and with a graceful movement. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh homilies treat of the church of Christ, the ministry, and the sacraments—three things which

the pope and Dr. Pusey have averted from their scriptural character and uses, and moulded into an hierarchy 'devised by 'the priest, for the glory of the priest, and in which a priestly 'caste is dominant.'

The homilist shows, when speaking of the church of Christ, that *it is not the world;* but a fellowship, a communion of persons, 'called, chosen, and faithful;' that it is not a political but a spiritual fellowship; that it is not national and provincial, and above all, that it is not hierarchical.

'In other words, it does not consist merely of its spiritual rulers, but includes also the whole flock of Christ. 'The Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.' I am not aware of a single instance in the New Testament in which apostles, elders, or bishops, 'pastors and teachers,' are spoken of as the church in their official capacity. It is an innovation of a very suspicious character, and which it requires becoming vigilance to counteract, when the rulers of the church assume to be the church itself. The church in any particular place, according to apostolic precedent, is the body of the faithful united in holy fellowship, with their bishops and deacons. All the members of the first churches had an express function to perform in their due government, according to the laws of Christ, as laid down by inspired men. They are never appealed to, in cases where certain abuses had arisen, as if their rulers alone had to supply the proper corrective. Even apostles themselves, as in the case of Paul with the Corinthian church, while they condemned existing abuses, and urged the necessary reforms, did not take upon them the proper function of the churches, but called upon them,—that is upon the whole assembly of the faithful—to discharge their duties to Christ, and to their offending brethren. 'I wrote unto you,' said Paul, in an epistle, 'not to company with fornicators: yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then must ye needs go out of the world. But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one, no, not to eat. For what have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within? But them that are without God judgeth. *Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person.*'

'I am bold to say, that if there had been a particle of the hierarchical principle in the apostolic churches, such an address as this would never have been delivered to the whole body of christians at Corinth. Certain principles are here assumed, which it is in vain for any one, admitting the authority of the inspired writings, to attempt to evade or deny. First, here is an individual community of believers, possessing, and strenuously urged to exercise, the functions of self-government and discipline. Second,—here is a distinct recognition of the principle, that every church member has a right, and is in duty bound, to take part in the judgment, or discipline, of the church. And, Third,—here is a whole church enjoined to put away from themselves an unworthy

member, without a hint of any special authority being exercised in the matter on the part of their rulers. And if the whole body of the faithful had thus a function, in the act of excluding unworthy members from their fellowship, what sober mind can doubt, that to the same body pertained the right of judging as to the qualification of those who sought to join themselves to their holy fraternity? As a matter of undoubted fact, the same body, on occasion of the repentance of the incestuous person, are called upon to restore him to their fellowship, their confidence, and their love. 'But if any,' says Paul, 'have caused grief, he hath not grieved me but in part: that I may not overcharge you all. Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which was inflicted of many. So that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, lest, perhaps, such an one should be swallowed up of overmuch sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you that ye would confirm your love toward him. For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things.'' —pp. 251—254.

Apostolical succession, the nest egg of popery, and from which it never fails to be engendered in some of its most dangerous forms, as it regards the souls of men, is exposed as an audacious assumption, and a gross absurdity. This forms the subject of the tenth homily. This basis of hierarchical domination, whenever it is assumed by the priests of any church, is assumed to invest them with superhuman power, while it claims for their church the character of a divine as distinguished from a human institution. Thus the Church of England, the creature of the state, and which was made by act of parliament, is according to Mr. Keble, 'the only church in this realm which 'has a right to be quite sure that she has the Lord's body to 'give to his people.'

The whole passage is remarkable.

''Their principle' (referring to the bishops and presbyters of the first five centuries) 'was this: That the Holy Feast of *our Saviour's sacrifice*, which all confess to be generally necessary to salvation, was intended by him to be constantly conveyed, through the hands of commissioned persons. Except therefore we can show such a warrant, we cannot be sure that our hands *convey the sacrifice;* we cannot be sure that souls worthily prepared, receiving 'the bread which we break,' and 'the cup of blessing which we bless,' are partakers of the body and blood of Christ. Piety, then, and christian reverence, and sincere devout love of our Redeemer, nay, and charity to the souls of our brethren, not good order and expediency only, would prompt us, at all earthly risks, to preserve and transmit the seal and warrant of Christ.

''Why should we talk so much of an *establishment*, and so little of our APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION? Why should we not endeavor to impress our people with this plain truth;—*that by separating themselves from our communion, they separate themselves not only from a decent, orderly, useful society, but from the* ONLY CHURCH IN THIS REALM

WHICH HAS A RIGHT TO BE QUITE SURE THAT SHE HAS THE LORD'S BODY TO GIVE TO HIS PEOPLE.'

'I readily allow,' adds this writer, 'that this view of our calling *has something in it too high and mysterious to be understood by unlearned christians. But the learned only are just as competent to it.* This is part of that ineffable mystery called, in our creed, 'the Communion of Saints;' and, with all other christian mysteries, is the same *understanding of all alike, not practically alike within the reach of all who are willing to embrace it by true faith.*'—pp. 2:3. 2:4.

This mystery of iniquity proves its satanic origin, by dispensing with all moral fitness for the discharge of apostolical duties in these successional apostles. A Layman, in No. 4 of the Tracts, talks of 'the petty differences between sinner and 'sinner,' thus avowing the frightful heresy, that it can matter but little whether a professed minister of Christ be a good man or a bad, provided he be invested with the mystery of orders.

On the absurdity of the claim to apostolical succession, Dr. Morison quotes Bishop Stillingfleet with great effect.

'Antiquity,' says the learned prelate, 'is most defective where it is (*i. e.* would be, if to be relied upon) most useful, viz. in the time immediately after the apostles; which must have been most helpful to us in this inquiry. For who dare with confidence believe the conjectures of Eusebius, at three hundred years' distance from apostolical times, when he hath no other testimony to vouch but the Hypotyposes of an uncertain Clement, and the Commentaries of Hegesippus, whose relation and authority are as questionable as many of the reports of Eusebius himself are in reference to those elder times; for which I need no other testimony but Eusebius, in a place enough to blast the whole credit of antiquity, as to the matter now in debate? For speaking of Paul and Peter, and the churches by them planted, and coming to inquire after their *successors*, he makes this very ingenuous confession: 'But of these (persons mentioned) how many, and these being genuine followers, were approved to be competent shepherds to feed the churches founded by them (the apostles), it is not easy to say; except such as are to be picked up out of the declarations of Paul.' Say you so? Is it *so hard a matter to find out who succeeded the apostles* in the churches planted by them, unless it be *those mentioned* in the writings of Paul? What becomes then of our *unquestionable line of succession* of the bishops of several churches, and the large diagrams made of the apostolical churches, with every man's name set down in his order?—as if the writer had been Clarencieux (king-at-arms in the herald's office) to the apostles themselves! *Is it come to this at last*, that we have nothing certain but what we have in Scripture? And must then *the tradition of the church* be our RULE *to interpret Scripture*?

> 'An excellent way, to find out truth, doubtless! To bend the crooked stick; to make the judge stand to the opinion, what sentence he shall pass upon the cause in question. SCRIPTURE stand cap-in-hand to tradition, to know whether

it may have leave to speak or no! Are all the great outcries of apostolical traditions, of personal succession, of unquestionable records, resolved at last into the Scripture itself, by him from whom these long pedigrees are fetched? Then *let succession know its place, and learn to vail bonnet* to the *Scripture.* And withal, let men take heed of overreaching themselves, when they would bring down so large a catalogue of single bishops from the first and present times of the church; for it will be hard for others to believe them, when Eusebius professeth it is so hard to find them. Well might Scaliger then complain (*Proleg. in Chron. Euseb.*), that the interval from the last chapter of the Acts to the middle of Trajan, in which time Quadratus and Ignatius began to flourish, was *tempus ἄδηλον*, as Varro speaks; a mere chaos of time, filled up with the rude conceptions of Papias, Hermas, and others, who, like Hannibal, when they could not find a way through, would *make one, either by force or fraud.*'—pp. 292—294.

'The Sacraments' are treated at great length in the eleventh homily. Entreating our readers to peruse with attention, and practically to follow the advice of Dr. Morison in the last homily, entitled the Duty of Protestants at the Present Crisis, we doubt not that the passages we have quoted, and that with which we take leave of him in the homily on the sacraments, will be a sufficient recommendation of Dr. Morison's most seasonable Homilies for the Times.

'It is lamentable, beyond expression, that professed protestants should require to be combated with the same weapons precisely as those employed against the worst errors of Romanism. But so it must be, while the pestilence of Roman heresy lurks within the precincts of a reformed church. What can be said of men who talk of 'the change which the holy elements undergo, as consecrated by the priest,' as a '*miracle*,' but that they are undisguised papists? We cannot wonder to find the same writers speaking of the cross as a '*sacramental sign*,' '*a holy, efficacious* emblem;' nor are we shocked to find them expressing their desires in the following terms: 'We hope the time will come when no English church will want what many possess already, the image of the cross in some place sufficiently conspicuous to assist the devotions of the worshipper. Let us multiply the same *holy efficacious emblem far and wide. There is no saying how many sins its awful form may scare, how many evils avert!*' But this is not all: 'With the cross,' say these writers, 'should be associated other catholic symbols still more than even itself, *φωνᾶντα συνέτοις* (*vocal to the spiritually discerning*). For those painted windows seem to furnish a suitable place. They should at all events be confined to *the most sacred portions of the building.* Such are the Lamb with the standard; the descending Dove; the Anchor; the Triangle; the Pelican; the 'Ιχθὺς (*fish*), and others. Perhaps the two or three last mentioned, as being of most recondite meaning, should be adopted later than the rest.'

'Such is the grave counsel tendered by our Anglo-Catholics to the

protestants of England in the nineteenth century—such are the destructive superstitions inculcated by members of a church, whose forefathers bled at the stake for rejecting those very popish inventions which they are now struggling to revive. No one, acquainted with the distinguishing tenets of protestantism, can look into their writings without feeling that he has crossed the boundary line of the Reformation, and that he is expatiating in the field of papal heresy and will-worship; he cannot but perceive that the spirit of the men who confronted Romanism in this country is not in them; that they have forgotten the witness of our dying martyrs to the truth of Christ; and that a few more steps, in the downward career of error, will carry them headlong into the very vortex of undisguised popery. Their severest attacks on Romanism are all of the nature of apologies; while its principal ingredients appear to have been taken up in their creed. With them Catholic tradition is the interpreter of Scripture, and all private judgment is proscribed:—their notions of the church are as awful as any ever issued from the papal throne;—they teach that forgiveness of sins, and all saving grace, flow to mankind through the medium of the priest;—prayers for departed saints are negatively encouraged by them;—the absence of popish anointings in baptism and confirmation is spoken of as '*the loss of a privilege*;' the use of relics and images, as aids to devotion, is far more encouraged than condemned;—an unmarried clergy, assisted in their work by 'the sisters of charity,' is that condition of the sacred office which many of them long to see restored; in short, there is nothing peculiar to Rome which is not in some way mimicked by these modern Jesuits of the English church.'—pp. 328—331.

All this is indeed lamentable; but is it not natural? A protestant hierarchy is almost a contradiction in terms. The religion invented by the priest for the honor of the priest, and in which the priestly caste predominates, brings forth its natural fruits when it generates popery and Puseyism. Men do not gather figs of thistles, nor grapes of thorns.

Art. IX. ANNUALS AND ILLUSTRATED WORKS.

1. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, 1842. *With Poetic Illustrations.* By MARY HOWITT.

2. *The Juvenile Scrap Book.* By Mrs. ELLIS. 1842. London: Fisher and Co.

3. *The Rhine, Italy, and Greece. In a Series of Drawings from Nature by Colonel Cockburn, Major Irton, Messrs. Bartlett, Leitch, and Wolfensberger. With Historical and Legendary Descriptions.* By the Rev. G. N. WRIGHT, M.A. London: Fisher and Co.

4. *Historic Illustrations of the Bible. Principally after the Old Masters.* London: Fisher and Co.

5. *Canadian Scenery Illustrated, &c. Part XVII.* London: George Virtue.

6. *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated. Part VIII.* London: George Virtue.

FISHER'S *Drawing Room Scrap Book* wears the familiar aspect of an old friend, in whose company we have spent some pleasant hours, and whose re-appearance at this season of the year is always matter of joy. Its elegant exterior is in tasteful keeping with the variety and beauty of its contents, and altogether it constitutes one of the most pleasing companions of the drawing room which the prolific press sends forth. The illustrations, which are thirty in number, consist of a variety of views descriptive of Constantinople, Syria, Greece, Sicily, Italy, the Rhine, the Himalaya, and the Ganges; together with some Scripture illustrations and a few portraits of distinguished individuals. Many of these plates are of first rate excellence, and none are unworthy of the place assigned them. The present volume, like that of last year, is under the editorship of Mrs. Howitt, than whom a more suitable successor to L. E. L. could not have been found. Such a work does not call for or admit of any very great merit in its poetic illustrations. It is enough that the versification be smooth, agreeable, and somewhat sprightly. Indeed, whatever higher pretensions of a literary kind were formerly put forth by our annuals, have been long since exchanged for the more distinguished reputation which they enjoy as works of art. Mrs. Howitt introduces her volume in the following appropriate stanzas, which are dated from Heidelberg, where she is at present residing:

> 'In this fair land where I am writing now,
> Whom they would honor, they salute with flowers;
> Flowers wreath the cup, and garlands bind the brow;
> They grace the saddest and the brightest hours.

'This is the wreath that I for you have twined,
A wreath of song—may it be ever green!
A wreath of love round loving brows to bind,
Roses fresh blown with myrtle sprays between.

'A wreath of joy, to give a pulse to pleasure;
Of memory, to recall bright moments fled;
Of friendship, for the faithful heart to treasure;
Of holy recollections of the dead!

'Receive the wreath, it holds a secret spell
To bless the brows that wear it.—So farewell!'

The contents of such a volume do not afford much scop extract, and we shall therefore content ourselves with the lowing,—the truthfulness and graphic power of which wil readily appreciated by the intelligent reader:

'THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN.

'The old Count Everhard sate till it was late;
Guest he had none, nor friend, to dissipate
The weary hours of that November night;
His servant lit the lamp, the fire was bright;
The open book before him lay, but he
Turned not a page of that old history,
Written by Froissart, of the wars in France,
His favorite volume. Heavy thoughts, perchance,
Awakened by a sound, or by the day,
Linked to the past, though how were hard to say,
That night upon the old man's spirit lay.

'Gone years returned, when he was young and hale,
And, like the opening of a pleasant tale,
Life lay before him, fresh and bright, and boon,
As is a morning in the odorous June.
The dead were with him; not as last arrayed,
In grave-clothes, and within the coffin laid;
But loving, living, beautiful, and glad,
Each with the smile which when on earth they had;
As if from heaven they came to bless his years,
To whisper comfort, though they called for tears.
Thoughts of the dead, however blest, recall
Thoughts of the living—of the prodigal;
Of him the youngest, fairest, as men said,
For whom such hopeless, bitter tears were shed.
Count Everhard wept, not as he oft had done
Over the wilful, unrepentant son;
But, for his soul was filled with yearning ruth,
O'er him in childhood and in graceful youth;

He saw the boy with hair like clustering gold,
With laughing eye, and aspect fair and bold:
Satchel on shoulder strong, alert and gay,
Bounding to school upon a summer's day:

'He saw him older grown, when manhood's grace
Cast its first coloring on his noble face;
When maidens loved him, and when pleasure set
For his unwary feet her artful net;
He wept; not tears of wrathful anguish deep,
But tears of pity, such as angels weep;
'Youth is but weak, and pleasure's lures are strong;
I said, I pardoned and forbore too long;—
So heaven have mercy on me, I was wrong!
We all are sinners in the eye of heaven,
And he loves most, to whom is most forgiven!'
So spake Count Everhard, and with gushing tears
Lived o'er again the days of other years.
The night grew late; still Froissart lay unread;
Upon his hand reclined the old man's head:
The unstirred fire within the grate had dimmed,
The waning lamp before him stood untrimmed;
Of outward things that night he took no care,
His soul was wrestling with his God in prayer.

'A low step entered; Everhard raised his head;
Was it a robber with that stealthy tread,
And that pale visage,—was it pale with dread?
'Father!' a low voice spake, 'refuse not grace!
I am a sinner, yet I seek thy face:
'Fore thee and heaven a sinner, yet I flee,
Repentant, humbled, father, unto thee!'

The Juvenile Scrap Book, edited by Mrs. Ellis, is sure of a hearty welcome from our young folks. Though grave in its character, and somewhat deficient in vivacity and sprightliness, it combines the amusing and instructive in a sufficient degree to render it an acceptable companion during our long winter evenings. The useful tendency of Mrs. Ellis's labors is conspicuous throughout the volume, which it renders at once a safe and a desirable associate for the inexperience of youth. 'Between some of the readers,' she remarks, 'and the writer of these pages, no other earthly 'intercouse ever will exist; it is therefore the more desirable 'that this medium should be associated with pleasurable sensa-'tions: not merely that the *Juvenile Scrap Book* may be a 'favorite in the library, but that the moral truths it is intended 'to convey may be connected with happy recollections of fire-'side enjoyments; and that the recurrence of social pleasure

'may in its turn remind them that life is not all a holiday, but 'that seasons of relaxation are never so truly happy as when 'they are blended with social and religious duties.'

The volume contains sixteen engravings, with alternate prose and verse illustrations. Three views in Switzerland, Leicestershire, and Italy, are ingeniously connected in a familiar dialogue between two children and their governess, whilst two views in South Africa and a portrait of the Caffre chief Tzatzoe are linked together in an interesting narrative entitled *African Scenes*. *The Dame's School* will be read with pleasure by every friend of the present system of infantile education, whilst the following stanzas will find a ready response in all truly English breasts, though their force and beauty will be fully appreciated only by those who, like their fair author, have just returned from sojourning in a foreign land.

'THE HOMES OF OLD ENGLAND.

'The homes of old England, I see them again;
The flowers on the meadow, the flocks on the plain,
The white gables gleaming among the green trees;
Oh, who could be weary of pictures like these?

'I see the green lawn, with its border of flowers,
I feel the cool shade of its trellis-work bowers,
I hear the sweet music of woodland and grove;
And are they not near me, the friends whom I love?

'Once more I behold the neat cottages too,
The woodbine-wreathed windows, where sun-shine smiles through;
The orchards, so gay with the promise of spring,
The gardens of roses where summer-birds sing:

'The laborer returning at night from his toil,
To sit by his fire, and to see the sweet smile
Of untiring affection, more felt than express'd,
That welcome him back to the home of his rest.

'All these have I sigh'd for when far, far away,
When soft was the moonlight, and dazzling the day;
When all things around me were changing and new,
To the homes of old England my thoughts were still true.

'I 've been where the streams, with more silvery swell,
Have woke the wild echoes of many a green dell;
Where landscapes more lovely, and vistas more bright,
Than fancy e'er pictured, have burst on my sight.

'I 've been where the flow'rs were more brilliant in hue,
The skies more resplendent with sapphire and blue;
I 've been where the rocks were more bold and sublime—
But I wanted the sound of the evening-bell's chime.

'I 've been where the air was more pure and more calm,
The breath of the morning more laden with balm;
I've been where the sun in more glory has set,
But the homes of old England I ne'er could forget.'

The *Rhine, Italy, and Greece* is a noble volume, somewhat akin, but in our judgment greatly superior, to those which belong more strictly to the class of annuals. It contains thirty-three engravings full of the most romantic, picturesque, and highly beautiful scenery that our globe presents. The three regions which the artist has here brought into juxta-position are each distinguished by some features peculiar to itself, and are invested with an interest unique and entrancing. 'The ancient, the 'most chivalrous history of Europe, is illustrated by their 'scenery; and only completely illustrated by this triple alli-'ance.' The plates are executed in the style which usually distinguishes the illustrated works of the Messrs. Fisher, and has deservedly secured for them so unwonted a degree of public favor. They are designed for the many rather than the few, and are consequently vended at a price which is incompatible with the most elaborate execution. The letter press of the present volume contains a large mass of information, illustrative of the romance, natural scenery, and social and political history, of the regions to which the plates refer.

The next on our list, *Fisher's Historic Illustrations of the Bible,* is a great favorite with us, as we have had occasion to remark in our notice of the previous divisions of the work. The design of the publication was a most happy one, and as its execution has hitherto been highly meritorious, we trust that it will find due favor with the public. 'A chronological series of 'Scripture illustrations, designed by the most eminent painters 'of every age and country, engraved in a most careful manner, 'and selected with a sincere desire that they shall be such as 'may be safely employed in aid of education and religion,' cannot fail to be acceptable to a large class to whom more costly works may be inaccessible. Amongst the engravings, which are twelve in number, we may specify as favorites, *Jacob deceived by the Bloody Coat,* by *Guercino; The Shunamite's Son restored to Life,* by *West; Christ blessing little Children,* by *Jouvenet;* and *Moses protecting Reuel's Daughters,* by *Poussin.*

The other two works, *Canadian Scenery* and the *Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland,* are yet in the course of monthly publication. As far as they have proceeded they are highly creditable to the artists who have been employed, as well as to Mr. Willis, whose pen has been retained in both cases by Mr. Virtue.

Brief Notices.

Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of his Shipwreck, and consequent Discovery of certain Islands in the Caribbean Sea; with a detail of many extraordinary and highly interesting events in his Life, from the year 1733 to 1749, as written in his own Diary. Edited by Miss Jane Porter. Third Edition. 2 vols. 12mo. London: Longman and Co. 1841.

The first edition of this bewitching work appeared in 1831, and gave rise to much discussion amongst the critics of the day. The authenticity of its narrative was goodnaturedly admitted by the majority of readers, who were too much charmed by the romantic adventures and virtuous love of Sir Edward Seaward to trouble themselves with any inquiries about the reality of his existence and history. Unfortunately, however, for the historical reputation of Miss Porter's production, other folks were not so easily satisfied, and the examination which they instituted, and the inquiries which were made in various quarters, served fully to establish the fictitious character of the narrative. In her preface to the present edition Miss Porter endeavors, in terms so cautious and guarded as to confirm rather than to remove the doubt which existed, to make good the title of her volume to the rank of authentic history. She would do better to let it take its place amongst the romances of the day. It belongs to the school of Robinson Crusoe, and is entitled to a high station amongst works of that class. Our young friends will find it a pleasant companion for their winter evenings, and their seniors will not be displeased by having many of its pages read aloud for their amusement. The benign and religious spirit which pervades the narrative renders it a suitable companion for the young.

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1. *Discourses and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice; and on the principal Arguments advanced, and the Mode of Reasoning employed, by the Opponents of those Doctrines as held by the Established Church: with an Appendix, &c.* By the late Rev. William Magee, D.D. Part I. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black.
2. *Christian Theology.* By G. C. Knapp, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated by Leonard Woods, jun., D.D. London: Ward and Co.
3. *The Reformed Pastor: Showing the Nature of the Pastoral Work.* By the Rev. Richard Baxter. London: Ward and Co.

The first of these publications belongs to the series of *Christian Literature* issued by the Messrs. Black, of Edinburgh, and will be an acceptable present to a large class of theological students, to whom the masterly work of Archbishop Magee has hitherto been inaccessible, owing to its scarcity and consequent high price. The present part is published at 2s. 6d., and is printed in a neat and very readable type.

The other two publications belong to *Ward's Library*, of which we have spoken elsewhere. The first of them is a reprint from the American edition of 1831, a copy of which, in two thick octavo volumes, is now before us. It is published at 12s., and is worthy of a place in every divinity library. We trust that the enterprising publishers will be amply remunerated for the efforts they are making to supply the English public with cheap editions of standard theological works.

The Moral and Religious Bearings of the Corn Laws; a Lecture delivered in New Windsor Chapel, Salford, August 22, 1841. By A. J. Morris. London: Groombridge; Manchester: Gadsby.

We have seen many superfluous apologies for the ministers who were present at the Convention at Manchester; but, we must confess, that we have not yet met with a perfectly satisfactory vindication of those who intentionally and deliberately staid away; and especially of those who, at the same time, did not withhold a more than implicit censure on their brethren who met together. Happily, however, for the reputation of that body, and for the welfare of the people among whom they minister, they were not all of them too timid or too nice to assemble for such a purpose; they did not, all of them, make the sacredness of their office a plea to exonerate them from the discharge of some of its most sacred duties. Although we by no means intend to compare the voluntary absentees on that occasion to 'the priest and the Levite,' we have no hesitation in classing those who were present with the good Samaritan.

Mr. Morris is of the latter class. He is neither afraid nor ashamed of the claims of duty and benevolence; and we gladly welcome his Discourse as one of the first-fruits of that great convocation of charity. We trust that his example will be numerously followed, for we can say of him, not only it is well that he has done so, but he has done so well. This lecture has nothing *ineptum aut inepte;* it is clear, convincing, pointed, and glowing with the most warm-hearted philanthropy. The Discourse itself is brief, yet without deficiency; the style is pure, perspicuous, and attractive; and the whole evinces a thorough understanding of the moral and religious bearings of the subject, with an intense concern for the present and eternal welfare of mankind. Such a sermon cannot fail to do good; and we heartily commend it to the wide circulation it so well deserves.

Outlines of a Private Calendar. London: Ward and Co. Birmingham: Showell.

The work before us is, in our judgment, pre-eminently fitted to advance real improvement of mind; moreover, we have reason to know that it originated in a genuine solicitude for the object it proposes, and is the result of many years' experience. The direct intention of the work is to induce a specific object and method in the exercises of the closet; and this, by constituting a number of anniver-

saries throughout the year of such a nature as to beget meditation and reflection. The plan of the work is thus stated: 'This Calendar, as may be seen by reference, has an opening for every month, and a line for every day in the year. Every opening presents four columns. Under the first two are distributable those occasions which relate to personal and domestic interests; the other columns are intended for the spiritual and the secular interests of the human family at large.' The calendar is prefaced by an instructive and beautiful introduction, full of evangelical truth and pastoral wisdom and affection, illustrating the uses and guarding against the possible abuses of the plan recommended, and withal, admirably explaining the object of habitual self-examination. To this are added a few resolutions conducive to practical piety, abridged from President Edwards' Journal. The whole breathes a tender anxiety for the welfare of the young; and we doubt not that the pious or thoughtful, in whose hands it may be placed, will instantly conceive an affectionate respect for their unknown friend.

Services at the Ordination of the Rev. Andrew Reed, B.A., to the Pastoral Charge of the Church assembling in the Old Meeting House, Norwich, March the 2nd, 1841. *To which is prefixed a Brief Sketch of the History of the Church.* London: Ward and Co.

Ordination services among dissenters were formerly very heavy and tedious. Nothing could be well imagined more wearying and unprofitable. It is happily otherwise now. The services before us are worthy of apostolic times, and we cannot conceive any thing more affecting and impressive than the charge of the father to his son; while the youthful pastor's answers to the questions usually proposed on such occasions, and his confession of faith, are of a very high order as it regards devotional sentiment, just views of the nature of the ministerial office, and an accurate and profound theology. We do not remember to have heard or read from an individual so young any thing of equal promise. We trust and pray that his ministerial career may be like 'the path of the just, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'

Mr. Alexander's introductory discourse enforces with considerable power 'the great importance of being guided in all our ecclesiastical affairs by the apostles of our Lord.' We think the text on which this is founded is happily selected, namely, the seventeenth verse in the fourth chapter of Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians:—'For this cause I have sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance *of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where, in every church.*' Mr. Godwin's sermon, delivered to the people in the evening, is remarkable for the tender earnestness with which he explains and applies the prayer with which the apostle besought the Ephesians to 'walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called.' The historical sketch of

the church of which Mr. Reed has taken the oversight, will be read with interest by every genuine orthodox nonconformist, who wishes to see apostolic ways restored to every church in christendom.

Records of Wesleyan Life. By a Layman. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

We are here presented with the social life and religious experience of the members of a Wesleyan family of the middle class of society; and the narrative illustrates, with the duties and privileges of christianity, the doctrines and discipline of the Wesleyan church. We need not say the picture is a very favorable one; it generally happens so when we are our own artists or tell our own tale. The author, however, writes in a liberal spirit, and knows how to add to 'brotherly kindness charity.'

Wealth not Happiness; or, Vain Expectations destructive to Peace. By Miss Mary Ann Everitt. pp. 233. London: Fisher and Co. 1841.

It is a good sign that the present times furnish so large and good a list of female authors, and we hail the first effort of another, in the book which appears at the head of these remarks. It belongs to a a class of publications for which, indeed, we have no very great regard,—religious tales. A prodigious amount of sickly sentimentality and puerile writing has been presented to the public under this character. But our objection is to the manner in which they have been written, not to the writing of them. We know no reason why the church should not supply a sufficient number of sanctified Scotts and Coopers, to prevent the necessity of reading the clever and bewitching tales of men, whose ignorance and avoidance of religion are deeply to be deplored, and in their influence to be cautiously watched against. The world is not prepared to give up the reading of tales, and therefore we rejoice to meet with any one who can unite sound principle with cleverness in their productions.

'Wealth not Happiness,' though not free from that class of imperfections which usually attends the first efforts of authorship, is in many respects an excellent work. The writer is a true and earnest christian, and throughout her book a due homage is paid to the principles and spirit of christianity. We have been especially pleased with the high purity of its moral tone. It inculcates a nobleness and delicacy of disposition and of conduct, which is quite refreshing amid the unworthiness and meanness which so lamentably obtains both in the world and the church. As to the main lesson which the narrative is designed to teach, no one can question its importance in this commercial age, when the love and pursuit of wealth bids fair to quench all the higher and nobler aspirations of the human soul; when men seem to imagine that the realization of the golden age is to be found in the diffusion of hard metal. The book contains passages which show

that the fair authoress is no stranger to the finer and deeper sensibilities of our nature, and is not unable to awaken them in others.

We can safely recommend this book, and especially advise religious parents to place it in the hands of their offspring. Its tendency is good and healthful in no common degree.

The Works, Published and Posthumous, of the Rev. Daniel Isaac. By John Burdsall. In three volumes. Vol. I. London: Riley.

The publication of this first volume of Mr. Isaac's works is peculiarly seasonable, as the principal treatise it contains is on a subject in the discussion of which the two great parties, the popish and the protestant, are strenuously engaged; we refer to the 'Ecclesiastical Claims Investigated,' which in our view settles the question of hierarchical assumption, apostolical succession, and the other delusions and abominations of a state-sustained hierarchy. We hope, at its next sitting, the president will recommend this master-piece of controversy to the conference; that new order of priesthood would do well to examine their own claims, and to nip their budding popery before it becomes too rank and luxuriant to be endured. We intend this brief notice as a mere announcement that the publication of Mr. Isaac's works is in progress. We shall wait for the two promised volumes before we enter upon the character of the writer as a polemic and a divine.

The Congregational Manual; or a Concise Exposition of the Belief, Government, and Usages of the Congregational Churches. By John Le Bosquet, Acting Pastor of the Congregational Church, Nottingham, N.H.; *with an Introduction*, by the Rev. Benjamin Stone, Boston.

'This volume,' says the author, 'is intended to occupy a place which has never been filled by any other book. Its object is to give, in the briefest manner, and particularly for the benefit of the young, a view of what the Congregationalists believe, and of what they are as a denomination.' It is transatlantic in its origin—but Congregationalism is English as well as American. It had, indeed, its birth-place here, but it flourishes most abundantly in the United States, to which soil it was transplanted by persecution. In both countries this little but comprehensive manual must prove highly acceptable to the communities whose usages and principles it develops. It is just the book to 'lie upon the table in the parlor or in the retired room, and which ought to find its way into the hands of every individual who has named the name of the Lord in our Zion.'

On Deformities of the Chest and Spine, Illustrated by Plates. By William Coulson. Second Edition. pp. 290. Longman and Co.

Mr. Coulson has long enjoyed a rightly-earned popularity. His work on the chest is well calculated to convey to females especially

some sound practical lessons, on a subject which much concerns their happiness and health. The chest, let it be reiterated, has by them been too generally regarded as a plastic part of their persons, to be modelled with impunity at the caprice of any fashion-retailing spinster. The error lies here, that instead of arranging the dress to the form, these artistes distort the form to suit the dress. Ribs, back-bone, breast-bone, heart, and lungs, all must yield, rather than another inch be added to the waist of some 'very fascinating corsette.' We do not in general advocate the display of anatomical drawings, but let mothers carefully look over those with which Mr. Coulson has illustrated his work, and give heed to the good counsel which accompanies them, and the vicious system which has so long been their reproach will cause a shudder at its very recollection.

A Manual on the Bowels, and the Treatment of their Principal Disorders from Infancy to Old Age. By James Black, M.D. pp. 240. Longman and Co. 1840.

An important subject, and clearly treated of in Dr. Black's work. We strongly recommend it as well adapted for the 'perusal and attention of the junior members of the profession.'

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

The Rev. Samuel Davidson, LL.D., is preparing for publication '*Sacred Hermeneutics Developed and Applied,*' a sequel to his former volume on *Biblical Criticism.*

The Mental and Moral Dignity of Woman. By the Rev. B. Parsons.

Just Published.

The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., Principal of the University of Glasgow, 1637—1662, from the Author's MSS. By David Laing, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo.

The Kingdom of Christ delineated, in two Essays on our Lord's own Account of his Person, and of the Nature of his Kingdom, and on the Constitution, Powers, and Ministry of a Christian Church as appointed by himself. By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin.

China, or Illustrations of the Symbols, Philosophy, Antiquities, Customs, Superstitions, Laws, Government, Education, and Literature of the Chinese. By Samuel Kidd, Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature, University College, London.

Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of his Shipwreck and consequent Discovery of certain Islands in the Caribbean Sea, as written in his own Diary. Edited by Miss Jane Porter. 2 vols. 12mo.

A Dictionary of the Art of Printing. By W. Savage.

No. 2. An Appeal to the Antiquaries of Europe on the Destruction of the

Monuments of Egypt. By George R. Gliddon, United States Consul at Cairo.

America and the Corn Laws, or Facts and Evidence showing the Extensive supply of Food which may be brought from America, and the Effects of the restrictive System on the British and American Trade. By John Curtis, of Ohio, U.S.

The Revival of Religion, a Discourse delivered at the Anniversary of the East Lancashire Auxiliary Missionary Society, June 22, 1841. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.

Account of Koonawur in the Himalaya, &c. By the late Capt. Alexander Gerard. Edited by George Lloyd, with a large Map. 8vo.

The Congregational Lecture, eighth series; Theology of the Early Christian Church. By James Bennett, D.D.

A Grammatical Chart, or a Key to English Grammar. By W. W. King.

Discourses and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrine of Atonement, Sacrifice, &c. By the late William Magee, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Part I.

The Student-Life of Germany. By William Howitt, from the unpublished MSS. of Dr. Cornelius.

A Concise and Practical Treatise on the Principal Diseases of the Air Passages, Lungs, and Pleura. By Alfred Catherwood, M.D., C.M.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. Poems. Part 1.

The English Maiden—Her Moral and Domestic Duties.

Ward's Library—The Reformed Pastor. By Richard Baxter.

Opinions on Faith, Divine Influence, &c., from the writings of John Brown, D.D.

Via Media between Teetotalism and Drunkenness. By Mortlock Daniell.

Hints to Students in Divinity. By John Brown.

Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge. Parts 17, 18, 19.

The Standard of Faith, a Sermon. By the Rev. J. Davies, B.D.

Fisher's Historical Illustrations of the Bible. Division IV.

Life and Times of Louis Philippe, King of the French. Vol. I.

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book for 1842. By Mary Howitt.

The Juvenile Scrap Book. By Mrs. Ellis. 1842.

The Rhine, Italy, and Greece, in a Series of Drawings from Nature. By Colonel Cockburn, Major Irton, Messrs. Bartlett, Leitch, and Wolfensberger, with Historical and Legendary Descriptions by the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A.

Scott's Bible. Fisher's Illustrated Edition. Division II.

Historic Memorials relating to the Independents or Congregationalists, from their Rise to the Restoration of the Monarchy, A.D. 1660. By Benjamin Hanbury. Vol. II.

The Rollo Code of Morals, or the Rules of Duty for Children. By Jacob Abbott.

The Corn Laws of England. By Frederick Von Raumer. Translated from the German.

The Lays of Cambria. By Philip Bevan.

A Manual of Electricity, Magnetism, and Meteorology. By Dionysius Lardner. In two vols. Vol. I.

Lectures on Christian Theology. By George C. Knapp, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated by Leonard Woods, jun., D.D. (Ward's Library.)

A Discourse designed to Advance the Objects of the Manchester Conference, delivered at Pontypool. By Thomas Thomas, President of the Baptist Theological Institution.

The Philosophy of Christianity, or the Genuine Christian proved to be the only real Philosopher. By Philip D. Hardy, M.R.I.A.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1841.

Art. I. *Hear the Church! A Word for all.* By a Doctor of Divinity, but not of Oxford. London: Ward and Co.

WE have always thought that the ominous text and title of Dr. Hook's sermon before the queen, has had more to do with its popularity than its contents. It is true, as Dr. Bennett has said, there is no such text in the Bible, but that is a trifle; and indeed there is something very striking in the fact, and the more so for its being undesigned, that an attempt to promote a system which tends to the disparagement of God's word should be introduced by a gross perversion and abuse of one of its sayings, as a text. The brevity and the import of the title, and its sacred associations, have arrested the attention of multitudes that would never else have noticed it. We are not about to review that sermon, or we might say that either on account of its merits as an announcement of principles, or as a composition, it is but little entitled to the fame which it has obtained.

The tract mentioned at the head of this article (we believe from the pen of Dr. Raffles), was evidently suggested by Dr. Hook's discourse. It is short and to the point; and the publisher would, in our opinion, do good service to the truth by publishing it in the cheapest possible form, that it might obtain a great circulation. This is the day of tracts, as others have been the days of folios. They are the forms and instruments of good and evil, of every sort. People will not and cannot read big books, and therefore great men are condescending to write little ones. This tract might be printed for a penny, or a half-

penny, and if so, we doubt not would do a great amount of good. It is written in a very plain and popular style. There is no elaborate argumentation, all is lively and clear, and the germ of the whole case is here suggested, if not developed. We shall extract a passage to enable our readers to judge of the nature of the thing themselves. After quoting the nineteenth article of the Church of England, the author proceeds thus—

'But what is the meaning of the term 'faithful men?' Assuredly it means *true believers;* not infidels, on the one hand, nor hypocrites, on the other; but men who, while they profess their faith in Christ, give satisfactory evidence, by their works, that their faith is genuine, and their profession sincere. But where are we to find such churches? Are they to be found in the buildings of the national establishment, or in those where the dissenters worship? In the buildings of the national establishment, indeed, there are *congregations;* but *mere congregations* cannot be regarded as *churches,* according to this description of a church, for there are many in every such congregation who are not, in the sense of the term already given, *faithful men,* and who ought not, therefore, to have a voice in any body which purports to be a church.

'Besides, if such congregations are to be regarded as the church, how are we to hear them, for they never speak? And even if they were to speak, and, in some way or other, to make known their sentiments on religion, it is certain that they would put forth very different notions, and opinions, in many cases, opposed the one to the other. Indeed, so various and so opposite are the opinions held by different congregations, all worshipping in these consecrated buildings, and claiming to be regarded as the church, or an integral part of the church, that it has grown into a custom to distinguish some as *evangelical,* thereby intimating that others are not so; and to designate some clergymen as 'preachers of the gospel,' while the rest are stigmatised as not preaching it. Now which of these are we to hear? for it is plain that they cannot both be right. If each of these congregations is to be regarded as *the church,* then is the church divided, and the same fountain sends forth truth and error. But, if they are not to be *all* regarded as the church, or portions of the church, but only *such congregations as hold the truth,* then how are we to know which they are? for all alike affirm, and, it is to be presumed, believe, that the truth lies with them.

'In this difficulty it may be observed that the appeal lies from the conflicting opinions of ministers and congregations, to the articles and homilies, the creeds and standards of the church. But it may be asked, are *they* infallible? Are *they* inspired? Do *they* give a certain sound? Is their testimony so unequivocal and decisive, that there can be no mistake in their interpretation, and no diversity of opinion as to the sentiments which they inculcate, and the doctrines they teach? Now, it must be acknowledged that they do not. So uncertain is the sound they give, so equivocal the testimony which

they bear, that each of the opposing parties above referred to claims that testimony as in their favor; while even a bishop (Burnet) of the church has employed his ingenuity to show that the thirty-nine articles of the church may be interpreted both on Calvinistic and Arminian principles, and that the abettors of both these systems may subscribe them with a conscience equally clear.

'But even if it were not so; if the church, in her articles and creeds, spoke a language so distinct and decided that it would be impossible for the greatest ingenuity to find any thing like an encouragement to diversity of opinion, still a question would arise as to the *authority on which they rest.* We have assumed all along that the church to be heard is the *protestant church;* but the Roman catholics say that it is the *Romish church.* That church, they affirm, is the most ancient, and therefore most worthy of confidence; while they maintain that the protestant church is in error, having dissented schismatically from it. And indeed there are certain divines in the Church of England itself, and in one of her chief seats of learning too, who are very much of the same opinion, for they are going back, as fast as they can, to the principles and practices of the Romish church, even to the invocation of saints and prayers for the dead; inasmuch that the Bishop of Chester (Sumner) has said, in a charge lately delivered to the clergy of his diocese, 'Many subjects present themselves, towards which I might direct your thoughts; one more especially concerns the church at present, because it is daily assuming a more serious and alarming aspect, and threatens a revival of the worst errors of the Romish system. Under the specious pretence of deference for antiquity, and respect for primitive modes, the foundations of our protestant church are undermined by men who dwell within her walls; and those who sit in the reformers' seat are traducing the Reformation. It is again become matter of question, whether the Bible is sufficient to make men wise unto salvation; the main article of our national confession—justification by faith—is both openly and covertly assailed, and the stewards of the mysteries of God are instructed to reserve the truths which they have been ordained to dispense, and to hide under a bushel those doctrines which the apostles were commanded to preach to every creature.'

'Now, really it is very hard for a plain man to tell what, in such a case as this, he is to do. He is commanded to hear the church—but what church? The Roman catholic says, 'My church;' the protestant says, 'Mine.' One party in the protestant church says, 'Hear me!' and another says, 'No, hear me!' One says, 'Lo, here is the truth!' and another, 'there;' but where is it, after all, and which of these conflicting parties is he to hear? Is he to hear the Bishop of Chester, or Dr. Pusey? If the bishops are to be regarded as the final authority, still he is in difficulty—for they also differ among themselves: the Bishop of London sneers at the Bishop of Chester, as a *Methodist,* and the people of Bishop Auckland lately burnt the Bishop of Durham in effigy, as a *Socinian!*'

But nevertheless 'Hear the church' is still, and yet more

and more, the great and earnest cry of the times. Whatever the obscurity and mysteriousness of its signification; however difficult to explain it well, and however false so far as it can be explained at all; whatever its inherent inconsistencies and its contradictions of the most solemn facts and principles of human nature, of true history, of divine religion; however insufficient it may be to satisfy the real wants of our nature, and however powerful in producing new ones; however irreligious, and absurd, and hurtful, 'Hear the church' is heard from every quarter; every breeze bears the proud and impious demand; the voice waxes louder and louder, and many are engaged in the vain attempt, and may more will soon be, to 'hear the church!' It is full of instruction and solemn warning, the fact, that in the nineteenth century, and when science and philosophy have done so much to promote right principles of judgment and of faith, and when the spirit of democracy has been revived with so much vigor and spread to so great a degree, the claims of the church should become more severe and strict, and be urged with a more fixed determination to yield not a particle to the weakness or the strength, the religion or the recklessness, the conscience or the concupiscence of men. Yet so it is, and it is not beyond the power of human explanation. The thing may be made out, but still we say it is full of warning and instruction. How great the uncertainties of moral faith amid all the demonstrations of natural science; how little dependence may be placed on mere intellect, however furnished and invigorated for the detection and maintenance of religious truth; and how easily and with what disastrous effect in the moral world, principles may react to produce their own opposites.

Had one of the reformers of the Church of England been told that within three centuries there would be a great revival of popish zeal, that instead of being extinguished, popery would be spreading fast, building new and good sanctuaries, gaining many converts, and not in one and the lowest class of society only; that enlarged and vigorous schemes would be concocted, and carried out with all the earnestness which a hope of success alone can inspire, for the conversion of Britain to the faith of Rome; and especially if he had been told that his own church would furnish a most powerful auxiliary in this mighty movement, in a large and learned body of clergy, propagating sentiments containing all the essential elements of popery, and many of its actual developments, and doing its work well and effectually by means which itself could not command, and in quarters to which itself had not access—had this prospect been stretched out before the vision of some earnest and warm reformer, who cannot imagine the mingled emotions of incredulity, horror, and amazement with which he would have contemplated it?

Yet all this is fact. The church of Rome is extending itself in this country; priests are educated and prayers are offered specially for its reclamation, and fervent prayers, whatever may be God's answer to them, answer themselves in part, for a man cannot pray with all his heart without working with all his strength. The prospect as to popery is becoming serious, for if these things are done in a green tree, what may be done in a dry? The tendency of public events is not to place papists in a worse state for propagating their religion, but in a better. As to political power and favor, they have evidently seen their lowest state of degradation and exclusion. They can only rise, and rise they will, until not a vestige or a sign of civil inferiority is left about them. And many of the supports of protestantism are giving way. There has hitherto been a great horror of popery in this land. It has not been founded in knowledge, but still it has been great. Popery has been a real bugbear. The pope has been a nursery alarm. Many little children have been made good by him. The wholesome detestation has been cherished by many customs. The fifth of November has witnessed an annual revival as well as exhibition of the orthodox faith. But the public feeling is changed in part, and is being changed in whole. Protestants can go to hear mass without fearing that the roof will fall upon and crush them. It is necessary by big placards to 'caution unwary protestants' not to contribute towards the erection of popish sanctuaries. The gunpowder plot is almost forgotten. And petitions are presented to parliament from protestants, for it to be no longer binding on the sovereign to call popery by hard names in the ceremony of coronation. All these things, however good, show that a general alteration of feeling respecting popery has taken place in the land. And if the alarm and horror with which popery used to be regarded has nearly ceased, the danger is that their place will be supplied by a prejudice in its favor. It is not easy to check the course of a national any more than of an individual mind; when it is turning from a severe and bitter estimate, and a rude and fierce abhorrence of any thing—it generally stops not until it has reached the opposite extreme, and we greatly fear that in many minds, there is in place, and perhaps as the effect, of the protestant alarm and bitterness which used to be, a disposition and almost a wish to find popery true. Then, as we have said, the Church of England is a great help to the church of Rome. Puseyism is popery in a church professing to be protestant, popery is but Puseyism in a church professing to be popish. The time is coming when the one must merge into the other. A slight change of circumstances may bring it about. An intimation that it is possible has not been whispered but printed. It is an historical fact now, that the

toleration of Puseyism in the Church of England is the price of the keeping of Puseyites within it. And if Puseyism is popery, the whole Church of England will soon be popish, for the great stays and oracles of protestantism are fast dying out; the new clergy are for the most part initiated into the new doctrine, and even they who continue in the main evangelical, show plainly that they have not altogether escaped infection. Multitudes are on an *inclined plane* (to use the allusion of the Bishop of London), and must go down; or, to employ another, and we think better figure, multitudes are on a *sliding scale*, and are going up. Whence comes the constant secession of evangelical clergymen from our mixed and truly catholic societies, such as the Bible and Tract Societies? Whence comes the gradual conformity of institutions which were once the refuge and the instruments of the gospel in the establishment, to the stiffer and more exclusive ecclesiastical conceptions of the men by whom they were once assailed and vilified? Whence come the mysterious and uncertain notes in which the necessity and efficacy of the sacraments are spoken of by men who once had clear notions of the inner, spiritual character of true religion? Whence come the lordly claims put up on behalf of the English church, both as a church and as an establishment, by many who once cordially fraternized with the good and true of all churches? Whence come the private estrangements between those who used to be good friends and fellow-laborers, and the rude and indelicate invasions of christian faith and kindness which many of the plans of so called gospel clergymen display, such as (we speak what we do know) the formal visitation of men, known to be evangelical dissenters, by them, and the formal request that they would go to church? These things are sad, but they are real—whence come they? They come just of Puseyism and nothing else—they come of the revival and spread of high-church notions. Men who have not become Puseyites are affected with Puseyism. There is a general contraction of ecclesiastical sympathies, and a general elevation and dilation of ceremonial religion and official pride as its consequences. And the evangelical clergy will not, it is to be feared, remain where and what they are. Melancholy facts have shown that they can become disciples of the new school as well as others, and the pressure from without and the pressure from within together will surely test them. We dread the trial. We more than dread it. It seems evident to us, without professing to be prophets, that we are hastening fast to a period in which the principles of error and evil will become fewer in their forms and greater in their power, in which, in fact, speaking generally, the only system of error within the church visible will be popery, and the only system without, will be infidelity.

What then is to be done in reference to popery? We mean of course by evangelical dissenters. There is no hope but in them. Theirs are the principles by which alone popery can be effectually assailed; theirs alone the circumstances in which an effectual assault can be made. In pleading for the great and simple truths of the gospel, and for the rights of saints, they cannot be met by the retort, 'Physician, heal thyself!' They do not use arguments in one direction, which they are obliged to denounce in another. The ground on which they stand is firm and plain, the only ground on which any can stand to show a vigorous antagonism to the great apostasy. They are not crippled by ecclesiastical rules or etiquette, they are not oppressed by the cumbrous enormities of a civil establishment, they are not perplexed by the confused and conflicting writings of the fathers. They are, therefore, the hope and stay of protestantism in this country. What ought they to do? It is a solemn question. We merely design the suggestion of a few hints towards a proper answer of it.

It does not seem to us that any mechanical union or society for the purpose of resisting the progress of high-churchism, would be advisable, for this simple reason, that if a professed and formal assault were not subject to other and serious objections, it would be powerless. Societies do nothing. They are but the shapes and instruments of living principles. They create no power, but only exhibit and apply the power that exists before, and without them. The establishment of a society is simply the putting together of the machinery by which something may be done. If the moral and spiritual elements do not exist, which are necessary to a sustained and efficient action upon any sin or system, the institution of a society is an evil instead of a good. It is a burden, and not a help. It provokes opposition without resisting it; and hinders other and more useful operations. How full is the history of the last few years only of the proofs of this? How many societies have risen up, in consequence of some momentary excitements, or through the labor of some few good and earnest men, who by dint of zealous and persevering effort obtained the co-operation of others just sufficiently to take the first step, but no more, and are now dead, or ought to be? These societies were not the natural expression of the faith and feeling of the various sections of the church with which they were nominally connected. They were not the spontaneous growth of principles, but an outward accretion of circumstances. They were mere forms, and nothing more. The history of the past, and the reason of the thing, teach us not to seek any formal organization with a view to the diffusion of protestant sentiments. The feeling does not e
without which organization would be in vain. It might

few years by means of great labor and great sacrifices on the part of individuals, and then it would go—where so many of such things have gone already. The people do not understand nor hate popery enough—they do not take sufficient interest in its condition and progress—they have too great dislike to appear to be mixed up with or to patronize other and bad modes of promoting protestantism already in use—or they have too little hope of success from the present state and relations of the great parties and churches in this country, to render it desirable or safe to set in operation any systematic scheme of opposition to the growing errors of the age.

The attention of ministers of religion must be turned to the study of popery. The time is gone by when generalities may suffice upon this subject. A closer and fiercer combat with the man of sin is coming. The principles of the reformation will have to be revived and applied in new forms, by those whose function it is to 'keep the faith.' It is of all things the most necessary that they who describe or attack popery should know what it is. This is thought to be an easy and common knowledge—which is one main reason of its not being so. A vague and indefinite conception of a mass of absurdities and horrors; a chaotic jumble of doctrines the most blasphemous, and deeds the most bloody; this is the prevalent conception of popery among protestants. It is imagined that any terms of contempt and indignation must befit it, that any arguments against imposture and tyranny must be opposed to it. Many assail it as a very bad thing, but why it is so, or in what particular respect it is so, it would not be charity to ask them. They use words against it without any special point or precise meaning—they fight with it as with a man in the dark. There are others, who though more knowing, are not learned in this matter. They have but a poor acquaintance either with the history or with the philosophy of it. Their opinions are founded on a partial and imperfect view of the case. They confound the essentials of popery with its accidents, its permanent principles with its temporary forms, what is the effect of circumstances upon it with what is its effect upon circumstances. The local is made universal, the transient immutable. The doctrine of popish infallibility supplies an instance of the ignorant mode often adopted in the controversy with popery. Because the church is asserted to be effectually secured from error in some respects and under certain conditions, instead of pains being taken to ascertain with what references and in what way the doctrine is held, every inconsistency and immorality in individual popes, and every contradiction in ecclesiastical councils, becomes the fruitful occasion of unmingled ridicule and censure. So when popery is charged indiscriminately with destroying individual

religious faith, it is often forgotten that the faith of the catholic is only placed on different grounds, but does not relate to different objects from those of the faith of the protestant. When popery is charged with substituting human tradition in the place of the word of God, it is forgotten that tradition is held to be the word of God as much as the sacred Scriptures. And the common mode of fixing the introduction of different popish doctrines to the dates of the councils in which they were first defined or defended, is sufficiently reproved by the remark, that doctrines do not in general become matters of discussion and decision until after they are known, and that it is not the announcement, but the contradiction of them that leads to such proceedings. We have adverted to these things, not because they are the most common or important things to be lamented in this controversy, but merely as a few out of many indications of a grievous defect of some assailants of the man of sin. The most active and direct organization of the day in opposition to popery, and the most popular anti-popish books, continually display evils and errors such as these. The sayings of individual men are made the sure criteria of the tenets of the church, points upon which the church is allowed to change are confounded with points upon which it is not allowed to change. Small anecdotes are substituted for great arguments. In fact, reasonings are frequently employed, which if used with as much virulence and as little wisdom, might be urged against any and every denomination of christian men. What is the result? Why, men are moved by the hearing of hard speeches and violent accusations to inquire; the result of inquiry is very possibly the detection of the fact that a bad argument has been used, or a good one with a bad application; a sense of natural justice is aroused on behalf of those who are looked upon as unfairly handled; their own allegations and proofs are listened to with favor, and perhaps some degree of prejudice, and in the end a conversion to popery takes place in consequence virtually of an injudicious mode of opposing it. In saying this we speak no secret and state no mystery. The case is common, and the reason of the case is plain. Silence is infinitely better than weak and foolish talking against popery, or against any thing. We say it solemnly, we would rather that many advocates of protestantism had been in the ranks of its opponents, than have done the work they have on its behalf, when we have listened to their pointless and inapplicable ratiocinations, half false and half falsely treated, against the faith of catholics. This will not do now. It might suffice to keep up a certain horror and hatred of popery while it was a distant and quiet thing, but now that it has come near, and assumes a bolder and more offensive tone, now that it visits our people, answers our books,

and no longer content with preserving the faithful, seeks with all the apparent meekness of the dove, and all the real wisdom of the serpent, to make converts, it will be found worse than useless. Protestants must now be saved by their knowledge, not by their ignorance; by their faith, not by their unbelief.

There is much to be done even among protestant dissenters in relation to popery, in order to prepare for the coming contest. It will be well if we are admonished by the signs of the times to do it. The causes of popery are among us, and operating further than many may suspect. These must be watched and opposed. It requires but little wisdom to detect the germ of popery in the common estimates of mere intellectual orthodoxy. The doctrine of infallibility is held in form in the church of Rome, but it is held in spirit in many a protestant church. Where is there the sense of liability to error, or the intense and calm inquiry after truth? In what quarter would a man be impressed with the fact that he is surrounded by people deeply conscious of the danger of misconception and mistake? It is true the cry on all hands is, 'The 'Bible, the Bible alone is the religion of protestants;' but every one knows that out of this Bible different protestants get very different religions, and that all are apt to speak of their respective religions with as much certainty as if the Bible could only be made to furnish plausible proof of their own. 'The real seat 'of unerring truth is in the original conceptions of Christ's 'understanding; the infallibility which resides there alone, the 'protestant (often) transfers to his own particular favorite 'among its several senses; he assumes it as an absolute fact, 'not merely that ideas of Christ were true, but that his own 'are identical with Christ's. He evidently imagines that he 'has possession of some certainty more than human, something 'much more secure than a probable opinion. He comes to me 'with the air, not of a man who desires to recommend a rational 'conviction, but of one who is charged with a message of inspi-'ration. He calls himself an ambassador of heaven, and speaks 'as if he were; he assures me that I am in the bondage of 'iniquity, and treats me as if I were. He tells me that he 'approaches me in the spirit of a divine love, which he proves 'by showing me no human respect. He brings me his own 'peculiar notions, which he denominates 'the truth of God that '' cannot lie;' he proposes to eradicate mine, which he entitles '' delusions of Satan.' His are the breathings of the Holy 'Spirit, mine the offspring of a carnal understanding. Instead 'of reasoning with me, he prays for me; feeling, I suppose, 'that he has greater influence on the mind of God than on that 'of man. He avoids the usual means of persuasion, and pass-'ing by my understanding, goes direct to my will, wielding not

'arguments but motives, not evidence but fears; telling not of 'proofs but of perils, not of reasons but of ruin; and aiming to 'throw, not my judgment into a calm, but my feelings into a 'tempest.'

Now this, although perhaps overdrawn, is but too true a description of a great deal of protestant proceedings in reference not only to the few great and elementary principles of scriptural truth, but to the minor and modal sentiments respecting it. The consequences are easily pointed out. The habit of regarding things of secondary importance as of supreme, coupled with the apparent impossibility of arriving at the truth respecting them, since men of equal religious wisdom and excellence hold opposite notions, prepares men to look with kindness on the pretensions of a church that promises a safe and infallible guidance. The spirit of dogmatism is cherished, and what marvel if it gradually allies itself with a system which presents all its elements in their richest state of excellence? The dry and doctrinal taste which used to characterize large portions of evangelical dissenters, and which we rejoice to think is gradually giving way to the reality and power of a spiritual faith, lays the best possible foundation for popery. Its sympathies and affections, if it can be said to nourish any, are all popish. The ideas with which it is connected may be ultra-protestant, but still the spirit it generates is popish. For popery, whatever its theoretical sentiments, is based essentially on the substitution of faith for works. The merest skeleton of faith, in its own way and direction, has ever been esteemed as before all other things. It, in fact, consists in the substitution of forms for realities, naked ideas and doings for the living and warm fruits of true moral affection — the intellect for the heart—the shapes and shadows of things for things themselves. It is thus a lie, in many cases a forced lie. Believe the church, and all things are possible and holy to him that believeth. Whatever, therefore, tends to the production of a formal faith, the putting of mere mental images in the place of the living spiritualities of the heart, tends to popery. There is a strong disposition in human nature to assign to the mere acts of the understanding a saving virtue, apart from their moral influence; this disposition is one of the chief sources of popery, and this disposition is too much encouraged by many forms of protestantism. Hence to be 'sound in the faith,' is far more than to be 'sound in the statutes;' and the heretic is more odious than the sinner. They do good service to the protestant form of truth, who point out the utter irrelevance of mere opinions to a man's salvation, and who endeavor to reduce to the smallest possible number the sentiments whose rejection and reception certainly indicate a spiritual state.

Popery is indebted for much of its acceptance to its physical and material character and accompaniments. It is the Jewish form of the christian religion. It lays too great stress by far on the external circumstances and corporeal instrumentality of religion. There is no point of contrast between it and the generous, free, and natural christianity of the apostles, more striking than the estimate which each involves of ceremony. So far as ceremony was considered a part of religion, the apostles evidently cared nothing for it. The whole genius of their doctrine was opposed to it. It was only as a means that they cared for it. Popery on the other hand, makes things of time, and place, and manner, essential to godliness. The communication and perpetuation of grace is inseparable from matter and manipulation. The body of man is the soul of popery. Is there not too much of this among those that are accounted good protestants? The general estimate of the symbolic services of religion is too high. The word 'sacrament,' which ought never to be used at all, not because it has a popish sound, but because it has a popish sense, is sadly too common. These 'sacraments' are regarded not as simple and beautiful acts of memorial and commemoration, but with a mystic awe, as having something specially to do, though no one knows what, with a man's salvation. Men in observing them consider the possession of some peculiar sanctity necessary, a sanctity more than enough to fit them for the secular services of the world, and of another kind than the sanctity of business. And a strange sense obtains of 'damnation' following a wrong observance, as it does not follow other sins. Nor is it in reference to baptism and the Lord's supper that such incorrect feelings prevail, but there is a general elevation of the ritual and artificial above the inward and moral. To erect truth and goodness, with whatever outward observances associated, into their proper place, and to draw around them their deserved homage, is the function of spiritual men. Popery is founded on a misconception or neglect of the specific character of our economy, as an economy of faith and virtue, not of arbitrary signs and formal services, not a thing of chronology and geography. Its ministers are sent not so much to perform certain rites, as 'to preach the gospel;' its essence is 'not 'meats and drinks, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy 'Ghost.' To magnify the symbols of God's grace into essentials, or to convey the notion that any views about them do *necessarily* indicate the inferiority of a man's spiritual religion, is to be in the way to all popery—is to nourish the seed of which popery is the full manifestation. But while we think that in some respects protestants are too popish in reference to ceremonial religion, we by no means think that they might not imitate to advantage many of the physical characteristics of

popery. They cannot think too little of ceremonies as constituting in any state or order the godliness which God requires, but at the same time they neglect beyond due measure the material and corporeal means of religious impression and excitement. Men are still 'in the body.' Nature is adapted to embodied beings; it furnishes beauty for the eye and harmony for the ear; and should the highest dispensation of divine love and wisdom be careless of the physical organization of those for whom it is designed? Shall the effect of scene and sound be forgotten in a process which requires all the auxiliaries which may be supplied? The 'form of godliness' has a very close connection with its 'power.' 'If you wish to preserve some 'precious odour, you expose it not abroad in its pure ethereal 'essence, knowing that thus it would soon evaporate and waste 'away; but ye do rather knead it up with something of more 'earthly mould, which may be unto it as it were a body, whence it 'may long breathe its perfume to all that approach.' Religion may be rendered too subtle and refined to be safe amid the rude and rough friction of the world. Nor is this all. Men are not to be lectured out of their love of architectural grace and grandeur, of the sweetness of music, and the goodly show of well ordered services. To neglect these things, while it does no homage to religion, for religion does not demand their neglect, is to present an impediment in its way. Christianity pours no contempt on the ordinary means of affecting the soul through the senses, and protestants would do well to cultivate with more zeal, though in due subjection to the spiritual realities of religion, the friendship of the arts.

Protestant dissenters should be taught by the progress and prospect of popery to cherish greater unity. The religious divisions of the church have ever been a sore obstacle to its strength and spread. The divisions of christians have been an argument against christianity; the divisions of protestants have been an argument against protestantism; the divisions of dissenters have been an argument against dissent. The argument may be bad, but it is not less hurtful for that reason; and in the case of protestantism, it may be said that popery has exhibited as much diversity of creed and custom as itself, and said truly, yet there is not the appearance of diversity in it to such an extent. It proclaims unity, it promises unity, and multitudes regard it as the only refuge from the endless perplexities and controversies of those that are without. Nor need protestant dissenters appear to differ as they do. There are great points and arguments for union among most of them. Many sects exhibit no diversity too great to be merely individual, and not denominational distinctions. Without any sacrifice of opinion, but with only a little more humility and

charity, might they cease to be many and become one. But while they stiffly stickle for all their peculiarities; while they require that those peculiarities should be dignified by denominational names and forms; while they insist upon uniformity of sentiment as an essential condition of Christ's church; while they maintain that the church shall be converted to their own thoughts and feelings before the world shall be converted to Christ; while all this continues, a strong and standing obstacle to protestantism will remain, and its propagation will be the propagation of weakness, because of division. It has been usual, when the state has been threatened with invasion by some foreign foe, for all parties, whatever differences they might maintain of political creed and tendency, to join together for its defence under the influence of a common patriotism, and it behoves those who agree in the great principles of religious truth and liberty, now that they are the objects of a great and growing opposition, not to prevent or weaken their success by strife and contest about minor things.

We make but one more remark. The ignorance that prevails upon religious subjects affords a strong temptation to the efforts of popish agents, and a fine field for them. 'The people 'are verily destroyed for lack of knowledge'—'they perish 'because there is no vision.' After all that has been done, the mass that remains is terrific; it has not been half told.* There are multitudes who are utterly destitute of acquaintance with the first elements of religion, and there are still greater multitudes who are unable to distinguish popery from protestantism. Here is an opportunity for protestant effort, and a demand for it, which cannot be neglected by those who are sincere in their professions of disbelief and dislike of the creed of Rome. If the mere question was, where can we most effectually promote the diffusion of protestant ideas, the answer would be, among those who have none, not among those who have some already and contrary ones. But this is not the question. These masses have no faith, and consequently cannot be saved. They appear before us in all the wickedness and wretchedness of an undeemed condition. They are being taken from our own familiar neighborhoods to the place of woe. And while they are unprepared for the judgment and its issues, because ignorant of the

* Will it be believed that the writer was called in but a few days ago to visit a man who had been bred up within half a mile of six protestant places of worship in which the gospel is preached, who did not know that there is a God? And see the consequences of such ignorance. A gentleman called a few hours afterwards, with a catholic priest, and persuaded him with little difficulty to permit the priest, and him alone, to attend him, which accordingly he is now doing.

gospel, they are prepared for the same reason for the reception of any errors proposed by zeal and sophistry. For the errors of popery they are prepared, for not only do zeal and sophistry accompany their presentation, but they are especially adapted to the minds of those of whom we speak, minds without discipline and without holiness. Popery is a tempting thing to those who wish to obtain a sense of certainty without the trouble and toil of patient investigation, who prefer confidence in another to reliance on themselves, and who feel and fear from a constant struggle between conscience and inclination. Popery is the religious form of human depravity. It has arisen out of the corruptions of the heart of man, and as it has arisen, it has covered itself with the names and dress of truth and devotion. For those who wish to be religious without being godly, it is just the thing. If then we would not that popery should spread and prosper in our native land, let us zealously endeavor to prepare the uneducated and unideaed masses of our countrymen for its assaults and temptations, not only by the sayings and symbols of protestant churches, but by the generation of a true faith and holiness. It is a far easier thing to implant religious sentiments which are true where there are none, than to displace false ones; and the implantation of true ones where there are none, is the best way to prevent the reception and lodgment of false ones.

Art. II. *The End of Living and the Gain of Dying to the Faithful Servant of Christ: a Sermon preached in the Congregational Chapel, Nile Street, Glasgow, August 8th*, 1841, *on occasion of the Death of the Rev. Greville Ewing.* By RALPH WARDLAW, D.D. Glasgow: J. Maclehose and R. Nelson. 8vo. pp. 36. 1841.

THE text of this discourse is Phil. i. 21: *For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.* Assuming the correctness of the common version (for which, however, he assigns sufficient reasons in a note appended to the discourse), the author proceeds to consider the former clause of it 'as expressing in one 'word the *principles*, the *object*, and the *prime interest* of the 'earthly life of Christ's faithful servants,' and the latter as intimating their prospects for futurity. In the illustration of these topics Dr. Wardlaw displays all that accuracy of thought and expression, soundness of scriptural doctrine, practical usefulness of remark, closeness of application, and manly and graceful eloquence by which his pulpit addresses are usually marked. Valuable, however, as the discourse is on these

accounts, its chief interest, if we mistake not, will be found to arise from the vigorous, graphic, and correct sketch which it contains of the life and character of the lamented individual on the occasion of whose decease it was delivered.

The late Rev. Greville Ewing was no ordinary man; and his loss is felt to be no common bereavement by the denomination with which he stood connected—the Congregationalists of Scotland. Of that denomination he may justly be regarded as the founder; by almost all the churches belonging to it, excepting a few recently formed, he was personally known; of many of them he had assisted in collecting the first members and forming them into a society; of the vast majority of their pastors he had either exclusively, or in conjunction with his colleague Dr. Wardlaw, been the instructor; to all of them his writings and his counsels had rendered service to a greater or less extent; and by the whole he was for a long course of years reverently regarded as one of the greatest ornaments and strongest bulwarks of their cause. The departure by death of such an one has left a blank among these churches more deeply regretted than easily supplied. Nor has this feeling been confined to them. A succourer of many, a friend and guide to all, he has carried with him to the better world the grateful remembrance and reverence of multitudes beyond the limits of his own denomination:

'Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.'

Of such a man we may be permitted to occupy our pages with a more lengthened account than is customary in such a journal as this.

Mr. Ewing was a native of Edinburgh, where he was born in April, 1767. Designed originally for a secular profession, he was at an early period bound apprentice to an engraver, at which work he continued till the term of his apprenticeship expired. In the meantime, however, a change had been experienced by him in regard to spiritual matters, and a resolution formed to devote himself to the work of the christian ministry. In pursuance of this he no sooner felt himself at liberty to relinquish with honor his secular engagements, than he devoted himself to preparatory studies for this work. After passing through the usual curriculum of general and professional study at the University of Edinburgh, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Hamilton as a preacher in connexion with the established church of Scotland. A few months after obtaining his license, he was appointed colleague to the late Dr. Jones, as one of the ministers of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edinburgh, to which office he was ordained in 1793.

In this situation he continued with great [illegible] and useful-

ness till the year 1798, when he resigned his connexion with the established church. The circumstances which led to this step were no less peculiar than they are interesting and instructive. In studying the divine plan of redemption, Mr. Ewing had been led to embrace the views of the moderate Calvinists of England respecting the extent of the atonement, its sufficiency for the forgiveness of all sin, and the adaptation of the divine message concerning it to all men. Impelled by these views, he felt it to be his duty to make a free offer to all whom he addressed of salvation through the blood of the cross, and to urge upon all an immediate acceptance of the gracious invitation. To extend the proclamation of these offers beyond the limits of his own congregation was only a natural result of the opinions he held concerning them. Hence he was led to take a deep interest in all missionary operations whether at home or abroad. So far did he carry this feeling that he was one of four who proposed a mission to India, the expenses of which were to be defrayed by one of their number, a gentleman of large property, which he designed to sell for that purpose.* Frustrated in this intention by the refusal of the East India Company to permit their settling within their territory, Mr. Ewing and his associates turned their attention with increased vigor to the work of disseminating the gospel at home. Scotland was at that time in a state of great moral and spiritual darkness. The infidelity of Hume had spread its poison through almost every part of the more educated portion of the community. In the established church the stern policy of the dominant party, pursued under the able guidance of Principal Robertson and his successors for nearly half a century, had succeeded in establishing the reign of Moderatism, and overspreading the country with a cold, worldly, soul-destroying doctrine, against which only a faithful few were found to lift their protest. In the dissenting sects orthodoxy generally prevailed, but little comparatively was done by them for the extension of the gospel; most of their thoughts and energies being expended on the building up of their party, in whose appointed formulæ all their sentiments were couched, and whose chosen Shibboleth they valued as their lives. A few, happily, were found in all parties who saw the evil of this state of things, and were longing and praying for something which might break this mortal stupor, and call forth to spiritual life the dormant energies of the people. To these aspirations, in which none more largely shared than Mr. Ewing, it was his privilege to give formal public utterance,

* This gentleman was Robert Haldane, Esq. The other two members of this fraternity were the Rev. D. Bogue, of Gosport, and the Rev. W. Innes then one of the ministers of Stirling, now of Edinburgh.

and at the same time to point out how they might be realized. This he did partly by occasional articles in the Missionary Magazine, of which he was editor for the first three years of its existence, but chiefly by his famous sermon entitled, 'A Defence 'of Itinerant and Field Preaching.' This sermon was preached in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, on the 24th of December, 1797, and was published shortly afterwards. It contains a plain statement of the need that existed for efforts of the kind recommended, and a manly, vigorous, and, as it appears to us, successful vindication of such efforts. Coming from one who at the time was a minister in the established church, it occasioned no small stir throughout the country. Whilst many condemned it as advocating irregularity, and many were irritated by it as tending to rebuke the state of coldness into which christians generally had sunk, there were not a few who hailed it with grateful joy, as furnishing a free exposure of evils which were eating out the soul of piety throughout the land, and as giving a sound impulse to the emotions of zeal which were beginning to be too strong in the bosoms of many to be much longer pent up. From that moment a new order of things commenced. Many good people, who previously had been doing nothing, simply from not knowing clearly what it would be proper for them to do, now set themselves with activity to the work of disseminating divine knowledge among the people. Preaching stations were opened in villages around the city, which were supplied sometimes by pious laymen—a strange novelty in Scotland in those days of rigid ecclesiastical order! Itinerant and Home Missionary Societies were formed and set in operation. Ministers from England gladly responded to the invitations addressed to them, and came to the help of their brethren in the north.* Students of theology, whom stiff presbyteries refused to ordain for such irregular work, betook themselves to England, and having been there ordained as evangelists, returned to Scotland burning with zeal to carry to every corner of their native land the bread of life. Even presbyteries themselves at length began to move or be moved. Deputations were appointed by both the Burgher and Antiburgher Synods to visit certain districts, to preach through them, and report on the religious state of their inhabitants. Strangest, perhaps, of all, the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge despatched Dr. Kemp, its secretary, to Orkney and

* Of those who thus visited Scotland at that time, the names of Bogue, Wilks, Bennet, Hill, and Burder, most frequently occur in the periodical accounts of what was done. The visits of Mr. Fuller, though with another object, were also highly useful.

Shetland, to examine into the state of these neglected portions of the kingdom. A fire had been kindled under the ribs of death. The people flocked in thousands to hear the itinerant, or, as they were called, the missionary preachers. Many were converted to God. The zeal which had long flowed only within the channels of a party, in many cases broke its bounds and spread its healing waters over the waste places of the country. The reign of bigoted orthodoxy was over. The monster Moderatism was stricken with that disease of which it is now tardily expiring. The cause of a free, spiritual, expansive, self-sustaining, all-diffusing christianity was at length, and for the first time in Scotland, fairly established.

It was not to be expected that such things could go on without drawing down upon the actors in them the displeasure of those whose carnal ease or unholy supremacy they threatened to destroy. More especially did it become reverend bodies of clergymen, placed for the defence of order, and above all things of Moderatism, to crush in the bud these rising irregularities. It was not long, therefore, before Mr. Ewing and some of his coadjutors were brought to the point where they must either relinquish their new schemes of christian benevolence, or disengage themselves from the authority of the established church. Their choice was soon made. Their course had been deliberately and conscientiously taken, and they adhered to it like honest and stout-hearted men. Over the tyrannical and disgraceful proceedings which resulted in Mr. Ewing's final separation from the church of Scotland let the veil of oblivion hang; they were sorrowed over by all good men at the time, and would now be repudiated even by those who have succeeded to the opinions, and in some respects to the policy, of the men who were the principal actors in them. Suffice it to observe, that in this case, as in many others, tyranny overreached itself, as these violent proceedings drew to the insulted martyrs of conscience a current of public sympathy, which the inherent merits of their cause might have failed to secure.

At the time of Mr. Ewing's secession from the established church, neither he nor those who adhered to him had embraced the principles of Independency or Congregationalism. The germ of these principles, however, had long before been imbedded in the mind of Mr. Ewing, and required only the aid of favoring circumstances to expand to its full development. Emancipated by his separation from the establishment, and cured of any lingering likings he may have had for Presbyterianism by the severe process through which that stern mistress had sought to repress his fancied irregularities, the favorable occasion was gained for allowing his mind free scope in following out its initiatory convictions as to the true nature

of the christian kingdom, and the proper form of christian churches. The result was his adoption of those views of ecclesiastical polity and order on which he formed the church over which he afterwards presided to the close of his life; and of which he was the firm and able advocate amid many circumstances of a very disheartening and difficult nature. To his labors in propagating, defending, and explaining these views, the Independent churches of the north owe mainly, under God, the internal peace and outward prosperity which they now happily in a great measure enjoy.

Of Mr. Ewing's connexion with the church in Glasgow, of which he became pastor shortly after his secession from the established church, Dr. Wardlaw has given a brief but pleasing account. For the long period of nearly forty-two years that connexion subsisted, with unimpaired affection on both sides—an affection which had its root in mutual confidence, and was fostered by a continual interchange of the offices of christian fellowship. With the duties of the pastoral office Mr. Ewing, almost from the commencement of his labors in Glasgow, united those of a tutor in the education of young men for the work of the ministry. For both these spheres of usefulness he was eminently fitted, though not equally for both. To a kind and sympathizing heart, and a vigorous, high-toned piety, he added a strong, a comprehensive, an active, and a well-stored mind. If not gifted with a taste for nice metaphysical discrimination, and if more inclined to take broad and palpable views of things than to indulge in refined speculation, he was on that account all the more fitted for the important office of teaching and admonishing the people of God by the ministration to them of sound and practical instruction. As a theologian he was accurate and copious, rather than original or profound; excelling more in the explanation and enforcement of great leading truths than in bringing to view new combinations of ideas, or tracing out previously untrodden paths in divine speculation. In one word, he appeared both in the pulpit and in the chair rather as the orator who felt that he had something to *do*, than as the logician or philosopher who contented himself with what he was able to *prove*.

Dr. Wardlaw has spoken of 'the high and just distinction' which Mr. Ewing 'attained and kept as an expositor of the 'word of God,' p. 27. In interpreting Scripture, we should be inclined to say, lay his chief strength, and it was from his skill in this as a department of public instruction that his reputation was principally obtained. For such exercises he was eminently qualified both by natural endowments and acquired habits and stores. Gifted with a comprehensive and retentive memory, quick in tracing affinities and parallelisms between different

passages, well skilled in the original languages of Scripture, a thorough master of all the departments of biblical science, and continually versant with the study of ancient literature both sacred and classical, he brought to the exposition of the inspired page qualifications rarely combined in the same individual, and the union of which with sound views in theology, lively feelings, a pleasing manner, a melodious voice, copious eloquence, and great faithfulness as well as plainness of speech, rendered his public exercises in this department at once the most instructive and the most entertaining of his addresses. We use the word *entertaining*, for this really expresses the idea we wish to convey; not that we would insinuate that there was any thing like drollery in his public addresses, for from every thing of this kind no man could stand more removed; but that in listening to his expository discourses one had all the feeling of enjoying *a treat*. What he said upon the passage was so suitable, so natural, so clear, and the illustrations which he brought to bear upon it from other parts of Scripture were so apt, and often so unexpectedly applied, that the mind of the hearer was kept continually in that pleasing state which results from exercises that fully engage without burdening or perplexing its powers. At times the effect produced by him was more than pleasing; it was overpowering. Beneath a prevailing placidity of manner and oratory there lay concealed a deep fountain of feeling, which, under the warming influence of some congenial theme, would often burst forth in a stream of the most fervid and impassioned eloquence. At such moments his auditory were, if we may so speak, completely taken by storm; their whole souls were in the power of the speaker, and when he closed his thrilling appeal, it was no unusual thing for sobs and tears to give general testimony to the mastery which his excited spirit had exercised over theirs.

Besides attending to his pastoral and academical duties, Mr. Ewing found time to communicate with the public from the stores of his mind, in works of great research and value. His *Letters to the Jews*, though not, perhaps, so suited as might be desired to the conviction of that interesting people, contain some invaluable expositions of several difficult parts of the Old Testament. His *Greek and English Lexicon*, of which a third edition appeared in 1827, will ever remain a monument of his diligence and erudition, and bring him the honor of being the first to consult the advantage of the student by the publication of such a work.* With the exception of a pleasing and touch-

* It should be mentioned that Jones's Lexicon was published before Mr. Ewing's third edition, which is the only edition intended for the classics

ing memoir of his late wife, and a few sermons, all Mr. Ewing's other publications are of a controversial kind, some relating to matters chiefly of local and personal interest, others of more general and permanent importance. In some of these, especially in those written in the earlier part of his career, there are better indications of the real *genius* of the man than appear in any of his larger works. As a controversialist Mr. Ewing was not very remarkable either for dialectical ingenuity or for logical vigor; his *forte* lay in the clearness with which he stated his own views, and the felicity with which he exposed the fallacies or follies of his opponents. Dr. Wardlaw justly speaks of 'the perspicacity of his powers of argumentation, and of 'the Attic pungency and happy *naiveté* of his humour and wit,' as displayed in some of those controversial productions. As these writings are now very scarce, it may be worth while to illustrate this by a short extract from one of them. The point for which the writer is contending is that in Acts xiii. 2 the injunction of the Holy Spirit to *separate* Paul and Barnabas does not mean *ordain* them, as had been affirmed by his opponent. In support of this he argues, among other things, that they had been ordained before; and, in order to illustrate the absurdity of supposing a command from God to re-ordain persons who were at the time in office, he proposes to transfer the words of the passage 'to a body of men as nearly agreeing 'as possible, at least in their official character,' with his opponent's notion of the prophets and teachers at Antioch, viz. the Edinburgh clergy. 'Suppose,' says he, 'the history to run 'thus: 'Now there were in the church that was at Edinburgh '' certain prophets and teachers, as Hugh Blair, D.D., James '' Finlayson, D.D., Henry Grieve, D.D., ... W. Moodie, '' D.D.* And as they ministered to the Lord and fasted, the '' Holy Ghost said, Separate me Hugh Blair and W. Moodie for '' the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had '' fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent '' them away.' Would any man, taking this passage for his 'text, say that it contained a command to the prophets and 'teachers in the church of Edinburgh to ordain the said Hugh 'Blair and W. Moodie, or even to recognize and confirm their 'ordination? . . . . The history certainly says no more than 'this, that Hugh Blair and W. Moodie, being called away from 'the church that was at Edinburgh upon a mission to the

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generally; but with Mr. Ewing originated the design of supplying students of Greek with a lexicon containing explanations in English.

* These are given by Mr. Ewing in the order in which they were placed in the Edinburgh Almanack for the year. We have omitted the greater part of the names.

'heathen (a business in which they had already been tried, and 'which they were well known to have greatly at heart), their 'brethren were commanded to acquiesce in the dispensation, and 'to send them away for that important undertaking; and that 'accordingly they did so in a very affectionate and pious man-'ner,' &c.* To all who are acquainted with the character of the two clergymen named in this extract, the clever humor of the passage will be at once apparent. Dr. Blair was, as his writings show, a man of a polished but withal shallow and dry mind, and one to whose fastidious taste and carnal nature every thing like evangelical zeal was unspeakably abhorrent. Moodie, on the other hand, was a coarse, violent bigot; a furious Moderate, but by no means a moderate fury; and of whom nothing is now remembered except the exploit for which he has secured a place in Kay's Caricature Sketches, that of dispersing by manual violence a Sunday Evening School, upon whose quiet occupations this incarnation of priestly intolerance had suddenly descended.† The idea of such men 'having it much at heart' to go as missionaries to the heathen, and the loss of them being a sore dispensation to their brethren, with some at least of whom they were on any thing but good terms, is as exquisite a piece of irony and grave humor as we remember to have read. With all his powers of humor and sarcasm, however, be it recorded that Mr. Ewing never descended to play the merry andrew, and never applied the lash save where impertinence was to be checked or disingenuousness rebuked.

For several years before his death Mr. Ewing's health had been visibly declining, and with that his mental activity and vigor. Afflictions, personal and relative bereavements, hard study, and extensive labors, had told upon him before blindness and paralysis were added to the list of his trials. But amidst all it was astonishing how much of vivacity and love of work he retained. A fond lover of books, his attachment to them continued to the last, and he was seldom ignorant of any work of value in theological or biblical literature that made its appearance, even after blindness had rendered him dependent upon the good offices of others for his knowledge of its contents. It was wonderful, also, how at times his old fervour would revive, and he would leave the ranks of the veterans to resume his former place in the vanguard of his brethren. It was thus that the

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* Remarks on Mr. Dick's Sermon concerning the Qualifications and Call of Missionaries, pp. 7, 8.

† See the plate in the recent edition of Kay's Portraits and Caricature Sketches, 2 vols. 4to. Edin. 1837, vol. i. p. 365. The sketch is entitled 'Modern Moderation *strikingly* displayed.' It represents Dr. Moodie in the act of beating the children to the door with his stick.

spirit within gave testimony to its own etherial temper, and showed that it was surviving the decay of its earthly tenement, by efforts which only the more tended to hasten that decay.

Mr. Ewing's departure from earth was singularly calm and peaceful. 'Waking a little after midnight,' says Dr. Wardlaw, 'and feeling somewhat restless, he took, as usual with him, a 'little coffee. Soon after he uttered these words—memorable as 'as the last that were distinctly heard from his lips, which death 'was so soon about to seal—'My heavenly Father is kind, very '' kind to me:—then trust in God.' Having said this he laid 'himself gently back, and in a very few minutes, without the 'discomposure of a feature, without the quiver of a nerve,—it 'could hardly be called death, it was the imperceptible cessation 'of life—breathed out his spirit:—delightful emblem of his 'entering into rest,' pp. 24, 25. A dismissal more gentle could hardly have been desired. No racking pains, no tearful farewells, no sobs or groans of earthly love to call back the happy soul from the heavenly vision, and load it in its upward flight!

'The voice at midnight came;
He started up to hear;
A mortal arrow pierced his frame,
He fell, but felt no fear.
Tranquil amidst alarms,
It found him on the field
A veteran slumbering on his arms,
Beneath his red-cross shield.'

And yet, unconscious as he was of all external circumstances, he was surrounded by the very friends whose presence he would have wished for, at that most solemn moment. A much attached and faithful attendant, whose services he highly estimated and had often warmly acknowledged, alone was present to observe the first indications of an approaching change. But she lost not a moment in giving notice of that which was so deeply interesting to herself. Her summons quickly brought into his chamber an only and beloved daughter, long and widely separated from him, but then, in the arrangements of a wise and gracious providence, on a visit to his dwelling, together with the attached and valued friend whose devoted and unwearied kindness had contributed more than any other earthly blessing to soothe and cheer the years of his decline. Such were the favored witnesses of the calm and peaceful scene. Two gentle sighs just gave them the assurance that he had not already broken every tie which united him to earth; but while they still eagerly watched and listened, the spirit had escaped, and was bounding in its upward flight to mingle in the triumphant anthems of the family of heaven.

Having already exceeded our limits, we must here abruptly close, without attempting any analysis of Mr. Ewing's personal or official character. This is the less necessary that it has already been done both by Dr. Wardlaw, in the sermon before us, and by Dr. Russell, of Dundee, in a Sketch which appeared first in the Scottish and then in the London Congregational Magazine. We have also learned with extreme pleasure that a lengthened memoir of Mr. Ewing is speedily to be prepared under the superintendence of his daughter, Mrs. Matheson of London. We shall look with deep anxiety for its appearance.

Art. III. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., Principal of the University of Glasgow*, 1637—1662. Edited from the Author's Manuscripts by DAVID LAING, Esq. In three vols. Vols. I. and II. Edinburgh: Robert Ogle.

WE are indebted for this publication to the Bannatyne Club, a literary association formed in Edinburgh some years since, for the purpose of preserving, in an accessible form, the more valuable remains of Scottish history and literature existing in manuscript. With a generous regard to the interests of historical literature, it was resolved, at an Annual General Meeting of the Club, that an extra impression of this work should be thrown off for the use of the public, and we trust the example thus set will be followed by other kindred associations. It is superfluous to remark that the work is got up in a very handsome style, and will, when completed, effect all which the warmest of Baillie's admirers can desire. Two volumes have been issued, and are now before us; the third and remaining one is to appear early in 1842, and will contain an account of the author's life and writings. We shall wait for its publication before we attempt to furnish our readers with any sketch of Baillie's life; as the more copious materials which it will supply will enable us to render our biographical notice much more copious and satisfactory. In the meantime we proceed to the Letters and Journals themselves, which are now for the first time given to the public in an authentic and trustworthy form. Several transcripts of the Baillie manuscripts, either in whole or in part, have long existed in various public libraries. A volume containing part of the earlier letters is deposited in the British Museum; a similar one, written about the year 1700, is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland, and three transcripts of the whole are known to exist,—one in the Glasgow University Library, another in

the Archives of the Church of Scotland, and a third in the possession of the late Dr. M'Crie. A selection from these letters was published in two octavo volumes, at Edinburgh, in 1775, in the prefatory advertisement to which the editor states that 'it was thought proper to leave out some things that 'related to the author's family and other private matters, but 'nothing has been left out that throws the smallest light on 'the history of those times.' This statement is not quite correct. Many passages throwing considerable light on the temper of the times being omitted in this edition, while several letters of great importance to the historical student were entirely suppressed. These omissions are happily supplied in the edition before us, which must, as a matter of course, take the place of its incomplete predecessor. The old orthography has been retained; we suppose in conformity with the rules of the Bannatyne Club. We have no right to complain of this, yet we much fear that it will tend greatly to limit the circulation of the work, which we should much regret. The uncouth orthography of Baillie must be exceedingly repulsive to general readers, many of whom, we fear, will be induced by it to throw the work aside as devoid of interest, and incapable of repaying for the labor of perusal. We should, therefore, have been glad, if it had comported with the rules of the club, to have had the orthography somewhat modernized in the edition which was designed for public sale. Whatever may be gained in the way of historical value by the present form of publication, is, we apprehend, more than counterbalanced by its unattractive and forbidding aspect.

The position occupied by Baillie as one of the chaplains of the Scotch Army which entered England in opposition to Charles the First, and the mission on which he was subsequently sent to London, brought him into frequent contact with the most prominent members of the Long Parliament, and afforded him ample opportunities of noting the signs and temper of the times. This he was not inapt in doing, as the contents of these volumes sufficiently prove. He was an acute and diligent observer of men and things, accurately versed in the arcana of his party, and zealous to the death for the independence and honor of his kirk. He was a severe and rigid Presbyterian, who deemed prelacy a twin sister of popery, and would have consigned all schismatics without scruple or pity to the tender mercies of the civil magistrate. His letters extend in nearly an unbroken series from January, 1637, to May, 1662. The earlier ones relate to the mad intolerance by which it was sought to impose the ritual of the English church upon our Scottish neighbors, and exhibit with much accuracy and force the strong feeling of indignation and religious zeal which the attempt awakened. They 'then detail the origin, the changing fortunes, and the

'tragical incidents of the great civil war which desolated these 'kingdoms; interspersed with accounts of the trial of the Earl 'of Strafford, the proceedings of General Assemblies of the 'Church, and of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and 'they carry us on to the period when the dominant power of 'Cromwell and his sectarian forces, aided by the infatuated 'conduct of the English monarch, prevented that uniformity of 'religion in doctrine, religion, and church government, to the 'accomplishment of which both nations were deeply pledged by 'the solemn league and covenant.' From this period to the restoration, Baillie's letters relate chiefly to the affairs of his church, and throw considerable light on the monarchical predilections of its members, as well as on the origin of the two parties into which they became divided. The larger portion of his letters were addressed to his relative, Mr. W. Spang, a minister of the Scotch Kirk, and were written with all the fulness and freedom by which the epistolary correspondence of men who have full confidence in each other, and are deeply interested in the matters about which they write, is usually characterized. The following, addressed to Mr. Wilkie, under date of January 2, 1637, is strongly illustrative of the conscientious decision of the writer, as well as of the state of religious feeling in Scotland at this period. The orthography is more antiquated than that of any other of Baillie's epistles. It is now printed for the first time.

'The Proclamation of our Liturgie is the matter of my greatest affliction. I pray you, if you can comand any copie, by your money or moyen, let me have on[e], an it were but for tuo or thre dayes, with this bearer. I am myndit to cast my studies for disposing of my mind to such a course as I mey be aunseuerable to God for my cariage. Whouever, I am greatly affrayit that this aple of contention have banishit peic[e] from our poor Church heireftir for ever. In Ingland, to this hour, sun[d]ry Episcopall books latly printit does testifie, this fyre is yet reikand, and reddie upon occasion to brek out for the trouble of that Church farder then ever. Ar we so modest spirits, and so towardly handlit in this matter, that ther is apeirance we will imbrace in a clap such a masse of novelties? I find Andreus himself, the semigod of the neu faction, preaching befor King James, in a wreit dedicat to King Charles by this sam Canterburie, sheuing that all Church Laues, that all Canones Ecclesiasticall, have allwayes been made in Church Assemblies, and not elswher. In Ingland it wes so ever; the leist ceremonie never appointit but in the Convocation; though Andreus wer silent, the constent practise of the Church, both universall and particular, does evinc this. It is to me a matter above mervell, whou any hes mintit to move our sueit Prince, to begin a new practise so late on our poor Church. Had [we] been truly, as onc[e] we wer falsly aleagit, but a pendicle of the dioces of York, yit more then a missive lettre would have been usit to have movit us imbrace a hole book of neu Canons, and mor then ane Act of Councell to have

mad[e] us recev a neu Forme in the whol worship of God, prayer. sacraments, mariag, buriall, preaching and all. For myself, I am resolvit, what I can digest as any wayes tolerable with peic[e] of conscience, not only in deu tyme to receve myself, but to dispose others also, so farr as I can by word and writ, to receve quietly the same; but what ever be my mind, yit I am affrayit sore that there is a storme raisit which will not calme in my dayes. It's a pitie that we should have none to give our gratious Princ[e] deu information. They ar dear cost honour, which ar the pryce of our poor Countrie and Church peic[e] and liberties, betrayit to the lust, and sett onder the feit, of some feu forrein Prelats, if not on[e] alone. I mey vent this much of my grevit mynd in thy bosome.'—Vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

The same temper of mind, so fatal to the intolerant schemes of Laud and his infatuated master, is conspicuous in another letter included in this edition, and addressed, January 16, 1638, to Mr. Maxwell, one of the ministers of Glasgow. Had Charles and his miserable adviser possessed one atom of good feeling or of political foresight, they would have paused ere they forced such men to open resistance. To leave to conscientious opposition no other alternative than the English archbishop proposed to the Scottish nation, was to combine all religious men in hostility to his measures, and to render the ultimate defeat of his policy certain. Such was the due reward with which a tyrannical prince and bigoted prelate met, at the hands of an insulted and indignant people.

'Ye refreshed me at our last two or three meetings, and still I am refreshed when I remember your full consent with me in all the points now in question, and your hote zeale against the new doctrines of the English faction. Ye desyred me to draw up these things in write, whereof I did speak to you, and send them to you, that ye might in your sermons, in that eminent place before the scholars, sett yourself against these new errors as manfullie as the yeares bygone ye had done. In the matter of Antichrist, I have done as ye desyred; receave therefore these my papers: if there be any passage whereof ye doubt, I hope to make it good, for since that wreit, I have fallen on other their treatises wherein they vent the same errors which are there, and some moe and worse, if moe or worse can be. Thir are times that every one of us must help others, and strengthen others to maintaine the truth of God committed to our custody. When they troubled us bot with ceremonies, the world knowes we went on with them (whereof we have no cause to repent), so far as our duty to God or man could require: bot while they will have us, against standing Lawes, to devoire Arminianisme and Popery, and all they please, shall we not bear them witnes of their oppression though we should die for it, and preach the truth of God, wherein we have been brought up, against all who will gainsay. Much good may ye doe in this cause; your first Supplication did much help: goe on in the name of God; whatever

danger ye can fall in by doing God service, it will not be comparable to the great curse of God upon Meroz, who, when able, and called, wer unwilling, for their own reasons, to help the Lord against the mighty,—Had I one half dozen so able and stout as ye to goe before me, I would not be afraid to reason the equity of our cause in the face of an Œcumenick Synod, against all the Canterburians in Brittaine, though they had on their syde all the Bishops with them, as they have not the halfe. The Lord be with you, most loving Brother, and direct you what you have to doe in your place and at thir times.'

—Ib. pp. 30, 31.

Some of the Scotch clergy hesitated to engage in measures hostile to the king. They scrupled openly to oppose his authority, and mistrusted the ulterior designs of some of the most prominent of the popular leaders. Dr. Strang, Principal of the Glasgow University, was of this number, and Baillie, therefore, in some letters, printed for the first time in the present edition, endeavored to remove his scruples, and to engage his hearty concurrence in the popular movement. Strang's influence appears to have been considerable, which rendered his adhesion to the measures which were in progress of no little moment. 'Your great place and great abilities,' says Baillie, writing to him, January 16, 1638, 'does call yow to it before 'any man I know in the west of Scotland. Your first concur- 'rence did a great deall of good to further that universall 'refuseall of the Book which followed. Your withholding of 'your hand from the last complaint, I hear much spoken of, 'and heavily taken; bot what I can I justifie it, at least excuses 'it to my power. However ye continue to joyne in that com- 'plaint or not; yet I wish earnestly that ye may try the way of 'our Court Clergy, and if ye finde them to be in a course of 'undermyning our religion, that ye would not faile to bear 'witness of it, as none can doe better. The hazard of so doing 'will not be so great, as the conscience of so good a turne will 'be comfortable, come what may.'

A subsequent letter enters more fully into the position and views, the hopes and fears, the scruples and resolves of his Presbyterian countrymen. The letter is of great historical interest from the clear light which it throws on the origin of the early Scotch troubles, as also on the monarchical views of those who were foremost in opposing the court of Charles. Whatever changes might have taken place in the views of English sectaries, the Scotch Presbyterians were thoroughly attached to the old forms of the constitution. Our readers will not be displeased by the following extract, from which it appears that Baillie's correspondence had in some measure served to remove the scruples of his correspondent.

'Bot I thank God that ye are come much nearer, by these good

means ye name of your reading and prayer: I am confident, upon the continuance of the same, that ye shall come on that little step which remaines; and, if it might be the will of God, from my heart I wish, so soon as is possible, to see yow come clean over, where so many of us are who lowes yow dearly, and whom ye alike doe love. Our maine feare to have our religion lost, our throats cuttted, our poor country made one English province, to be disposed upon for ever hereafter at the will of a Bishope of Canterburie; thir our feares are builded mainely upon the withdrawing of our brethren's hands and countenances from us, in that course which we conceave to be most necessare at this tyme. Our hopes, under God, which we have, to cruse the undermyners of our whole religion and civill liberties also, is in the universall harmonie and conjunction of all brethren. Your hand I took ever to be of especiall importance; I know not only the deserved dependance which many brethren had upon yow, bot your great estimation and abilities whereby this good cause might be furthered, if ye had joyned: I think it is one of the greatest occasions that ever ye had in your life, or shall have to your death, to doe God, our Church, our Country, a piece of good service. . . . I doe not only believe that there is no word into it (Covenant) that makes against the King's full authority, so farr as either religion or reason can extend it, or against the office of Bishops, or any power they have by any lawfull Assemblie or Parliament; or that by this write we are obliged to oppose any novation, or any thing at all which is not contrare to God's word: not only I believe this, bot hes professed so much before the whole meeting at Edinburgh, oft both in word and write, without the least appearance of contradiction of any to this houre. Bot for me to have craved this much under any their hands, I thought it needless, and very inexpedient for them to have granted; for it had been ane expresse granting in write, to be registrate to the world's end, that they thought there was just occasion given to suspect that, in that write, there was something which truely did oppose the King's authoritie, &c. If any presently, or hereafter, shall abuse any clause of this write, to overthrow the King's authoritie, &c. as many abuses Scriptures themselves to their own bad intentions, I think it abundantly contents me, that I can make it evident, not only that at my subscription I professed, by word and write, that I did believe there could no such thing be deduced from that write, of which profession I have many famous witnesses; bot the chief ground of my satisfaction in this case is, that I can make it evident before the world, that the write hes no such errors, else would I never have subscribed it. . . . As for formalities ye wont not to be carefull: I am hopefull, when the practise of Conformitie is put in your will, ye will not be stout for it, if ye see that the urgeing of it is mainely to put away the best and ablest opposites to popery out of the land; and that their removers are avowing, so fast as they can, the grossest poynts of popery, in print, with applause and advancement for that only cause; if ye see that, I know ye have a tender heart and will not for your life, let be places, doe any thing which may truely further so wicked a plott. That it is no lesse then popery in grosse which the Canterburian faction is now aiming at, I

stryve to shew in thir Quæries which here I send you; I doe it farther in another little write of Paralelle of our Service with Masse and Breviarie, which I shall send yow if ye like this. However, doe what ye will, subscryve or not subscryve, be assured of my high estimation of yow, and affection to yow, and confidence of your zeall and orthodoxie; trusting that when the subscryvers of this Covenant are made away, either banished, or made foulie to recant, which I feare shortly (if God avert not), that ye and sundry other of your brethren shall begin where we have left, and be ready with your blood to seall the truth of God as fervently as the forwardest of ous. Only let me entreat you most earnestly, as ye would refresh my heart singularly, subscryve this write so shortly as ye can with any condition ye can obtain from your Commissioners: there is no hand now in Scotland which I doe so much desire at it as yours.

'Thir in great haste and confusion as your pressing bearer can shew. The Lord be with yow, dear and loving Brother, and help us; for, except he concurr with his extraordinary mercy, I take the religion, libertie, and peace of our land, houghed and clean overthrown for our dayes.'—Ib. pp. 66—69.

Baillie repaired to London as one of the Scotch Commissioners at the close of 1640, and was present in Westminster Hall during the trial of the Earl of Strafford, of which he has furnished some interesting particulars. The character of Strafford was a compound of qualities dangerous in proportion to their elevation. His talents were of the highest order, and were well known to be unscrupulously devoted to the advancement of the prerogative. His deadly enmities and lofty ambition, his abuse of power in the north, his yet more outrageous despotism in Ireland, his ascendancy over the king, and the inflexibility of purpose with which he sought the extinction of English freedom, all marked him out as the arch-enemy who must be struck down from his elevation, before his countrymen could deem their hereditary rights secure. It was therefore resolved, on the suggestion of Pym—the presiding genius of the Long Parliament in its earliest and best days—to impeach the Irish lieutenant of high treason. Baillie gives a graphic description of the scene which ensued when 'Mr. Pym went up with a number 'of members at his back, to the higher house, and in a prettie short 'speech, did, in the name of the lower house, and in the name 'of the commons of all England, accuse Thomas Earle of Straf-'ford of high treasone.' The earl was at this time in consultation with the king, whither the report of the commons' impeachment soon reached him. What follows, in Baillie's letter to his wife, is too characteristic to be omitted. Strafford had anticipated the struggle, and now that it had actually commenced, his proud spirit was prepared consistently to act its part.

'With speed he comes to the House; he calls rudelie at the doore,

James Maxwell keeper of the Black-Rod, opens; his Lordship, with a proud glouming countenance, makes towards his place at the bourhead: bot mainie bids him void the House: so he is forced in confusion to goe to doore till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, bot is commanded to kneell, and, on his knees, to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delyvered to the keeper of the Black-Rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crymes the House of Commons did charge him with. He offered to speak bot was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer roome James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword; when he had gotten it, he cryes, with a loud voyce, for his man to carrie my Lord Lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coatch, all gazeing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered: all crying, What is the matter? He said, A small matter I warrand yow.'—Ib. p. 272.

In a subsequent letter, Baillie details the progress of the earl's trial, from which we are greatly tempted to extract somewhat largely, but we have other matters before us, and must therefore desist. 'It was dailie,' he says, 'the most glorious 'Assemblie the Isle could afford; yet the gravitie not so much 'as I expected; oft great clamour without about the doores: 'in the intervalles, while Strafford was making readie for answers, the Lords gott alwayes to their feet, walked and 'clattered; the Lower House men too loud chattering; after 'ten houres, much publict eating, not onlie of confections, bot 'of flesh and bread, bottles of beer and wine going thick from 'mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the King's eye.'

The letters abound in allusions to the ecclesiastical affairs of the period, and in characteristic sketches of the most prominent leaders of the several parties who were then struggling either for ascendancy or for life. These notices of his contemporaries are of course tinctured with the bitter spirit of the Presbyterians of that day, but beneath the coloring which a mistaken conscientiousness spread over his views, there are visible the marks of a discriminating judgment and of an inflexibly upright man. A fair sample of this spirit occurs in the following allusion to an ecclesiastical opponent, in a letter to Captain Porterfield, from London, 1644. 'Mr. Maxwell of Rosse hes 'printed at Oxford so disperatelie malicious a invictive against 'our Assembleis and Presbytries, that, however I could hardlie 'consent to the hanging of Canterbury himselfe, or of any 'Jesuite, yet I could give my sentence freely against that unhappie lyers life. . . . If God go on a little with you, such 'flattering serpents, incendaries, and overthrowers both of 'kings, parliaments, and churches, will be gotten charmed.' Such was the fierce spirit which many of the religionists of that

day cultivated towards each other. Strange that they should so far have mistaken the law of christian obedience as to confound such zeal with christian faithfulness. But so it was, and the letters before us furnish innumerable illustrations of the fact. Baillie's account of the Westminster Assembly is highly interesting, and on the whole, greatly to the credit of that celebrated meeting. He entered, together with the other commissioners, on the 20th of Nov., 1643, and remarks: 'The 'like of that assemblie I did never see, and as we hear say the 'like was never in England, nor any where is shortlie lyke to 'be.' After describing the place where the assembly met, and the order in which the 'Proloqutor' and others sat, Baillie thus proceeds:—

'We meet every day of the week, but Saturday. We sitt commonlie from nine to one or two afternoon. The Proloqutor at the beginning and end hes a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he hes studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highlie esteemed; but merelie bookish, and not much, as it seems, acquaint with conceived prayer, [and] among the unfittest of all the company for any action; so after the prayer he sitts mute. It was the canny convoyance of these who guides most matters for their own interest to plant such a man of purpose in the chaire. The one assessour, our good friend Mr. Whyte, hes keeped in of the gout since our coming; the other, Dr. Burgess, a very active and sharpe man, supplies, so farr as is decent, the Proloqutor's place. Ordinarlie there will be present above threescore of their divines. These are divided in three Committees; in one whereof every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. Every Committee, as the Parliament gives order in wryte to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion, and in their afternoon meeting prepares matters for the Assemblie, setts doune their minde in distinct propositions, backs their propositions with texts of Scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield the scribe, reads the proposition and Scriptures, whereupon the Assemblie debates in a most grave and orderlie way. No man is called up to speak; bot who stands up of his own accord, he speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedlie calls on his name whom they desyre to hear first: On whom the loudest and maniest voices calls, he speaks. No man speaks to any bot to the Proloqutor. They harangue long and very learnedlie. They studie the questions well before hand, and prepares their speeches; but withall the men are exceeding prompt, and well spoken. I doe marvell at the very accurate and extemporall replyes that many of them usuallie doe make. When, upon every proposition by itself, and on everie text of Scripture that is brought to confirme it, every man who will hes said his whole minde, and the replyes, and duplies, and triplies, are heard; then the most part calls, To the question. Byfield the scribe rises from the table, and comes to the Proloqutor's chair, who, from the

scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says, as many as are in opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say I; when I is heard, he says, as many as think otherwise, say No. If the difference of I's and No's be cleare, as usuallie it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first Scripture alleadged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of I and No be near equall, then says the Proloqutor, as many as say I, stand up; while they stand, the scribe and others number them in their minde; when they sitt down, the No's are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time, which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter; but if a man will vaige, he is quicklie taken up by Mr. Assessor, or many others, confusedlie crying, Speak to order, to order. No man contradicts another expresslie by name, bot most discretlie speaks to the Proloqutor, and at most holds on the generall, The Reverend brother, who latelie or last spoke, on this hand, on that syde, above, or below. I thought meet once for all to give yow a taste of the outward form of their Assemblie. They follow the way of their Parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthie of our imitation: only their longsomenesse is wofull at this time, when their Church and Kingdome lyes under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped; for being to establish a new Platt-forme of worship and discipline to their Nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable, if solidlie, and at leisure, they doe not examine every point thereof.'—Vol. ii. pp. 108, 109.

Such of our readers as are acquainted with the history of this period, are aware of the singular ability with which a few Independent ministers withstood the overwhelming numbers, and intolerant policy, of the Presbyterian party. Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Simpson, and Bridges were the chief of these distinguished men, who, to use the strong language of Dr. Lingard, 'were veteran disputants, eager, fearless, and persevering, 'whose attachments to their favorite doctrines had been riveted 'by persecution and exile, and who had not escaped from the 'intolerance of one church to submit tamely to the control of 'another.'* Baillie makes frequent references to the dissenting brethren, as the Independents were termed, and bitterly complains of the delays which they occasioned. This, indeed, was the policy of the brethren. They were in the assembly what Vane and the early repnblicans were in the parliament; and their aim was to prevent the completion of their opponents' schemes rather than fully to develop their own views. They met the exigencies of the day as they arose, and waited and prayed for better times, when they might fearlessly annunciate—and that

* History of England, 10, 274.

too with some hope of their practical adoption—the great principles of religious liberty on which their party was founded. At present, however, they had a trying task to perform; and it is enough here to remark that they discharged their obligation most honorably to themselves, and in a manner which has signally redounded to the welfare of mankind.

Baillie frequently refers to these leaders of the movement party in terms which sufficiently indicate their preeminent talents, and the strength of his own prejudices. He speaks of some of them as 'full of grace and modestie,' calls them 'most 'able men and of great credit,' and remarks, with a singular mixture of candor and narrow-mindedness, 'Truelie, if the 'cause were good, the men have plentie of learning, witt, 'eloquence, and above all, boldness and stiffness, to make it 'out; but when they had wearied themselves, and over-wearied 'us all, we found the most they had to say against the Presby-'trie, was but curious idle niceties; yea, that all they could 'bring was no wayes concluding.' The delays which they interposed to the arbitrary schemes of the Presbyterians are bitterly complained of, and attributed to factious motives. 'The Independents,' he says, January 1, 1644, 'foreseeing the 'prejudice such a determination might bring to their cause, by 'all means strove to decline that disputt; as indeed it's marked 'by all, that to the uttermost of their power hitherto they have 'studied procrastination of all things, finding that by tyme 'they gained.' A few weeks afterwards he writes in a similar strain to Mr. Spang. 'The Independents, holding of with long 'weapons, and debaiting all things too prolixlie which come 'within twentie myles to their quarters, were taken up sundrie 'times, somewhat sharplie, both by Divines and Parliament-'men; to whom their replyes ever was quick and high, at will. 'At last, foreseeing they behooved, ere long, to come to the 'point, they put out in print, on a sudden, ane Apologeticall 'Narration of their way, which long had lyen readie beside 'them, wherein they petition the Parliament, in a most slie 'and cunning way, for a tolleration, and withall lends too bold 'wypes to all the Reformed churches, as imperfyte yet in their 'reformation while their new modell be embraced, which they 'sett out in generall so well farded as they are able. . . . The 'Independents, doe what we are all able, hes keeped us de-'baitting these fourteen dayes on these too easie propositions; 'but little to their advantage; for I hope this day shall con-'clude the propositions: and now all the world proclaimes, in 'their faces, that they, and they only, have been the retarders 'of the Assemblie, to the evident hazard of the Church's safetie, 'which will not be much longer suffered.' It was highly to the honor of the Independent ministers belonging to the

Assembly, that they withstood the intolerant policy of the Presbyterians, on the broad ground of human right and religious duty. Though their phraseology was occasionally somewhat ambiguous, yet the drift and scope of their reasoning were too obvious not to be seen. They advocated the rights of others as well as their own; and if they were not in every instance prepared fairly to carry out their principles, yet they so clearly unfolded and forcibly urged them as to prepare the way and to necessitate the progress of their successors. 'We have made 'little progresse,' says Baillie, in September, 1644, 'these four-'teen dayes. We spent a number of sessions on some proposi-'tions of advyce to the Parliament for suppressing Antinomians, 'Anabaptists, and these who preaches a libertie for all reli-'gions. Even in these, our good Independents found us great 'difficultie, and when we had carried our advyces against their 'minds, they offered to give in contrare reasons to the Parlia-'ment.' This opposition, so pertinacious and unjustifiable in the view of the dominant faction, will now be regarded by all calm judges as entitling its leaders to the admiration and gratitude of posterity. They were not contending for a trifle, a light and temporary good, but for principles which lie at the basis of religious freedom, and constitute the safeguard of every man's conscience and heart. The interests committed to their charge were of the very highest importance, and their efforts were proportionably great.

Every sciolist in English history is aware that the Presbyterians and Independents differed *in toto* on the point of religious liberty. The former regarded it, to use the words of the author of *Gangræna*, as 'the grand design of the devil; 'the most compendious, ready, and sure way to destroy all 'religion.' Even Baxter, with all his catholicity of feeling, was so influenced by the false views of his party as to declare, 'My judgment in that much debated point of liberty of religion 'I have always freely made known, *and abhor unlimited tolera-'tion*, or *toleration at all.*' What is now esteemed the glory of the Independents, was then charged upon them as their greatest crime. 'These are some of the many considerations,' said the London Presbyterian ministers, in a letter to the Assembly, 'which make a deep impression on our spirits against that 'great *Diana* of *Independents*, and all the sectaries, so much 'cried up by them in these distracted times, viz., a *toleration!* 'a *toleration!* and we cannot dissemble how, upon the fore-'mentioned grounds, we detest and abhor the much-endea-'voured *toleration.*'* To this honorable feature of their polity Baillie makes frequent reference, in all of which the narrow and bitter sectarianism of his own party is sufficiently conspicuous.

* Price's History of Nonconformity, vol. ii. p. 330.

Referring to the Independents in a letter to Mr. Spang, Nov. 29th, 1645, he says, 'Their rejection of all accomodation, and 'pleading for a toleration, not only of their separate churches, 'but for the other sects, gives great offence, and will draw out 'bitter writes quicklie against them.' Again: 'They plead for 'a tolleration to other sects asweell as to themselves; and with 'much adoe could we get them to propone what they desired 'to themselves. At last they did give us a paper, requireing 'expresslie a full tolleration of congregations in their way every 'where, separate from ours. In our answer we did flatlie deny 'such a vast libertie, and backed it with reasons, and withall 'are begun to show what indulgence we could, for peace sake, 'grant. Here Mr. Marshall, our chairman, has been their most 'diligent agent, to draw too many of us to grant them much 'more than my heart can yield to, and which to my power I 'oppose.' In the following year he joyfully tells his correspondent that 'the bodie of the Ministrie of all the land' was cordially with his party, and that as the city was 'now striking 'in,' it was hoped to 'exclude tolleration of sects more than 'many men here do desyre. We have had,' he continues, 'many bickerings with the Independents in the grand committee about an indulgence for their separate congregations. 'We have spent many sheets of paper on both sydes. . . For 'this point both they and we contend *tanquam pro aris et focis.*' We are far from charging Presbyterianism with the intolerance and bigotry of its professors, nor are we so unmindful of the anomalous condition of our nature, as to conclude that the great defects to which we have referred, could not co-exist with some of the most splendid virtues of which humanity is capable. Neither episcopacy nor presbytery can be held responsible for the tyrannical acts of this period. Their adherents may be censured, but they themselves must be tried on their own proper evidence, and be received or rejected as that evidence is satisfactory or otherwise. This distinction between ecclesiastical systems and their abettors has not always been kept in sight, and the consequence has been much false logic and uncandid construction.

But to return to the letters. They contain numerous allusions to the growing power of the Independents in the army, which the honest Presbyterian bewailed with a bitterness betokening his apprehension of danger from that quarter. The revolution thus effected in the character and views of the parliamentary troops constitutes one of the most singular features of the civil war, and must be clearly apprehended, if the state of parties and the testimony of contemporary writers, would be understood. Manchester's section of the army was the stronghold of the sectaries, for *there* the sagacious policy of

Cromwell had cultivated the religious spirit as a counterpoise to the gallantry and noble blood of the cavaliers. 'The Inde-'pendent party,' says Baillie, 'lying allwayes at the watch, 'finding us so low, and the Generall in the west shamefullie 'disgraced, began lustilie to play their game. Their first assay 'was on Manchester's army, there they had cast their strength, 'under Cromwell. All sectaries who pleased to be sojours for 'a long time casting themselfe from all the other, arrives under 'his command in one bodie.' The great Protector is described by Baillie in a letter dated September 16, 1644, as 'a very wise 'and active head, universallie well-beloved, as religious and 'stout;' the great object of whom and of Vane is said to be, 'to have a libertie for all religions, without any exceptions.' He refers to the army, which Cromwell had new modelled, in terms then common to his party, the justice of which however was speedily disproved by the valor and skill of the troops. The soldiers of Cromwell were understood by very few. They required to be seen in their hours of relaxation and in their moods of religious enthusiasm, in order that the force of their characters and the probable results of their courage should be accurately guaged. The following is Baillie's description of them before the battle of Marston Moor established their fame.

'Their new modelled armie consists, for the most [part] of raw, unexperienced, pressed sojours. Few of the officers are thought capable of their places; many of them are sectaries, or their confident friends; if they doe great service, many will be deceived. Some hes great fears, not only of their design to strengthen the partie of the sectaries, so that it may not safelie be displeased; bot also of comporting with the King, to the prejudice of us and all our friends here: yet I hope these fears are groundless. Sundrie wise men, whom I speak with, believes that the new armie is not so full of sectaries as is said, and, however, are assured of their honestie and obedience to the Parliament; also, if any disaster should befall them, which we, with our dailie prayers, doe heartily deprecate, they hope that our armie, well recruited with forces from Scotland, and much strengthened by a multitude of good officers, which partly have left, partly are putt out of the English army, shall, by God's help, be enabled to doe their business, and settle peace it be here ere long.'—Ib. pp. 264, 265.

One more extract and we must close. It throws much light on the state of parties, both political and religious, and records the hopes and the confidence of the Presbyterians at the commencement of 1646. What Baillie mourned over as the 'la-'mentable posture' of himself and friends, will be regarded with devout thankfulness by every enlightened friend of religious freedom. Had the Presbyterians triumphed at this period, bigotry would have been enthroned in the high places of the land, and have stamped its cruel impress on all the national

procedure. But it was ordained otherwise, and we rejoice in the issue, though we could not have adopted some of the means to which Cromwell and others resorted.

'The Assemblie hes delivered t eir full sense of all its parts to the Parliament half a year agoe. The Independent partie, albeit their number in the Parliament be very small, yet being prime men, active and diligent, and making it their great work to retard all till they be first secured of a toleration for their separate congregations; and the body of the Lawyers, who are another strong partie in the House, believing all church-government to be a part of the civill and parliamentary power, which nature and scripture hes placed in them, and to be derived from them to the ministers only so far as they think expedient; a third partie of worldlie profane men, who are extremelie affrighted to come under the yoke of ecclesiastick discipline; these three kinds making up two parts at least of the Parliament, there is no hopes that ever they will settle the Government according to our mind, if they were left to themselves.

'The Assemblie hes plyed them with petition upon petition, the City also, both ministers and magistrates; bot all in vaine. They know that schismes and heresies doe daily encrease in all the corners of the land for want of discipline; yet the most of them care for none of these things. Had our army been bot one 15,000 men in England, our advyce would have been followed quicklie in all things; but our lamentable posture at home, and our weakness here, makes our desyres contemptible. Had the King been of any considerable strength, fear would have made them carefull to doe dutie; but their great success, the King's extreme weakness, and our miseries, makes them follow their own naturall humours, to the grief of sundrie gracious men of their own number. In this case our last refuge is to God, and under him to the City. We have gotten it, thanks to God, to this point, that the mayor, aldermen, common counsell, and most of the considerable men, are grieved for the increase of sects and heresies, and want of Government. They have, yesterday, had a publick fast for it, and renewed solemnly their Covenant by oath and subscription; and this day have given in a strong petition for settling of Church-government, and suppressing of all sects, without any toleration. No doubt, if they be constant, they will obtain all their desires; for all know the Parliament here cannot subsist without London: so whatsomever they desyre in earnest, and constantlie, it must be granted. Wherefore, albeit they gave them a baffleing answer to their former petition a moneth agoe; yet considering the addresse of this in all its progresse, they have thanked them for it, and promised a good ansuer speedilie. The Independents, and all sects, are wakened much upon it, and all will sturre; which way we doe not know yet.'—Ib. pp. 336, 337.

We shall recur to these letters on the appearance of the remaining volume, and in the meantime, recommend such of our readers as are interested in the period to which they relate—and what intelligent Englishman is not—to give them an attentive and reiterated perusal. There are few productions of the age

more adapted to exhibit to the very life, the spirit, temper, and policy, of one at least of the great parties which render the times of Baillie so famous. We repeat our acknowledgments to the Bannatyne Club, from which the publication has emanated, and shall be glad to find that other literary associations are imitating the example thus so worthily set them.

Art. IV. *The Poetical Works of James Montgomery, collected by himself.* 4 vols. 12mo. London: Longman and Co. 1841.

COWPER, in one of his letters to John Newton, says, 'I 'have lately finished eight volumes of Johnson's Prefaces, 'or Lives of the Poets. In all that number I observe but one 'man—a poet of no great fame, of whom I did not know that 'he existed till I found him there,—whose mind seems to have 'had the slightest tincture of religion; and he was hardly in 'his senses. His name was Collins. He sunk into a state of 'melancholy, and died young. Not long before his death, he 'was found at his lodgings in Islington, by his biographer, with 'the New Testament in his hand. He said to Johnson, 'I '' have but one book, but it is the best.' Of him, therefore, 'there are some hopes. But from the lives of all the rest there 'is but one inference to be drawn,—that poets are a very 'worthless, wicked set of people.'

That this representation is exaggerated, few will be disposed to deny; and none would more willingly have allowed it than the amiable poet himself, had he been in the mood or given himself time for a little reflection. The whole letter, of which the above is a paragraph, was written under the influence of that melancholy which not only habitually impelled him to take the gloomiest views of every thing, but must, one would think, have sometimes impaired his common sense and memory. If the statement above recorded had proceeded from one who was not only haunted with Cowper's melancholy, but combined with it remarkable want of charity and narrowness of mind, we might perhaps take it for his sincere and deliberate judgment, that for some deviation or other from his own exact orthodoxy, every poet, whose life is recorded in Johnson's voluminous work, is unworthy of the name of christian, with the single and dubious exception of Collins. But we know Cowper's amiability and catholicity too well to allow us to take the statement as more than the momentary exaggeration

of his predo nt spleen. We are led to the same conclusion by the more charitable judgment which he has elsewhere expressed respecting at least some of those whom he has here so summarily proscribed; and sure we are that he would have been the last to exclude any from the class of christians because their views did not precisely coincide with his own system of opinions. However defective he might esteem their views in some points, we are convinced that he would never seriously have denied the title of christian to Milton, or Addison, or Young, or Watts, to say nothing of some more dubious names; and the only wonder is that he should here have overlooked them.

Even with these abatements, however, there is an appalling approximation to truth in Cowper's representation. Let charity do her utmost, let her 'even hope against hope,' and it must still be confessed that of the men whose lives Johnson has recorded, and whose genius has done so much to enrich our literature, a miserably small proportion have been christians, or left behind them writings on which the eye of those who are such can rest with entire complacency: nay few, of whom it can positively be asserted that their works have been more powerful for good than evil, or who, if their works have been in the main not unfriendly to virtue, have not left upon them stains which religion and morality must for ever deplore.

Since Johnson and Cowper wrote a signal improvement has taken place. Though christianity still receives but slender tribute from poetry, she receives more than she once did; and though the sons of song still perversely decline for the most part those themes which genius, if rightly instructed, would most delight to celebrate, and which would furnish it, one would imagine, with its best and noblest inspiration,—those themes are not so despised as they formerly were. Cowper himself, (though he, alas! would have sadly disclaimed all title to be considered a christian), stands preeminent amongst the few who have dared to be 'faithful amongst the faithless,' who have not been ashamed to consecrate their intellectual gifts to Him who gave them, and who have boasted that *their* inspiration is derived from the muse whose favorite haunt is

> 'Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the oracle of God.'

And even where modern genius has not been directly hallowed to the service of religion, it must be with gratitude confessed that it has not been often prostituted to its dishonor.

With two or three remarkable and most melancholy exceptions, the productions of our great modern poets have been uniformly friendly to virtue and morality, or at all events not hostile to them. Of Wordsworth, and Southey, and Scott, and Crabbe, and Campbell, and others scarcely less illustrious, we need no expurgated editions—no frequent array of asterisks marking *hiatus valde deflendi*, gaps far more bitterly to be lamented, indeed, than those occasioned by fire and time, over which the antiquary mourns. The grossness, the indecency, the licentiousness, the impiety of a former age have been all abandoned, and none who wishes well to his species can do other than exult in the change.

Considering the immense influence of this noble art, its indirect power of instilling truth or falsehood, of associating both the one and the other with that strongest auxiliary of memory—pleasurable emotion,—of forming or moulding the opinions and the character, we deem the revolution of which we have spoken of the highest moment. Exaggerated as may be the estimate which some poetic enthusiasts have formed of the practical value and efficacy of their favorite art, none can doubt that its indirect influence must be very great, especially upon the young, the imaginative, and the ardent; that is, precisely upon those whose character is most plastic, and in the very crisis of its formation. Every one must rejoice, therefore, that an instrument so powerful, for good or for evil, has been so far reclaimed to its right ends, or at all events has almost wholly renounced wrong ones. Long, indeed, will it be before the sanguine notions of some visionaries are realized—that the fine arts are to be the regenerators of the world—that the drama itself may one day be as effectual an instrument of edification as the pulpit. Such hopes may well be considered Utopian; but that the fine arts, and especially poetry, exert, and must ever exert, a most powerful influence on the formation and development of character none will doubt, and, we repeat, it must be matter of gratulation to all, that its streams, once the waters of Marah, have had their bitterness extracted, and become salubrious. Still better would it be, indeed, if every 'poetic fountain' were fed by the waters of life; yet is it no small thing that they are at least pure and healthful—that vice no longer

> 'With torrent flood
> Their molten crystal fills with mud;
> That now those billows roll ashore
> The beryl and the golden ore.
> While every where their banks upon
> Are groves of myrrh and cinnamon.'

The same revolution has happily been witnessed to a greater or less extent in other departments of polite literature. No novelist would venture to imitate the grossness of Fielding or Smollett, no dramatist to approach within ten thousand leagues of the impurities of Farquhar or Wycherley. Into the causes of this happy revolution we have no space to enter. Nor is it necessary; for they are for the most part very obvious. Much is no doubt to be attributed to an undoubted advance of our national taste; but in the department of poetry we are inclined to attribute at least as much to a revived love of nature in the largest sense, in opposition to that exclusive regard to the forms of artificial and conventional life, of which the poetry of the latter half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century is so deplorably full. Admirable satire was the very highest order of poetry which such materials could be expected to yield. When the poets who drew their very breath in that element of conventionalities attempted either description of genuine nature or the expression of genuine passion, stiffness, constraint, frigidity, the want of freshness, vigor, and freedom, were but too evident in the result. Wordsworth has well observed upon the want of true enthusiasm, and even of common accuracy, in very many of the descriptions of external nature during the period of our poetical literature above adverted to.

Mr. Montgomery has taken part in that auspicious revolution of our poetry on which we have said so much. Still more; he has done his utmost to render poetry the vehicle of the purest christianity. It is but a small portion of his praise that, like so many other of his contemporary bards, he has written nothing that is unfriendly to virtue; he has rather endeavored to imbue his compositions with the spirit of religion —to identify piety and genius. There are few, indeed, whose reputation is more pure and unsullied; few of whom it can be so truly said, that they left behind them

'No line which dying they would wish to blot.'

And assuredly it must *now* be joy unspeakable to him that he can look back and feel that his reputation, whatever it is, has been obtained by no unworthy sacrifice—by no compromise of principle—by no concealment of important but unwelcome doctrines—by no attempt to disguise or soften down religious truth, or, if that be impossible, to exclude it altogether from his strains. On the contrary, his productions have been not merely the vehicles of innocent pleasure, but of the most sacred and important truth. This being the case, his reputation, if there be any force in the representations of Scripture, may be said to be built on lasting foundations, and as truth and virtue gradually

attain their ultimate, their predestined ascendancy, we predict for him a still increasing measure of fame and admiration. So will it be also with Milton and Cowper, and with every man like minded. It will at last be seen that there is nothing stable but *goodness*, and that if those of whom we have just spoken had aimed at nothing but their own fame, they would have calculated wisely in the course they have taken. The light of prostituted genius, however brilliant, is a waning one; that of sanctified genius waxes 'brighter and brighter until the perfect 'day;' and when it has once reached its meridian, it will shine on for ever, fearing neither lest it should 'haste to its 'setting' or 'be troubled with dim eclipse.' We have often thought what strange havoc the millennium will make with the reputation of the objects of this world's idolatry. As it approaches, their crowds of doting and superstitious worshippers will retire one by one, till their shrines are forsaken, and the fires extinct on their altars. Then when it is seen that there is something still brighter than genius, and that virtue is yet better than intellect, the estimates of men will be revised and brought into conformity with these sublime maxims. Then it will be seen that poetry must be not merely instinct and radiant with genius, but imbued with virtue and religion also, if it would be retained in men's memories, and be transmitted to the careful preservation of posterity. Works not thus imbued will no longer be considered to compensate by their originality or beauty for the taint of moral pollution which clings to them—for licentiousness, profanity, or impiety. Men will then only shrink with the greater horror from the sight and touch of contamination, on account of the very genius which has prostituted itself to diffuse it. The authors of such works will be regarded as 'fallen 'angels,' to be the most distrusted and shunned when they assume the garb of 'angels of light.'

Not so is it with those who have used their gifts aright. Those gifts, even though not of the highest order, will be more prized on account of their noble application than the richest creations of desecrated genius; nor should we fear to predict, even for some comparatively obscure bards, a far brighter and more permanent fame than they themselves during their life-time would have ventured to anticipate. When that tranquil and blessed evening of the world's history shall steal on, they will come forth from their present obscurity, and shine, though it may be with feeble, yet with a mild and steady lustre.

Mr. Montgomery's poetic character has so often been made the subject of criticism in our pages, and his works are so familiar to our readers in general, that we do not deem it necessary to say much here either on it or on them. Suffice it to say, that he possesses the various constituents of the poetic

genius, sin[illegible] y [illegible] degree of excellency, and together in extraordina[illegible]y. Imagination, taste, sensibility, an enthusiastic love for the beauties of external nature, a heart that responds to every gentle and tender emotion, are every where conspicuous in his pages. If not qualified for those highest tasks of his favorite art, which are reserved for epic or dramatic genius, and which demand not only the rarest combination of poetic powers, but each separately in great strength and perfection, it must be admitted that as a descriptive and lyrical poet he has not many superiors in our literature. To these species of poetry his genius is peculiarly well fitted; at all events, it cannot be denied that it is in these that he chiefly challenges our admiration. Even his narrative poems derive (to us at least) their chief charm, less from the development of action and incident, or the delineation of character, than from the episodical beauties of description, sentiment, and reflection with which they every where abound. To his other qualities as a poet, Mr. Montgomery also adds great felicity of expression and great skill in versification. There are not many of our poets who have sung so sweetly in so great a variety of metre. The mechanism of his art seems to have engaged a great deal of his attention, and the success with which he has prosecuted the study, and reduced its principles to practice, furnish yet another example of what service critical knowledge may be to genius, and how vain and foolish the reliance on the gifts of nature alone. All Mr. Montgomery's powers, indeed, seem to have been most diligently cultivated. He is not among those who refuse to do themselves justice, by scorning industry and labor as unworthy of an art which claims to be a species of inspiration.

Of Mr. Montgomery's longer poems, our own favorites, and, if we mistake not, those on which his fame will be felt principally to rest, are the 'World before the Flood' and 'Greenland.' The subject of the former, though presenting so many difficulties, carrying us back to scenes, characters, and modes of life so remote from ordinary association, is managed with great skill; the 'world's grey fathers' are neither despoiled of their grandeur,—vulgarized by being reduced to our post-diluvian littleness,—nor removed from the sphere of our sympathies by being made something more than human. This point our poet has secured by instinctively suspending the interest of his poem on passions and emotions which are as universal as the species, and on those scenes and objects which are of enduring and unchangeable interest;—on scenes which were as beautiful in the eye of Methuselah, and passions which throbbed as strongly in his bosom as in those of the puniest of his degenerate descendants, whose term of life is but threescore

years and ten. The work abounds in vivid descriptions of external nature, in beautiful pictures of social and domestic life, and in passages of subduing tenderness and pathos. 'Greenland' is in our estimation conceived and executed in a still higher mood. The moral grandeur of the principal incidents on which the poem is founded, well harmonizes with the magnificent scenes which it describes. In this poem Mr. Montgomery has entitled himself to be considered a descriptive poet of the first order; and many of the descriptions it contains are of such surpassing merit that the very best of our poets might have been proud to claim them. We cannot refrain from justifying our eulogy and enriching our article by one or two brief extracts. What can be more noble than the opening lines?

'The moon is watching in the sky; the stars
Are swiftly wheeling on their golden cars;
Ocean, outstretched with infinite expanse,
Serenely slumbers in a glorious trance;
The tide, o'er which no troubling spirits breathe,
Reflects a cloudless firmament beneath;
Where, poised as in the centre of a sphere,
A ship above and ship below appear;
A double image, pictured on the deep,
The vessel o'er its shadow seems to sleep;
Yet, like the host of heaven, that never rest,
With evanescent motion to the west,
The pageant glides through loneliness and night,
And leaves behind a rippling wake of light.
Hark! through the calm and silence of the scene,
Slow, solemn, sweet, with many a pause between,
Celestial music swells along the air!
—No!—'tis the evening hymn of praise and prayer,
From yonder deck; where, on the stern retired,
Three humble voyagers, with looks inspired,
And hearts enkindled with a holier flame,
Than ever lit to empire or to fame,
Devoutly stand:—their choral accents rise
On wings of harmony beyond the skies;
And 'midst the songs, that seraph-minstrels sing,
Day without night to their immortal King,
These simple strains,—which erst Bohemian hills
Echo'd to pathless woods and desert rills;
Now heard from Shetland's azure bound, are known
In heaven; and He, who sits upon the throne
In human form with mediatorial power,
Remembers Calvary, and hails the hour,
When, by the Almighty Father's high decree,
The utmost north to Him shall bow the knee,
And, won by love, an untamed rebel-race
Kiss the victorious sceptre of His grace.

Then to His eye, whose instant glance pervades
Heaven's heights, Earth's circle, Hell's profoundest shades,
Is there a group more lovely than those three
Night watching pilgrims on the lonely sea?
Or to His ear, that gathers in one sound
The voices of adoring worlds around,
Comes there a breath of more delightful praise
Than the faint notes his poor disciples raise,
Ere on the treacherous main they sink to rest,
Secure as leaning on their Master's breast?
They sleep: but memory wakes; and dreams array
Night in a lively masquerade of day;
The land they seek, the land they leave behind,
Meet on mid-ocean in the plastic mind;
One brings forsaken home and friends so nigh,
That tears in slumber swell the unconscious eye;
The other opens with prophetic view,
Perils which e'en their fathers never knew.'

Again; the description of the Geysers or hot springs of Iceland, is given with extraordinary spirit. The poet has ingeniously availed himself of the popular superstitions connected with that curious class of phenomena.

'Hark! from yon caldron cave, the battle sound
Of fire and water warring under ground;
Racked on the wheels of an ebullient tide,
Here might some spirit, fallen from bliss, abide,
Such fitful wailings of intense despair,
Such emanating splendors fill the air.
—He comes, he comes; the infuriate Geyser springs
Up to the firmament on vapoury wings;
With breathless awe the mounting glory view;
White whirling clouds his steep ascent pursue.
But lo! a glimpse—refulgent to the gale,
He starts all naked through his river veil;
A fountain-column, terrible and bright,
A living, breathing, moving form of light:
From central earth to heaven's meridian thrown,
The mighty apparition towers alone,
Rising as though for ever he could rise,
Storm and resume his palace in the skies.
All foam, and turbulence, and wrath below,
Around him beams the reconciling bow;
(Signal of peace whose radiant girdle binds
Till nature's doom the waters and the winds;)
While mist and spray, condensed to sudden dews,
The air illumine with celestial hues,
As if the bounteous sun were raining down
The richest gems of his imperial crown.
In vain the spirit wrestles to break free,

Foot bound to fathomless captivity;
A power unseen by sympathetic spell,
For ever working to his flinty cell,
Recalls him from the ramparts of the spheres;
He yields, collapses, lessens, disappears;
Darkness receives him in her vague abyss,
Around whose verge light froth and bubbles hiss,
While the low murmurs of the refluent tide
Far into subterranean silence glide,
The eye still gazing down the dread profound
When the bent ear hath wholly lost the sound.
—But is he slain and sepulchred?—Again
The deathless giant sallies from his den,
Scales with recruited strength the ethereal walls,
Struggles afresh for liberty and—falls.
Yes, and for liberty the fight renewed,
By day, by night, undaunted, unsubdued,
He shall maintain, till Iceland's solid base
Fail, and the mountains vanish from its face.'

Of Mr. Montgomery's voluminous 'miscellaneous poems' we need say but little. Many of them (especially those which are of a directly religious character) have acquired universal notoriety, have passed into every popular collection, and are engraven on the memories and hearts of thousands. Higher praise or more flattering homage it is impossible for a poet to covet or to receive.

In his miscellaneous pieces, as already stated, Mr. Montgomery has touched on subjects as various as his verse. He appears before us in every mood of mind, and extracts innocent pleasure or lessons of heavenly wisdom out of even the most trifling events and incidents of life. Playfulness and pathos, gaiety and tenderness, quiet mirth and devout solemnity, alternately succeed and relieve each other. In all his compositions, however, upon every fair occasion, he reveals the habitual seriousness of a religious spirit, and shows how completely the truths of the gospel have imbued and tinctured all the veins of thought and feeling. But the manifestation of such feelings is ever natural—not obtruded because it might be expected that a religious poet had something religious to say, or because he was determined to say it whether appropriate or not, but because it is fairly and naturally suggested. And the ease with which on many occasions religious sentiments are engrafted on the most trivial or insignificant themes, will serve to show how naturally a religious mind can give inoffensive utterance to feelings which really pervade it.

It would be unpardonable to close this brief review without giving one or two extracts from his minor poems. But where shall we select? Many of them are already familiar to

reader. One of the most striking (we do not remember to have seen it quoted), is entitled 'The Alps,' and is a kind 'vision' of no mean order. We have only room for the second 'part,' in which the poet imagines himself contemplating the scene which his fancy has conjured up, at nightfall.

'THE ALPS.—NIGHT.

I.

'Come, golden evening, in the west
Enthrone the storm-dispelling sun,
And let the triple rainbow rest
O'er all the mountain-tops:—'tis done;
The deluge ceases; bold and bright
The rainbow shoots from hill to hill;
Down sinks the sun; on presses night;
Mont Blanc is lovely still.

II.

'There take thy stand, my spirit, spread
The world of shadows at thy feet;
And mark how calmly overhead
The stars like saints in glory meet:
While hid in solitude sublime,
Methinks I muse on Nature's tomb,
And hear the passing foot of Time
Step through the gloom.

III.

'All in a moment crash on crash,
From precipice to precipice,
An avalanche's ruins dash
Down to the nethermost abyss;
Invisible, the ear alone
Follows the uproar till it dies,
Echo on echo, groan for groan,
From deep to deep replies.

IV.

'Silence again the darkness seals—
Darkness that may be felt;—but soon
The silver-clouded east reveals
The midnight spectre of the moon;
In half eclipse she lifts her horn,
Yet o'er the host of heaven supreme,
Brings the faint semblance of a morn
With her awakening beam.

V.

'Ha! at her touch, these Alpine heights
Unreal mockeries appear;

With blacker shadows, ghastlier lights,
Enlarging as she climbs the sphere;
A crowd of apparitions pale!
I hold my breath in chill suspense,
—They seem so exquisitely frail,—
Lest they should vanish hence.

VI.

'I breathe again, I freely breathe;
Lake of Geneva! thee I trace,
Like Dian's crescent far beneath,
And beautiful as Dian's face.
Pride of this land of liberty!
All that thy waves reflect I love;
Where heaven itself brought down to thee,
Looks fairer than above.

VII.

'Safe on thy banks again I stray,
The trance of poesy is o'er,
And I am here at dawn of day,
Gazing on mountains as before;
For all the strange mutations wrought
Were magic feats of my own mind;
Thus, in the fairy land of thought,
Whate'er I seek I find.

VIII.

'Yet, O ye everlasting hills!
Buildings of God not made with hands,
Whose word performs whate'er He wills,
Whose word, though ye shall perish, stands;
Can there be eyes that look on you,
Till tears of rapture make them dim,
Nor in his works the Maker view,
Then lose his works in Him?

IX.

'By me when I behold Him not,
Or love Him not when I behold,
Be all I ever knew forgot;
My pulse stand still, my heart grow cold;
Transformed to ice, 'twixt earth and sky,
On yonder cliff my form be seen,
That all may ask, but none reply,
What my offence hath been.'

Greatly as we admire many of Mr. Montgomery's minor poems, we must acknowledge that the interval in point of merit between his best and his worst pieces, is greater than might have been expected. In not a few, whether on ordinary

eligious themes (and the same may be said of some of the ıages of his longer poems), we think we see more than could vished of mechanical fabrication, as though the fountain of iration had ceased to play, and the water was to be fetched ›y the operation of a forcing pump. We think we can also ct the occasional insertion of words and phrases, and even vhole lines and couplets—not because the thoughts they ess strictly harmonized with or formed a part of the train pontaneous suggestion, but because they enabled the poet ›cure a rhyme or complete a stanza. In these cases he does compel the stubborn materials of language and metre to l to the current of thought, but diverts or interrupts *it* ıccommodate them. We well know how difficult, how ›st impossible it sometimes is to comply with the true con-›ns of the art. Cowper has admirably stated the difficulty ne of his letters—and it may be added that few poets have er succeeded in surmounting it.

he above strictures apply to some of Mr. Montgomery's ;ious poems with especial force. In many of these composi-s he has succeeded most admirably; and in not a few appears ıs to be not at all behind Cowper. This is the highest se we can bestow, for in our opinion nothing can be more ect than Cowper's 'Hymns,' regarded, not as compositions e sung in public, but as the poetical expression of religious ng. They seem the natural flowing forth of deep genuine tion, in language the most artless, appropriate, and simple ıe world. The following beautiful lines appear to us much in ıtyle, and might, indeed, be easily mistaken for his.

AN AFTER THOUGHT

I.

'I cannot call affliction sweet,
And yet 't was good to bear;
Affliction brought me to thy feet,
And I found comfort there.

II.

'My weaned soul was all resigned
To thy most gracious will;
Oh! had I kept that better mind,
Or been afflicted still!

III.

'Where are the vows which then I vowed,
The joys which then I knew?
Those, vanished like the morning cloud,
These, like the early dew.

IV.

'Lord, grant me grace for every day,
Whate'er my state may be;
Through life, in death, with truth to say,
'My God is all to me!'

THE PRISONER OF THE LORD.

A SABBATH HYMN FOR THE SICK CHAMBER.

I.

'Thousands, O Lord of hosts! this day
Around thine altar meet,
And tens of thousands throng to pay
Their homage at thy feet.

II.

'They see thy power and glory there,
As I have seen them too;
They read, they hear, they join in prayer,
As I was wont to do.

III.

'They sing thy deeds, as I have sung,
In sweet and solemn lays;
Were I among them, my glad tongue
Might learn new themes of praise.

IV.

'For thou art in their midst, to teach,
When on thy name they call;
And thou hast blessings, Lord, for each,
Hast blessings, Lord, for all.

V.

'I, of such fellowship bereft,
In spirit turn to thee;
Oh! hast thou not a blessing left,
A blessing, Lord, for me?

VI.

'The dew lies thick on all the ground,
Shall my poor fleece be dry?
The manna rains from heaven around,
Shall I of hunger die?'

VII.

'Behold thy prisoner;—loose my bands,
If 'tis thy gracious will;
If not,—contented in thine hands,
Behold thy prisoner still

VIII.

'I may not to thy courts repair,
Yet here thou surely art;
Lord, consecrate a house of prayer
In my surrendered heart.

IX.

'To faith, reveal the things unseen,
To hope, the joys untold;
Let love, without a veil between,
Thy glory now behold.

X.

'Oh! make thy face on me to shine,
That doubt and fear may cease;
Lift up thy countenance benign
On me,—and give me peace.'

We have frequently remarked, in reading 'Hymns' and the like compositions, from the pen of different writers, how very superior the first stanza or two are to the remaining. It seems as though the writers had commenced with a glow of feeling which, seeking utterance in simple and strong expression, compelled the inflexible element of speech to yield before it, but that in the business of adjusting rhymes and syllables, and compelling them into their places, emotion has partially subsided,—the train of spontaneous thought has been broken or suspended; in a word, the metal has cooled while passing into the mould, and the cast is not perfect.

If Mr. Montgomery's compositions be not wholly free from this fault, there are few religious poets, with the exception of Cowper, who are so little chargeable with it. There is another fault, however (comparatively trivial we admit), of which this can scarcely be said. We refer to a tendency to play upon some phrase—some 'point' or 'conceit' as our forefathers would call it—to repeat it in successive stanzas, often with the emphasis of italics, or the still greater emphasis of capitals, for fear the reader should miss the notable ingenuity. We must confess that the peculiarity in question has often appeared to us to produce a very frigid effect. It invites the notion that the poet is more busied at that moment in securing a *prettiness*, than in any thing else. It is difficult to express our meaning without examples, and these we have neither space nor inclination to cite. But as we have really deemed our author sometimes chargeable with the fault in question, we have also deemed it our duty, as honest critics, to say so; and Mr. Montgomery is, we are sure, the last man to be offended by a conscientious expression of opinion, whether right or wrong. Nor do we by any means affirm that we *are* right; we can merely speak of the impression which we ourselves have felt in the perusal of some of his poems.

Of all the compositions of Mr. Montgomery's very versatile muse, we least like his translations of the 'Psalms.' Very excellent we admit them to be, quite as much so as those of any other man who has attempted the same hopeless task. We believe that Mr. Montgomery himself (who speaks of his own attempt in this way with admirable modesty) considers the achievement of rendering the psalms into modern metre, in such a shape as to satisfy any one familiar with his Bible, to be an impracticable one. The disgrace, it must be admitted, is not very great of not performing an impossibility; the only question is,—is it wise to attempt it? In whatever point of view we regard it, the task seems to us surrounded with insuperable difficulties. If the poet attempt to transfer the simple, naked majesty of the original, he finds that somehow it disdains the petty shackles of metre and rhyme,—that it will not submit to those artificial constraints without irremediable injury. Perfect freedom of movement constitutes, in fact, one most essential element of grandeur, and this is gone. If he attempt to remedy the baldness and poverty of his verse by the ordinary arts of diffuse paraphrase and ambitious ornament, he finds that he is at once diluting the strength and destroying the grandeur of the original; nay, the very music of the expression is lost—the noble, the unapproachable *rhythm* is but poorly compensated by the tinkle of the *rhyme*. Such is the apparently natural, yet elaborate harmony of expression in the sublimer parts of scripture poetry, that the transposition of a clause, or the substitution of one word for another, will often absolutely destroy it. We may readily, therefore, estimate what effect the necessities of *rhyme* will have.

Considering the vast variety of subjects which in his miscellaneous poems has employed Mr. Montgomery's fancy, we are not to be surprised if we here and there meet with a few trivial stanzas. The great mass of these compositions, however, are such as will do no discredit to his 'Greenland,' or his 'World before the Flood;' many, very many are of the very highest order of merit, while all breathe the purity and benevolence of the poet's mind, and most of them, either directly or indirectly, his piety too. This is his highest glory.

Mr. Montgomery has prefixed to this edition of his works a general preface or introduction, which furnishes some interesting information respecting the early trials and struggles through which he manfully fought his way to deserved fame. From a part of this preface, which contains a speech delivered by our author at a public dinner given in his honor at Sheffield, some years ago, we extract the following particulars.

'I came a stranger to Sheffield. I had fondly, foolishly, sacrificed all my friends, connexions, and prospects in life, and thrown myself headlong into the world, with the sole view of acquiring poetic laurels.

The early, ardent breathing of my soul from boyhood had been, 'What shall I do to be for ever known?' and to gain 'golden opinions from all sorts of men,' by the power of my imagined genius, was the cherished hope and determined purpose of my mind. In the retirement of Fulneck, among the Moravian brethren, by whom I had been educated, I was nearly as ignorant of the world and its every day concerns, as those gold fishes swimming about in the glass globe on the pedestal before us are of what we are doing around them; and when I took the rash step of running into the vortex, I was nearly as little prepared for the business of general life, as they would be to take a part in our proceedings, were they to leap out of their element upon this table. The experience of something more than two years (at the time to which I now refer) had awakened me to the unpoetical realities around me, and I was left to struggle alone amidst the crowd that compose the world, without any of those inspiring motives left to cheer me, under the delusive influence of which I had flung myself amidst scenes, and into society, for which I was wholly unfit by feeling, taste, habits, or bodily constitution. Thus I came hither, with all my hopes blighted like the leaves and blossoms of a premature spring, when the woods are spun over with insects' webs, or crawling with caterpillars. There was yet life, but it was perverse, unnatural life, in my mind; and the renown which I found to be unattainable, at that time, by legitimate poetry, I resolved to secure by such means as made many of my contemporaries notorious. I wrote verse in the doggrel strain of Peter Pindar, and prose sometimes in imitation of Fielding and Smollett, and occasionally in the strange style of the German plays and romances then in vogue. Effort after effort failed. A providence of disappointment shut every door in my face, by which I attempted to force my way to a dishonorable fame. I was thus happily saved from appearing as the author of works which, at this hour, I should have been ashamed to acknowledge before you. Disheartened at length with ill success, I gave myself up to indolence and apathy, and lost seven years of that part of my youth which ought to have been the most active and profitable, in alternate listlessness and despondency, using no further exertion in my office affairs than was necessary to keep up my credit under heavy pecuniary obligations, and gradually, though slowly, to liquidate them.

'During this dreary interval, I had but one friend and counsellor at home, Mr. Ebenezer Rhodes, and another at Manchester, Mr. Joseph Aston, with whom I frequently corresponded. To these two I confided my schemes, enterprises, and miscarriages; and they, so far as they could, consoled me with anticipations of a favorable change in the taste of the times, or a luckier application of my talents, when such productions as mine might be acceptable to the public. About the year 1803, I wrote in my better vein of seriousness (being sickened with buffoonery and extravagance), a lyric poem which appeared in the Iris under a signature not likely to betray me. Such were the unexpected applauses bestowed upon this piece (especially by the friends whom I have named), that, thenceforward, I returned to the true muses, abjured my former eccentricities, and said to myself, 'Give me an

honest fame or give me none.' Though I made not a literal vow to this purport, yet I have ever since endeavoured to act as though such a vow were upon me; and I do think, that no person in this room, or elsewhere, can rise up to contradict me. One occasional lay after another, in the same reformed spirit, were issued in the course of the two following years. I then began to collect the series into a volume for publication. While this was slowly proceeding through my own press, a gentleman of high talent and skill, both in poetry and painting, Mr. William Carey, made several visits to Sheffield; and with him I soon became so well acquainted, that I freely communicated to him my poems and my projects. With zeal, intrepidity, and perseverance most exemplary, he took up my cause, and not only recommended the unknown poet in distant parts of the kingdom which he visited professionally, but made me better known as such, even at home, where for a long period I had been principally celebrated as the writer of a weekly article, entitled *Facts and Rumours*, in my own newspaper.'

In the preface to the 'Wanderer of Switzerland,' we notice one thing which has occasioned us regret. We see that Mr. Montgomery has made some remarks on the well known review of that firstling of his genius, which appeared in the Edinburgh, some thirty-three years ago. But he has *not* taken notice of the manly *amende* which was made him in the same work in July, 1835. We think, as he has referred to the offence, he should in justice have referred to the apology. We admit, indeed, that the vaticinations of the first article were most ludicrously contradicted by the event, and, as a warning to all reviewers of after time, we think they deserve to be quoted.

'We took compassion upon Mr. Montgomery, on his first appearance, conceiving him to be some slender youth of seventeen, intoxicated with weak tea, and the praises of sentimental ensigns, and other provincial literati, and tempted in that situation to commit a feeble outrage on the public, of which the recollection would be a sufficient punishment. A third edition, however, is too alarming to be passed over in silence; and though we are perfectly persuaded that, in less than three years, nobody will know the name of the 'Wanderer of Switzerland,' or of any of the other poems in this collection; still we think ourselves called upon to interfere, to prevent, in as far as in us lies, the mischief that may arise from the intermediate prevalence of so distressing an epidemic. It is hard to say what numbers of ingenuous youth may be led to expose themselves in public, by the success of this performance, or what addition may be made, in a few months, to that great sinking fund of bad taste, which is daily wearing down the debt which we have so long owed to the classical writers of antiquity.'

We think the *palinode*, which Mr. Montgomery has forgotten to refer to, equally honorable to himself and the conductors of the review. Though an apology, it is a very manly one. While

frankly acknowledging that their prophecies had been falsified, and affirming that they rejoice in their falsification, they still contend that, so far as concerns the particular compositions (more especially the Wanderer of Switzerland), on which their strictures were passed, their opinion has not materially changed. And we must honestly confess, that if Mr. Montgomery had not produced something infinitely better than the 'Wanderer of 'Switzerland,' we doubt whether the reviewer's predictions would not have been justified by the event; nor do we think that our poet should have forgotten, in his strictures on the review which provoked them, that (to use the words of the Edinburgh), at least as great a change has taken place in himself as in his critics. We know not what rank Mr. Montgomery assigns the 'Wanderer' amongst his works, but we are convinced, that if his judgment be not perverted by the natural and excusable partialities of an author for the first-born of his genius, he is not disposed to wonder that it called forth some severe criticism. We know not, of course, who may have been the *writers* of the reviews in question (we say writers, for they are, in all probability, not from the same pen); but the apology, though made twenty-eight years after, is a very pretty one, and we do think Mr. Montgomery should have adverted to it.

The present edition of our poet's works is tastefully and elegantly *got up*, as the phrase is, and embellished with some beautiful engravings. Most sincerely do we wish it an extensive circulation.

Art. V. *The Holy Bible, containing the Authorized Version of the Old and New Testaments, with nearly Twenty Thousand Emendations.* London: Longman. 1841.

THE work of translating the Scriptures, as it is one of the most difficult, so it is one of the most honorable employments which can engage the human mind. A translator stands in a relation to his fellow men analogous to that which the inspired writers themselves occupied. *They* received the truth immediately from its source, and communicated it to mankind; *he* receives from them the same truth, and undertakes to transmit it to others. We might feel sure that the inspired writers themselves must have been sometimes painfully sensible of the imperfection of the medium they had to use in bringing out clearly and exactly, without diminution or addition, the ideas communicated to them by the Spirit of truth, even if we did not see in the exhibition of some of the more

recondite truths (as for example, those which are found in the writings of Paul), an evident struggle to overcome the inadequacy and untowardness of the instrument employed, unused as it was to the embodying of such ideas as filled their minds. It is not for us to know to what extent such difficulties were in their case removed by direct aid from the Spirit that gave them the ideas. They were doubtless guided in knowing *how* they should speak, as well as *what* they should say. But the diversities of style and of thought in their different writings are an irrefragable proof that they were not *mere* instruments. There are however ideas for the expression of which no adequate form of words could be found. The meaning of many words, and especially those which relate to mind, is ill defined, and perhaps no word in any language stands for one idea and no more. But then the inspired writers had a perfect exemplar with which to compare their work, and that which seemed obscure or liable to misconstruction in the first draft, so to speak, of their conceptions, they could modify so as to make it accord, as exactly as the coarseness of the instrument would admit, with the perfect idea, and thus bring out into clear view the sense, neither more nor less. The object of the translator is the same as theirs, but how greatly are his difficulties increased. He has no pattern shown him on the mount, the vivid recollection of which would at once determine the exact force of the expression; he has no direct appeal to an unerring guide when the phrase points to different renderings; he deals not with the realities themselves, but with representations of them seen δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, 'by 'means of a mirror darkly.' His difficulties are further increased by his imperfect acquaintance with the medium through which the truths are communicated. How much of the force and precision of a sentiment depends on niceties in the use of language which no rules can define, and which no mere study of a written language can explain. Then he is bound to give in general a literal rendering, for a paraphrase will lead to a yet greater evil than the inadequacy of the literal expression. He may indeed in some cases by such means bring out shades of thought not otherwise expressible, but he will at the same time be almost inevitably led to express more than the original warrants. On all these accounts, we regard the attempt to present the word of God in another language as a most arduous and responsible task, one which requires and demands every qualification of intellect, learning, and piety of which the human mind is capable.

We might extend these observations to a much greater length, and the interest and importance of the subject would justify us in doing so; but we have another object now in view. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with stating the result of such

reflections in the form of rules or (if the title do not seem too ambitious) canons of translation, which will be applicable not more to the general subject we have glanced at, than to the examination of the work which stands at the head of this article.

1. A translator should take as his basis the text established on critical grounds.

2. A translator is to give the sense of the original, neither more nor less.

3. A translator ought not to refuse a clear meaning from doctrinal considerations.

4. A translator ought not without urgent necessity to give a paraphrase.

5. Words supplied to complete the sense should be as few as possible, and in some way distinguished from the text.

6. A translator ought not to make clear that which in the original is ambiguous, or to choose of two equally good meanings one to the exclusion of the other, when it is possible to include both.

7. Where, of two meanings equally good as to verbal rendering, one seems opposed to other passages, the one not so opposed is in general preferable.

We shall have to refer to these principles in our remarks on particular passages of the amended translation before us.

When all these difficulties, which the translator has to overcome, are remembered, it will not excite surprise that there should be found many oversights and faults in every version of the word of God which has yet been made. Every one, who has carefully sought to understand the truth knows, that there are such in our own translation. None can be more fully impressed than we are with the general faithfulness and adequacy, in many cases singular beauty and aptness of expression, of our received version, yet we are free to admit that a larger list of imperfections might be drawn out than any one would suppose who had not carefully attended to the subject. We are therefore by no means disposed to discountenance any attempt at improvement, or to object to the number of alterations in the volume before us. We rejoice in the accumulating stores of biblical criticism by which the text is much better ascertained now than it was two centuries ago, and sentiments which were then obscure have by diligent investigation been rendered clear and harmonious. We are especially ready to hail with pleasure the attempt to place within the reach of the many the results of the laborious and careful examination of the few. It was therefore with no ordinary feelings of interest that we took up the volume before us, looking upon it not as the contribution of one mind to the general store, but as con-

taining the results of the deep and earnest thought of many, collected and concentrated, and placed within the reach of all. No one, we imagine, can read the following extract from the preface without feeling favorably inclined both towards the volume itself and towards its editor, who is well known to be Dr. Conquest.

'In this delightful work the editor has been engaged more than thirty years: it has been his solace and relief under the anxieties and toils of an arduous profession, thus to sit and be refreshed by the fountains of living waters: yet none but those who have been similarly occupied can duly appreciate or form any idea of the amount of labor which it has involved. It is now offered as a contribution towards a more perfect revision of the authorized version; and although it professes nothing absolutely new, and lays no claim to the impress of perfection, yet, having been commenced, carried on, and brought to a termination under a deep sense of responsibility, and in simple and prayerful dependence on divine guidance and teaching, he trusts it may tend to promote the glory of God, and to advance the eternal interests of men, and more especially of that church which Jesus purchased with his most precious blood.'—p. vii.

Our disappointment was proportionably great when, on turning to the volume itself, the conviction was forced upon us, and strengthened by each succeeding examination, that the whole has been conducted on no well defined plan, or, so far as there is a plan, that it is one founded on erroneous principles of criticism. Alterations are made without adequate authority; passages, the sense of which is clear, are needlessly interfered with; whilst, on the other hand, many in which the translation is obscure or defective, are left untouched. The last is certainly the lightest fault of those we have named, and we shall not, therefore, dwell on it. The others are of so grave a character that we are compelled, though with great reluctance, to point out to our readers the grounds on which our censure is founded.

In reference to the plan of the work, our author says,

'In this version of the Bible every consideration has been subordinated to that of elucidating and illustrating the sacred text, and the object unceasingly kept in view has been to give the *sense* of the inspired penmen without being paraphrastic; and although most of the proposed emendations are more literal renderings than those for which they are substituted, some few are more free, where the obscurity of the original language required it; yet not even to secure clearness of expression has fidelity of meaning in any instance been compromised. Neither has any merely conjectural reading been admitted; and the adoption or rejection of every change, whether of punctuation, of a single word, or of an entire sentence, has been the result of much

patient and reiterated consideration. Some biblical students may condemn the omission of emendations suggested by translators of erudition and piety, but almost all that have appeared in several hundreds of publications during the last two centuries have been carefully and impartially examined, and those only rejected which were deemed conjectural, useless, or unsupported by sufficient authority. Nearly treble the number might have been introduced, but several of those suggested, even by men of high standing in literature, have been most unwarrantably framed to sanction some disputed sentiment or hetorodox doctrine, and could not be adopted without violating the commandment of Him who has said of his word, 'Thou shalt not add thereto nor diminish from it;' 'If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; and if any man shall take away from the words of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life.' Before adopting any emendation, all the known authorities relating to it have been consulted, and no suggestion has been received unless it was well sustained by internal evidence, and deemed to be in accordance with the mind and spirit of God. Nothing has been altered to gratify the taste of the fastidious: the regions of uncertainty have been avoided, and debateable ground has been but seldom trodden. In every instance where men of equal research and talent have differed, and where there has appeared no preponderance of evidence on either side, it has been considered most prudent to allow the passage to remain as in the authorized version.'—p. v.

There is nothing to object to in this statement, but unfortunately the work itself does not answer to it. Another extract from the preface will show what the respected editor's views are of the mode in which the authorities determining alterations are to be estimated.

'The emendations are derived from the Vatican, Alexandrian, and Aldine copies of the Septuagint; the Syriac, Arabic, Chaldee, Coptic, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Latin, Italian, French, German, Old English, and other versions of the sacred Scriptures; and also from the works of Lee, Bekker, J. P. Smith, &c. [here follows a list of more than 300 names]. But let it not be supposed that the editor has personally examined, or primarily derived, all his emendations from the original works of the authors whose names are here recorded. This would imply an acquaintance with almost every modern and ancient language, and with deep and extensive biblical criticism, to which he makes no pretension. He disavows any thing but industrious research, inflexible integrity, and inviolable impartiality, whilst collating the labors of the many whose learning and piety have so greatly contributed towards this more perfect translation of the sacred Scriptures. His motto therefore is, 'Others have labored;' I have 'entered into their labors.'

'Some private manuscripts, never before examined, have been entrusted to the editor; and several passages, respecting which the

greatest difference of opinion exists, he has himself collated with the Codex Vaticanus, and other rare and valuable manuscripts in the Vatican Library at Rome. In conclusion, he would say to his fellow men, 'With me it is a very small thing to be judged by you, or by man's judgment: yea, I do not even judge mine own self: for though I am not conscious of any unfaithfulness, yet am I not hereby justified; but he who judgeth me is the Lord.' And, finally, the results of his lengthened labors are now, with the most profound reverence, and with the deepest humility, laid at His feet whose glorious perfections adorn the sacred page, and who is himself emphatically and essentially 'THE WORD OF GOD.'"—pp. vii., viii.

We have given these lengthened extracts from the preface, in order to prevent the suspicion, on the part of any of our readers, that we have in any degree misrepresented the intentions or plan of the editor. It will be seen that they evince the piety and sincerity with which the work has been carried on, but they at the same time betray the author's erroneous conception of biblical criticism, and furnish conclusive evidence against the plan, so far as there is one, on which the work has been conducted. Dr. Conquest speaks of having consulted some private MSS. never before examined, and of a personal collation of the Codex Vaticanus, &c. Now a very tyro in biblical criticism knows that no single MS. must be taken to contain the true reading, but that the text is to be ascertained by a laborious and careful weighing of the whole evidence—a task which Dr. Conquest has not undertaken. Then with regard to the versions (and especially that of the LXX., which Dr. Conquest has followed in several instances where it differs from the Hebrew), the text any one of them may exhibit is not to be set in comparison with the original except in some few very special cases, and the judgment to be formed respecting these cases is not the province of the translator, but of him who undertakes to revise the text itself. But above all, the list of names is the most extraordinary we ever read. Dr. Conquest seems to have put down every one who was referred to by any author whom he read, as illustrating in any way the phraseology of the Bible, and has thus formed the most singularly heterogeneous collection of authors that probably ever yet was made. There is not the slightest attempt at classification in alphabetical order, or by date, or worth, or creed, or any other conceivable mode of arrangement. We could scarcely have thought it possible that any one writing down the names at random should have placed them in such complete confusion. One would have expected, for instance, that any one referring to the fragments of other Greek versions besides the LXX., which are found in Origen's Hexapla, would be likely to name the authors of them

together. We find them all three mentioned, however, in different parts of the list, in company with modern writers and Jewish expositors; Theodotion has for his supporters Watson and Jenour; fifty names or more intervening, we come to Aquila, in company with Onkelos and Tucker; and after another interval of nearly equal length, we find Symmachus between De Rossi and Houbigant. In one instance the same person is referred to twice, once under the appellation Dathius, the Latinized form, and in the next line but one with his proper German name, Dathe. Many of the names which are given are of no authority at all as biblical critics, and not a few, we will venture to say, are completely unknown to biblical scholars. To give one instance—we confess we had never before heard the name of Benjoin, one of the Doctor's authorities. On turning, however, to Horne's Introduction, we find that he published in 1796 a new translation of the book of Jonah, which Horne (by no means a severe critic) thus pithily describes: 'Literally good for nothing.' We should never have expected to find Herodotus in the list, though his writings doubtless may illustrate ancient manners, and be of use to the expositor. But the name in the whole list which most surprised us is that of Volney. The statements of an infidel may with good effect be brought as vouchers for the correctness of the prophecies, as Keith has done in reference to this author, but to make emendations on the authority of his account is to cut off their evidence altogether. Its value consists in the undesigned coincidence between the ancient predictions and the modern accounts of places referred to. Volney's is the last name that should be cited as an authority for making an alteration in the text.

We would not have troubled our readers with so many remarks on this singular collection of authorities, were it not that it is very characteristic of the work itself. There seems to have been as little attempt to make the emendations on any definite plan as to give the list in any intelligible order. The *law* of the one is as completely undiscoverable to us as that of the other. We do not wish, however, that our readers should form their opinion of the work simply from ours, without an exercise of their own judgment. We shall therefore proceed to adduce instances of the emendations, taken from various parts of the volume, premising merely that they have been selected out of a great number which we have noted down, not so much on account of their difficulty or the importance of the sentiments they contain, as because they serve to illustrate our ideas of translation. We believe we have not given a greater proportional number of objectionable alterations than would be found

in reading any part of the work. For the sake of distinction we have inserted Dr. Conquest's emendations between brackets.

Gen. iii. 8, *Authorized Version.* 'And they heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God amongst the trees of the garden.'

Emendation. 'And they heard the voice of the LORD God [waxing louder and louder] in the garden in the cool of the day: and [for fear of him] Adam and his wife hid themselves amongst the trees of the garden.'

From what source the emendations have been obtained we know not. Our authorized version gives the literal translation. There is not only no need for rendering the words figuratively, but such a rendering mars the consistency of the whole account, which evidently gives us the idea of a sensible appearance of God to Adam.

Gen. iv. 8, *Authorized Version.* 'And Cain talked with Abel his brother.

Emendation. 'And Cain [said to] Abel his brother, [Let us go into the field].'

This addition is found in the Samaritan, the LXX., the Vulgate, the Syriac, and two Chaldee paraphrases, but in no Hebrew MS. It may be considered almost with certainty to belong to the text. We should have been glad, however, if it had been distinguished by some mark so as to show that it was not found in the Hebrew.

Gen. xi. 32 and xii. 1, *Authorized Version.* 'And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran. Now the LORD had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, &c.

Emendation. 'And the days of Terah were [one hundred and forty five] years; and Terah died in Haran. Now the LORD had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, &c.'

The alteration of Terah's age is taken from the Samaritan Pentateuch, and is well deserving of consideration. Abraham was born when Terah was seventy-five years old, and left Haran at the age of seventy, at which time Terah would be 145. Now Stephen states (Acts vii. 4) that this took place after the death of his father. Here then all is plain if we adopt Dr. Conquest's emendation. But this alteration involves another which has not been made. To avoid the discrepancy as to dates, our translators have departed from the literal rendering in the first verse of chap. xii., where they translate, 'Now the Lord HAD said to Abram.' There is no occasion to resort to the pluperfect tense when the age is

altered. The account, then, is to be considered as a continuous narrative, and should be 'And the Lord said to Abram.'

Ex. iv. 18, 19, *Authorized Version.* 'And the LORD said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life.'

Emendation. '[After these days the king of Egypt died], and the LORD said unto Moses in Midian,' &c.

This is an addition from the LXX. It has no other authority that we are aware of—certainly none from the Hebrew or Samaritan. It seems clearly an unwarranted supplement. The death of Pharaoh, who had sought the life of Moses, had already taken place, as we find from chap. ii. 23.

Ex. iv. 21, *Authorized Version.* 'But I will harden his heart, that he shall not let the people go.'

Emendation. 'But [his heart shall be hardened], that he shall not let the people go.'

Ex. x. 20, *Authorized Version.* 'But the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart,' &c.

Emendation. 'But the LORD [permitted Pharaoh's heart to be hardened].'

Similar alterations are made in Ex. x. 27; xi. 10; xiv. 4, 8; and Rom. ix. 18. Our authorized version gives the proper translation in each instance. The alterations proceed altogether on doctrinal grounds, with which a translator, as such, has nothing to do. In the first instance especially the phrase is emphatic; not only is the verb in the first person, but the personal pronoun is prefixed, which, as all scholars know, is done for the sake of emphasis. We do think that it is taking an unwarrantable liberty with the word of God thus to modify it. Let the expounder of the word explain it as he thinks fit, but let not the translator be afraid of an expression which the inspired writers both of the Old and New Testament did certainly employ. We must protest against such a mode of rendering being called a translation.

1 Kings xix. 10, 14, *Authorized Version.* And he said, I have been very jealous for the LORD God of hosts.

Emendation. ver. 10. 'And he said, I have been [jealously concerned] for the LORD God of hosts.' Verse 14, the same as the authorized version.

This is an instance of the carelessness in making alterations which is frequent throughout the book. The original is the same in both cases.

Job ii. 9, *Authorized Version.* 'Then said his wife unto him, Dost thou still retain thine integrity? curse God, and die.'

Emendation. 'Then said his wife unto him, Dost thou still retain thine integrity? [bless] God, and die.'

We are on the whole inclined to this rendering; yet the word, which usually means '*bless*,' is in other passages of this book rendered *curse*, and seems incapable of the opposite sense, as chap. i. 5 (where Dr. Conquest has, without authority, 'not 'blessed'); i. 11; and ii. 5. We notice this alteration, because it is cited in the preface as an instance in which it would have been impossible to give the authorities on which the emendation depends. We think by a little management in respect to classification the names at least might have been referred to.

Job v. 7, *Authorized Version.* 'Yet man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward.'
Emendation. 'For man is [not] born to trouble
As the sparks fly upward.'

We are wholly at a loss to discover the authority or the reason of this alteration. It is an attempt to improve, not the version, but the original.

Ps. i. 1, *Authorized Version.* 'Blessed *is* the man,' &c.
Emendation. 'Oh the blessedness of the man,' &c.
So also Ps. xxxii. 1; lxxxiv. 4, 5, 12: and other places.

We notice this alteration as another instance of inconsistency. The same expression is left as in our version in Ps. xxxiv. 8; xl. 4; lxv. 4, &c.

Ps. xxxiv. 10, *Authorized Version.* 'The young lions do lack, and suffer hunger.'
Emendation. '[The rich may become poor], and suffer hunger.'

Our translation gives the literal meaning; the amendment proceeds on the supposition of the term 'lions' being used figuratively, and, as it seems to us, gives a frigid and fantastic sense to a passage equally simple and beautiful.

Ps. xl. 6, *Authorized Version.* 'Mine ears hast thou opened.'
Emendation. '[A body thou hast prepared for me].'

The LXX. version is preferred on the authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. x. 5). We are inclined to adopt the reading, but here again we should have been informed in a foot note what the Hebrew is, and that the reading of the text is from the Greek.

Ps. xlix. 11. *Authorized Version.* 'Their inward thought *is that* their houses *shall continue* for ever.'
Emendation. 'Their inward thought is, that [their sepulchres shall be their houses] for ever.'

The history of this 'emendation' is a striking example of the danger of a partial knowledge, or of too great haste. The Hebrew runs as in our authorized version, קִרְבָּם, 'their inward 'thought;' but the LXX. translators either finding in their copies קִבְרֵיהֶם, 'their sepulchres,' or supposing, with many Jewish commentators, that the Hebrew word was to be understood as though it were so written, render the passage 'Their sepulchres '[shall be] their houses for ever.' One of the Doctor's 300 authorities (perhaps Rosenmüller) no doubt informed him of this rendering, but, not fully understanding his oracle, he resolves to be safe by including both ideas, the right and the wrong.

Ps. lx. 7, 8, *Authorized Version.* 'Gilead *is* mine, and Manasseh *is* mine; Ephraim also *is* the strength of mine head; Judah *is* my lawgiver; Moab *is* my washpot; over Edom will I cast out my shoe: Philistia, triumph thou because of me (*or*, over me, *margin*).'

Emendation. 'Gilead and Manasseh have submitted to me;
Ephraim shall supply me with valiant men;
Judah with men of prudence and wisdom;
I will reduce Moab to the vilest servitude;
Over Edom will I triumph;
And Philistia shall add to my glory.'

Is this translation? If any alteration at all was required, it was only to substitute some clearer expressions for those employed respecting Moab and Edom, retaining the very expressive figures by which their degradation and subjection are denoted.

Jonah iv. 4. *Authorized Version.* 'Doest thou well to be angry?'
Emendation. 'Will grieving do thee any good?'

A similar alteration is made in the ninth verse. We apprehend these 'emendations' are to be traced to the authority to which we have already referred, Benjoin, and if so they fully bear out the criticism which we have quoted from Horne.

Mal. iii. 17. *Authorized Version.* 'And they shall be mine, saith the LORD of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels.'
Emendation. 'And they shall be [to me a peculiar treasure] saith the LORD of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels.'

In this instance, as in that quoted from Ps. xlix., Dr. Conquest has been misled into a double rendering by not fully understanding his authorities.

It appears from Rosenmüller, that Jerome, and with him other interpreters, have connected the word which our translators render 'my jewels,' with the first part of the verse, and

consider the intermediate words to be intended merely to designate the time when this should be. We suspect that in both these cases of double translation, Dr. Conquest has too hastily looked at Rosenmüller, and adopted from him translations which he notices only to condemn. But whoever may have been his authorities, he very evidently did not understand what the alteration was which they proposed, and had not the slightest notion that the word 'jewels' was the translation of the term which he had already rendered 'peculiar treasure.' The passage is better as it stands in our common version, but if not, Dr. Conquest plainly does not know how to alter it.

We must hasten, however, to give some instances of alteration made in the New Testament.

Matt. v. 19, *Authorized Version.* 'Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments.'

Emendation. 'Whosoever therefore shall break one of [the least of these] commandments.'

A decided improvement upon our version.

Matt. vi. 1, *Authorized Version.* 'Take heed that ye do not your alms (*margin*, righteousness) before men.'

Emendation. 'Take heed that ye do not your [good deeds] before men.'

The reading which Dr. Conquest adopts is decidedly preferable to the common one. We would rather, however, have had the marginal rendering 'righteousness,' than 'good deeds.' The words are clearly intended as an introduction to the succeeding observations on alms-giving, prayer, and fasting; the three principal religious duties or acts of righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. It was in these duties that their δικαιοσύνη consisted, of which our Lord had already said, 'Except your 'righteousness exceed [the righteousness] of the Scribes and 'Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of 'heaven.'

Matt. vi. 13, *Authorized Version.* 'And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.'

Emendation. 'And [leave us not in] temptation, but deliver us from [the evil one].' So also Luke xi. 4.

With the latter of these alterations we have no quarrel, though we think it a matter of doubt whether the word refer to a person, ὁ πονηρός, i. e. the devil, or to a thing, τὸ πονηρόν. It would, perhaps, have been better to have left the expression indeterminate, as our translators have done John xvii. 15, 'That 'thou shouldest keep them from the evil,' which Dr. Conquest has also rendered 'from the evil one.' The former alteration is de-

titute of any authority derived from the original text. The meaning of the words is that which our translators have given. Dr. Campbell has, indeed, for reasons with which, as a translator, we conceive he had nothing to do, rendered the clause 'abandon us not to temptation;' that is, as he explains it, suffer us not to go into temptation; but Dr. Conquest proceeds a step further, and completely alters the force of the petition. The original is a prayer not to be led (or, if it please better, suffered to go) *into* temptation; the amended version merely requests not to be left when placed in it. We have, it is true, heard ministers thus modify the petition when repeating the Lord's prayer in public, but have ever thought it too great a liberty to take. It is one thing, however, to modify the language of Scripture in our own devotions so as to render it, as we suppose, more suitable to the expression of our wants; but quite another to place such an alteration in the divine record, and thus present it to all as that which the inspired writers, in this case which our Lord himself, uttered.

Matt. xxi. 7, *Authorized Version.* 'And brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set *him* thereon.'

Emendation. 'And brought the ass, [even] the colt, and put on [it] their clothes, and they set him thereon.'

This is another instance of violation of the principle we have laid down, that a translator is to be guided simply by the text. The other evangelists speak only of the colt having been brought. To make Matthew's account agree with theirs, Dr. Conquest renders καὶ, 'even,' a translation which, if admissible on general principles, is completely set aside in this passage by the foregoing narrative, which, according to Dr. Conquest's own version is, 'Go into the village over against you, and immediately ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose THEM, and bring THEM unto me.'

Matt. xxvii. 46, *Authorized Version.* 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'

Emendation. 'My God! my God! [unto what] hast thou forsaken me?' So also Mark xv. 34.

An alteration which the original will in neither case bear. It has been doubtless suggested by the Hebrew or Syriac word uttered by our Lord, of which it is a translation. It is singular, however, that in Ps. xxii. 1, from which the words are quoted, Dr. Conquest has left the passage without alteration. The Hebrew word means not 'unto what' [scil. evil], but 'to what end,' 'for what,' 'wherefore.' It is thus continually used in the Old Testament, and the phrases employed by the two evangelists are an exact translation of it.

Mark v. 41, *Authorized Version.* 'And he took the damsel by the hand, and said unto her, Talitha cumi; which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, arise.'

Emendation. 'And he took the damsel by the hand, and said unto her, Talitha cumi; (which is, being interpreted, Damsel, arise!)'

By what authority are the words 'I say unto thee,' which are, as far as critical inquiries can determine, an undoubted part of Mark's text, omitted? The reason of the omission no doubt is, that they seem to be represented as included in the Syriac phrase, the translation of which is correctly given by Dr. Conquest, but it would have been easy to obviate the supposed difficulty by including them within parentheses. A translator has no right to improve on the original.

Mark vii. 26, *Authorized Version.* 'The woman was a Greek (*margin*, Gentile), a Syrophœnician by nation.'

Emendation. 'The woman, [who spoke Greek,] was a Syrophœnician by nation.'

This expresses more than is in the original. The woman may not improbably have spoken Greek; but the term 'Greek' is used by the inspired writers very frequently in opposition to 'Jew,' and means a 'Gentile.' This is the force of the expression in the passage before us. It matters little in what language she addressed Christ, the idea which was intended to be conveyed, as is manifest from the whole narrative, is that she was of the Gentile or heathen race.

Luke vii. 5, *Authorized Version.* 'For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue.'

Emendation. 'For he loveth our nation, and [it was he who] built [our] synagogue.'

A decided improvement of the authorized version, adopted from Campbell.

Luke vii. 47, *Authorized Version.* 'Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much.'

Emendation. 'Wherefore I say unto thee, [Because] her sins, which are many, are forgiven; [therefore] she [hath] loved much.'

A signal instance of cutting a knot which it was difficult to unravel. Many translators, and amongst them Campbell, Doddridge, and Schleusner, have made ὅτι, 'for,' equivalent in this passage with διότι, 'therefore.' But Dr. Conquest goes beyond them, and to make the sense yet more certain, prefixes to the first clause the word 'because,' for which there is not the least shadow of authority. Notwithstanding the arguments by which the translation 'therefore,' has been supported, we confess that we are not at all convinced of its propriety. No clear

examples are given of such a meaning, and it is on purely doctrinal grounds that it is adopted.

We believe the passage is to be literally translated, and may be so, as we conceive, without involving the apparent doctrinal difficulty. Our Lord had asked Simon, Which of two debtors would love most him who had forgiven them both. Simon says, I suppose that he to whom he forgave most. Jesus then directs him to the woman, and recounts what she had done, what marks of love she had shown, and adds, as an inference from Simon's own admission, 'Then (if this be so, οὗ χάριν), I say 'unto thee, those many sins of hers are (or, have been) forgiven 'her, for she [hath] loved much; but to whom little is forgiven, 'the same loveth little.' The clause in dispute is not intended to express the *cause* of her sins being forgiven, but the cause of *our knowing* it to be the case.* We do not see that any objection can be brought against this interpretation; but should it be deemed unsatisfactory, it may at any rate suffice to show that there is no need to do such violence to the passage as is done by Dr. Conquest's emendation.

Luke xxiv. 25, *Authorized Version.* 'Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken.'

Emendation. 'Then he said unto them, O [dull of understanding,] and slow of heart to believe, [notwithstanding,] all that the prophets have spoken.'

The former emendation is a matter of taste merely; the latter without any warrant alters the turn of thought which the original gives.

John viii. 44, *Authorized Version.* 'When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it.'

Emendation. 'When [any one] speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: [for his father is a liar also].'

We are altogether at a loss to know the reason of this alteration, or the meaning which Dr. Conquest wished to give. Our received version is literal and clear, Dr. Conquest's is not a translation, and is obscure.

Acts i. 20, *Authorized Version.* 'His bishoprick let another take.'

Emendation. 'His [office] let another take.'

A very proper alteration, adopted from the margin of our authorized version.

Acts xx. 28, *Authorized Version.* 'To feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.'

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* See some remarks of Archbishop Whateley on the use of causal and illative particles very apposite to this case, in his Logic, p. 28. Fifth Edition.

Emendation. 'To feed the church of the [LORD] God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.'

Griesbach and Lachmann read in this passage τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Κυρίου, Knapp and Scholz τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. One of these two readings is no doubt the correct one. In order to avoid deciding between them, Dr. Conquest unites them both, and thus adopts a reading which has comparatively little authority to support it.

Rom. i. 17, *Authorized Version.* 'For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith.'

Emendation. 'For therein is the righteousness of God revealed, [that we may have faith in it].'

Our received translation is by no means clear, but it is not improved by Dr. Conquest's alteration, which is no translation at all. His paraphrase may explain the meaning of the last words of the sentence, but he wholly omits the words 'from 'faith.' The meaning seems to be, 'Therein is revealed the 'righteousness of God, [which is] by faith; [in order] to faith.'

Rom. viii. 26, *Authorized Version.* 'The Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.'

Emendation. 'The Spirit itself maketh intercession for us [together with our] groanings which cannot be uttered.'

These unauthorized additions increase rather than diminish the difficulty of the passage. If we understand the apostle to speak of the operation of the Spirit upon and within our hearts, as the original as well as our translation clearly admits, there appears no difficulty. We are perplexed by considering the Spirit as acting independently of ourselves, which Dr. Conquest's explanation obliges us to do.

Rom. xi. 8, *Authorized Version.* 'According as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber; eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear.'

Emendation. 'According as it is written, God hath given them [up to] a spirit of slumber, [to eyes that see not, and to ears that hear not.]'

Another instance of alterations made on doctrinal grounds, and made too in direct violation of the plainest rules of syntax. The Greek text does not say, and cannot be made to say, that God gave them up to any thing, but affirms that God gave the spirit of slumber to them. The original is as follows, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν. A schoolboy would not translate this as it is given in the amended version. But we believe that Dr. Conquest, in this instance at least, did not examine the Greek text at all. No one who is able to collate the Codex Vaticanus

could think he was giving a translation of the original when he made such alterations.

1 Cor. xiv. 21, *Authorized Version.* 'In the law it is written.'
Emendation. 'In the [Old Testament] it is written.'

This is an attempt to correct the original. Every attentive reader of the New Testament is aware that the word *law* is not confined to the books of Moses.

Col. i. 15, *Authorized Version.* 'The first born of every creature.'
Emendation. 'The LORD of all creation.'

Our received version is literal: Dr. Conquest's is an explanation of it, which may be received or not. Have we any right to make the Bible more orthodox than it is? and is not this an attempt to do so? Will a Unitarian accept such a translation as this? Should it not be considered whether by such means we do not lead those who doubt the divinity of Christ, to suppose that orthodox views need to be supported by strained interpretations? In the eighteenth verse the word is left as in our version, 'The first-born from the dead.'

Heb. ii. 16, *Authorized Version.* 'For verily he took not on *him the nature of* angels, but he took on *him* the seed of Abraham. (*Marginal reading*, He taketh not hold of angels, but of the seed of Abraham he taketh hold.)'
Emendation. 'For verily he took not on him the nature of angels; but he [took hold of] the seed of Abraham.'

Two distinct translations are given of this passage, the one in the text, the other and preferable one in the margin, of the authorized version. According to the first, the verb ἐπιλαμβάνεται is taken to mean 'he assumes;' according to the other and more literal rendering, 'he takes hold of.' Now it is perfectly clear that one or other of these two meanings being chosen in the first part of the verse must be retained in the second; but Dr. Conquest, with singular impropriety, adopts them both.

Heb. vii. 1—3, *Authorized Version.* 'For this Melchisedec, king of Salem, Priest of the most high God..... Without father, without mother, without descent (*margin*, pedigree), having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God; abideth a Priest continually.'
Emendation. '[Now] this Melchisedec, king of Salem, Priest of the most high God..... without [recorded] father or mother; without descent, [having neither predecessor or successor in office], but [was] made like to the Son of God; [who] abideth a priest continually.'

The alterations are without any warrant from the original;

the words '*recorded*,' '*was*,' and '*who*,' are all interpolations; the last two render the sentence ungrammatical, and if the relative be intended to refer the succeeding clause to Christ, it is nothing less than a perversion of the text. If a commentator can extort the meaning 'having neither predecessor or successor in office,' from the words μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, which are literally translated in our version, let him do so; but it must be effected by a process which does not at all fall within the compass of the translator's office.

We must notice, in conclusion, one or two faults which run through the whole work. The first is the abandonment of italics or some similar mode of distinguishing the text from supplementary words or phrases to complete the sense. The discontinuance of this practice is justified by Dr. Conquest in his preface, but we are by no means shaken in our opinion of the advantages of such a plan by his observations. He himself adopts a mark of distinction for mere explanatory additions, by printing them in small capitals, and including them in brackets; but here again we feel bound to protest against the use made by him of such a distinction. Many words and phrases which in reality belong to the text are printed in this manner, and are therefore completely undistinguishable from explanations inserted on Dr. Conquest's own authority. Thus Abba [FATHER], Mark xiv. 36; Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6, is printed in precisely the same way as Noah [COMFORTER], Gen. v. 29. The latter is Dr. Conquest's explanation; the former is part of the inspired text. We are further inclined strenuously to oppose the innovation (previously adopted, as far as we remember, only by Reeves in some of his editions) of omitting altogether the titles to the Psalms. It is true they are not be looked upon as of divine authority, but they contain the best, if not the only information, we have of the authors and the occasions of many of these divine odes. For similar reasons we object to the omission of the subscriptions to the epistles, not however so strenuously as in the former case, because the information they contain may be frequently gathered from the inspired narratives themselves, and in some instances they are decidedly in error. In both cases any inconvenience likely to arise from their being supposed to be authoritative, might be obviated by their being included in brackets. It appears to us to be a fault of the opposite kind to put the name of Paul in the heading of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The epistle itself does not bear his name. The authorship is a point not beyond dispute. It would surely be well to imitate the caution of the early English editions, and name it simply the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It is with great pain that we have felt compelled to speak as we have done of this volume. Again and again we have been

on the point of relinquishing so ungracious a task. We entertain the fullest assurance of the praiseworthy intentions of Dr. Conquest. We are convinced, however, that his volume exhibits in many instances a very dangerous mode of treating the word of God, and on this ground we feel it our duty to enter our protest against it. We do not say that many of the alterations are not really emendations—we have quoted some which we esteem to be so. Were the work accompanied with references to authorities, we might have thought that the careful student would find in it valuable suggestions, and at least be led to inquire into the meaning of many passages which Dr. Conquest has altered but not improved. As it is, however, several of the alterations being made (and some of these the most important) in violation of all sound rules of criticism and interpretation, left as we are without the slightest clue to direct us by whose authority any emendation is supported, the work is of scarcely any advantage to the scholar, and, as we believe (and we say it deliberately), is likely to be injurious to the general reader. We regard it, therefore, to be a solemn duty which no feeling of personal respect ought to prevent our performing towards the public, to say that we cannot conscienciously recommend the work to any class of our readers.

Art. VI. *The Student-Life of Germany.* By WILLIAM HOWITT. *From the unpublished MS. of Dr. Cornelius; containing nearly forty of the most famous songs, with the original music, adapted to the Piano-Forte by the Herr Winkelmeyer, Illustrated with Engravings by Sargent, Wood, and other Eminent Artists.* Longman and Co. London. 1841.

THE numerous readers for whom the name of *Howitt* is a 'household word,' calling up a crowd of pleasant recollections, were gratified at hearing that the family had chosen Heidelberg for a brief residence abroad. To say nothing of Mrs. Howitt, to whom infancy and age listen with equal delight, and equal instruction, and whose genius and industry must turn her new opportunities to the best account, William Howitt has given proofs of abilities so various and so successful, that he also could not fail to gather fresh fruits for us, and additional laurels for himself in his new field. We early rejoiced at his temporary abode in a foreign land, as we were satisfied that, excellent patriot as he may be, and deeply attached to the *rural life* of Old England, he is one of the last 'to give up, even to

'*country*, what is meant for mankind.' We are not disappointed; the ground that is now only broken in the heart of Europe, by one of the most popular of living English writers, rough as it is in the strangeness of the subject, as well as too negligently left by the undue haste of our traveller, gives solid promises of a rich harvest hereafter, whilst it now affords us many sources of pleasure, and abundant stores of nourishment.

So many persons are familiar with the German Universities, either from their own travels, or from the narratives of others, that a mere description of the studies and amusements of the youths who frequent them would hardly have been acceptable, even from Mr. Howitt's vigorous and lively pen. It is, therefore with considerable satisfaction, that we have found this work to be of a different character. Containing, as it does, vivid pictures of many parts of the Heidelberg student's-life from of old, and an account of the political struggles of the students of Germany generally from the war of independence against Napoleon, it supplies valuable materials towards duly estimating the influence of an important body, in an important portion of Europe, nearly allied to ourselves in origin and interests;—and that body subjected, of late years more especially, to the alchemy of time, which so strangely alters the internal and external condition of all things, whether intellectual or material. We have the best authority, indeed, for knowing that this mysterious change has long been steadily working among the younger inmates of the German Universities; and Mr. Howitt has done the public good service by contributing so much to preserve a memorial of peculiar ways of life, which are fast receding from daily use, and of which the very traces escape common observers. The volume before us, in which this is done, consists of a translation of an unpublished German work, written by Dr. Cornelius of Heidelberg, at the suggestion of Mr. Howitt. To this principal portion of the volume are added translations of numerous songs, with a brief preface. Before making some remarks upon the manner in which the task undertaken by Mr. Howitt has been executed, we shall produce the authority on which we rely upon this subject; and add a few observations on the position of the students and universities of Germany, compared with those of our own country.

The Leipsic Conversations-Lexicon* of the present year, states the whole matter in the following terms.

'The actual state of the German Universities, the spirit of the students, and their occupations and habits, afford the strongest evidence

* Conversations-Lexicon der Gegenwart, Leipsic, vol. iv. p. 162. 1841.

of great changes being in progress in those institutions; as well as of their influence upon the intellectual movements of the times being exceedingly doubtful and unsatisfactory. Independently of the diminution of the number of the students to the amount of one-third, in the last ten years, although the general population has much increased—independently of the restraints every day imposed by the government upon the privileges of the universities, and upon the course of the studies pursued there; and independently of the preference of the public for other places of education, better adapted to the wants of society,—independently of all this, the students, and even many of the professors, cannot disguise from themselves that universities must, of necessity, cease to be what they once were, institutions for the dissemination of pure science, or retreats for the overflowing extravagancies of young men of unrestrained fancy. Studies have assumed a steady direction towards what will be available in common life; and speculation is begun to be neglected. Not only also is philosophy more and more deserted, but that which occupies its place is preferred exactly in proportion to its positive utility. The students in divinity have fallen off from 3659, in all the German Universities, exclusive of the Austrian, in 1830, to 2159, in 1840; the law students, from 3215 to 2543; the medical students have increased from 1839 to 1900; whilst those who study the sciences of practical life, civil engineering, surveying in all branches, mining, natural history, agriculture, and the duties of the public offices, which have been introduced into the classes of philosophy and philology to their partial exclusion, have increased from 1426 to 1774. There is danger as well as good in this; and some governments, as the Bavarian for instance, in 1835, have sought a remedy against its evil tendency, by extending the time of residence from three to five years, in order that two years, at least, might be devoted to philosophy. This measure has not succeeded; as the real attention of the students has still been directed to their new courses. But a great compensation has been found in the improved methods introduced of late in the pursuit of these new sciences, or new branches of old ones. For example, the study of law was once confined with extraordinary exclusiveness to the Roman pandects. It is now enlarged into every topic which can be brought to bear on the business of life, and on the discharge of those duties which are soon to be imposed upon the students.

'Whilst this change has been in progress in regard to the subjects of study at the universities, the manners of the students have undergone an alteration not less remarkable. They have given up their eccentric habits, their dreamy feelings, and that excessive rudeness which once marked them as a separate class in the community. In the place of all this, they have adopted the usages of ordinary society, which they no longer annoy. On the contrary, and more particularly in the great towns, such as Berlin, Munich, and Leipsic, by conforming to the usages of social life, they have acquired some of its refinement. They may, indeed, at the same time, have become somewhat corrupted by it; but in the whole, they have assumed, in this decided change, a more sober character; and they habitually take a better view of their own position, as one which is to prepare them for a suitable rank in the

great world before them. The very political excitements which they have experienced, during many years, have at length become calmer; and now tend to fix the young men in the steady pursuit of those acquirements which shall render them, by and by, statesmen, public functionaries, or enlightened citizens.'

The increased intercourse of the young men with good society, which is noticed in the foregoing extract from the Conversations-Lexicon, is described in an interesting passage taken by Dr. Cornelius from a periodical published at Halle; and we are aware of only one reason why the institution so much eulogized should not be established in our own universities;—for the *celibacy* of the fellows of our colleges deprives Oxford and Cambridge of those family ties which, in Germany, contribute largely to the social superiority of its universities.

'Heidelberg,' says the author, 'is only a city of moderate size, but it contains sufficient elements for a superior society.'

These elements are then described, consisting of the families of the professors, the more opulent inhabitants, and the English residents; all of whom willingly receive the students into their respective circles.

'But all these different circles,' he continues, 'find themselves included and brought together into a comprehensive social body, in the MUSEUM. This establishment, founded as a joint-stock property by the inhabitants and professors of the city, is of high value both to the social life of Heidelberg in general, and in particular to the students. For a moderate yearly subscription, the students become members of this union, and through that partakers of its social pleasures; enjoy the advantage of access to a rich collection of political, scientific, and literary periodicals, and new works; and they are even entitled to a certain co-operation in the affairs of the union; a portion of the ball-directors, for instance, being elected from amongst them. The spacious and handsome suite of apartments in the Museum, which are always open to the members, give the most preferable opportunities to the students for having a common table, and for other social meetings, and by this means bring about a more extensive intimacy and acquaintance amongst those young people. But especially is the independent manner and estimation with which they see themselves received in such an union, an incentive to them to maintain this position with urbanity and moderation; and the social equality with their teachers which here prevails, far from diminishing the students' respect for them, serves only, through the confidence they inspire, to elevate and ennoble them. Inconceivable is the auspicious influence of the Museum on the conduct of the students, and their good understanding with the professors, and with the whole of the best society of the city; and the cases are rare in which any one, by a wanton disturbance of the general enjoyment, loses sight of that discretion which the company expects from him. Truly not all the students have the taste for these noble

social pleasures, which are offered to them in so friendly and disinterested a manner. They who regard the established rules of social manners as a restraint, incompatible with the enjoyment of their academical freedom, seek less select circles, where such rules are more freely dispensed with.'—pp. 192, 193.

These are the judgments of Germans, of high authority, upon the subject of the universities of their country as they now stand, and they may be received as conclusive, touching the important fact, that the old fantastic peculiarities of the German students are disappearing. The degree of interest which large bodies of them have felt *in politics* is their strongest characteristic in modern times; and that, too, as we apprehend, is passing away; but not so irrevocably as excessive beer-drinking, excessive duelling, and excessively odd personal habits are. The same causes which originated the political excitement of so many of the German students may easily recur in new forms, which gives a permanent value to such details as are to be found in the chapter of Dr. Cornelius, on the subject of the *Burschenschaft,* or that association of students which has aimed at reforming the constitutions of the German states. But he has omitted another object of that body, *its attempt to reform the manners of the students, in order thereby to purify public morals.* Their success in this was very remarkable. For example, in the University of Halle these young reformers, to the number of 700, had reduced the *duels* to about ten in a year, and these were subject to good regulations; whilst the other students, to the amount of 300, who did not belong to the *Burschenschaft* association, continued to fight fifty duels in a year. It is a deep disgrace to the governments of Germany that rather than let these enlightened students pursue their noble career, and to aid the great cause of *political* advancement, they crushed this moral institution because it had necessarily a *political* bearing. They did worse,—they even encouraged the old vicious courses of the youth, in order to thwart the political views of the reformers.

It is a great mistake to take the character of the English Universities for that of those of Germany. Certainly education in that country by no means depends upon its Heidelbergs, and Jenas, and Göttingens, more than it does upon Oxford and Cambridge in this; seeing that there are numerous institutions there as well as here, which rival even those and all other universities; and probably will work great changes in them. Nevertheless the *German* Universities are, from peculiar circumstances, far more influential bodies in the state than ours are. The only two circumstances alluded to which we shall particularly notice are—the combination of all the sciences and all

learning in them; and the ancient practice of referring cases of law from the courts of justice to the judgments of their professors in jurisprudence. Out of the 4213 students in Berlin, Leipsic, and Munich, last year, 1462 were students in law, and 753 in medicine. The same proportion exists in the other universities, giving to them, in a very great degree, the whole strength which in England is divided between Oxford and Cambridge, and the special medical and law schools which we have elsewhere. The consequence of this is, that the *social* influence of the universities is more powerful in Germany than in England. But the judicial functions of the law professors give them a still stronger hold upon public respect; so that upon legislative assemblies being established in several of the states, many of these professors were at once elected to them, and they have become their presidents and most active members.

The very despotic character, too, of the old German governments, gave to the universities the same popular position which the church and the monastic institutions held at an earlier period.

Hence a great political distinction between our own universities and those of Germany. But the German students took no part in politics until they were *led* by the events of the last great war to do so; and it is precisely the ungrateful return made by the princes who were their leaders, for the unbounded sacrifices of the enthusiastic youth in the common cause, that calls for the gravest reproach. We shall trace the progress of that enthusiasm from its origin to its cruel discouragement in 1819. In the twelfth century colleges for eleemosynary education were founded in Europe. In Germany they were called *bursen*, from *bursa*, a fund; and thence the term *bursche*, designating those who dwelt together in the bursen, or colleges. In these colleges, or universities, voluntary clubs or societies were very common, being composed of individuals belonging to the same state, whence they were called *landmanschafts*, afterwards *orders*, and more recently *chores*. Their perfect organization rendered them susceptible of durable patriotic impressions, which were destined to have a very remarkable influence in Europe. It was only in the last century that the men of letters in Germany began extensively to adopt their native tongue in all branches of literature and public affairs. Previously, first the Latin, and afterwards the French, had superseded it upon almost all important occasions. Such men, however, as Klopstock, Voss, Lessing, and their contemporaries, entered upon a mighty struggle to change this; and they succeeded. With the fall of the Jesuits too, the Latin ceased to be so exclusively as it had been the subject of scholastic instruction; and ultimately the French was no longer the

language of the courts. A rare combination of pure German talent in the persons of Wieland, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe, assembled with as rare and happy a spirit of union, at Weimar, under the auspices of an admirable sovereign, gave a dignity to this cause, and established an *intellectual Germany* which has never since been divided. The *students of the universities*, to whom these great men were nursing fathers, were among the first to be deeply imbued with this patriotic spirit; and that long before they shared largely in the political enthusiasm of our day. There were doubtless Germans of all ranks, who were far from being insensible to the attractions of those principles which most honored the first French revolution. Schiller had expressed those great principles in the marvellous productions of his early youth, of which the much-misunderstood Robbers was only a specimen; and he was invited to be a member of the French National Assembly. But along with the vast mass of his countrymen, he soon corrected those first impressions, so far as fraternization with France was implied. In fact, before the mighty struggles with republican France, and with Napoleon, Germany was completely freed from all French influence; and to be a single German people had become a national feeling. Those struggles opened new scenes of the greatest importance, which can only be glanced at here. The ambition of some of the princes to acquire independence, aided by the wishes of some of the people to adopt an improved system of administration and law analogous to that of the French Codes, supported the successful arms of France in separating large portions of the country from the German empire. The result was, that after commencing with the total incorporation of all the provinces south-west of the Rhine with France, and making two or three little kingdoms, and the confederation beyond that river, Napoleon was able to annihilate the *German* empire by reducing it to that of Austria. This took place in 1806; and laid the real foundation for the *German* resistance to his domination. The well established sentiment of nationality was wounded to the quick by this act; from the date of which that resistance was preparing which broke out so irresistibly in 1813. Having thus cleared the way, we shall let Dr. Cornelius inform our readers how the *students* of the universities shared this spirit, and what the results of the great movement were as regards them.

'The French ascendancy in literature had ceased,' says he, 'at the very point of time when the French political ascendancy came to lie heavy and oppressively on the nation; the literary honor sharpened that bitter feeling of political shame, and the more the German people learned to feel it, the stronger became its impatience to liberate itself

from that condition into which it had been reduced by the French. But on whom must this feeling have seized more powerfully than on the student? To whom must the situation of Germany have occasioned more serious apprehensions than to him? On the one hand, sufficiently instructed to perceive the dangers which threatened the political and literary liberty of Germany; on the other, full of youthful spirit and of desires to help the oppressed Fatherland,—such sentiments must have weaned the students from the trivial pursuit of Landsmanships and Orders, and accordingly those of the same sentiment united themselves into a Burschenchaft. The object of this first union was noble; namely, to rescue the Fatherland; and in order to be able to do this worthily, to raise up men strengthened to the utmost completeness of both moral and physical constitution. Thence came it that bodily exercises, especially gymnastics, rose into new existence; that the Burschen sought to invigorate themselves by hardships of every kind; thence, that they strove after the greatest possible purity of manners, and displayed a spirit of hostility towards the less pure tendencies of the yet existing orders. Germany's noblest sons belonged then to the Burschenschafts. These unions had their leaders and laws, much in the same manner as the Chores. Their leaders were the so-called *Rügemeister*, monitors, or judges, and had their speaker, who, in the assembly, made statement to the people of whatever affairs appeared of importance to them. In these companies ruled no aristocratic power, as was the case in those of the Chores, especially towards the younger members. To establish a thorough union amongst the students was a main object of the Burschenschaft. On this account the duel was not permitted between the members of the union; and duels between the members of the orders were very much circumscribed, and only in cases of real injuries, or gross offences, and then under certain conditions, permitted by the court of honor. The Burschenschafts of different university cities stood in combination with each other, and members from one city were in the habit of making visits to the members of the other university cities. The Burschenschafts, as then constituted, were in most places allowed, or at least, tolerated. They celebrated often, and with the consent of the prorector, their so-called foundation-day, or anniversary, with great banqueting, public processions, music, and torch-trains. The members of these companies conducted themselves so discreetly, that people willingly suffered them, and any little distinctions which might gratify youthful vanity —the wearing of the old German costume, the short coat, the broad out-lying shirt-collar, with the open breast, the cap which but scantily covered the long down-hanging hair, and which, as well as the coat, was mostly of black velvet—such old Germanisms and peculiar attire —were cheerfully conceded to them. Hitherto must the life and movements of the Burschenschaft be styled noble. With enthusiasm the members received the call to the fight of freedom, which resounded from Prussia in the year 1813; and from all the universities streamed forth volunteers, to join themselves to the German host, which was to do battle with the oppressors of the Fatherland. Theodore Korner has immortalized in his songs the feelings and sentiments of the Ger-

n youth at that glorious crisis. Many Burschen died, like him, the o's death, inspired with equal zeal for the good cause, though it s alone permitted to the poet to flash radiantly forth, as from a rror, the inner glow of his spirit in patriotic song.'—pp. 36, 37.

The powerful feeling of *nationality* which the students only par- k with the mass of their countrymen, was nobly expressed in a nous song by Arndt, at that period a leader in this movement, erwards one of the numerous victims of the treachery of the rman governments, and now at last honorably restored to professorship in the University of Bonn. We give Mr. witt's excellent translation of this song.

'THE GERMAN'S FATHERLAND.

'Which is the German's Fatherland;
Is't Prussian land? Is't Swabian land?
Is't where on Rhine the red grapes hang?
Where o'er the Baltic sea-mews clang?
Oh no! oh no! oh no! oh no!
His Fatherland must wider go!

'Which is the German's Fatherland?
Westphalian, or Pomerian land?
Is't where the sand from sea-down blows?
Is't where the Danube foaming flows?
Oh no! etc.

'Which is the German's Fatherland?
So name to me the mighty land.
The land of Hofer?—or of Tell?
Both land and people love I well.
Oh no! etc.

'Which is the German's Fatherland?
So name to me that mighty land.
The Austrian land it sure must be,
With glory crowned and victory!
Oh no! etc.

'Which is the German's Fatherland?
So name to me that mighty land.
Is't what the Princes' hollow theft,
From Emperor and Empire reft?
Oh no! etc.

'Which is the German's Fatherland?
So name me finally that land!
Wide as the German free tongue springs,
And hymns to God in heaven sings,
That shall it be! that shall it be! that shall it be!
That land, brave Germans, given to thee!

'That is the German's Fatherland,
Where oaths are sworn by grasp of hand;
Where in all eyes clear truth doth shine;
Where in warm hearts sits love benign.
That shall it be! etc.

'That is the German's Fatherland,
Where foreign folly scorn doth brand;
Where all that's base 'neath hate must bend;
Where all that's noble name we friend.
That shall it be! that shall it be!
That whole, the German land shall be!

'That whole, the German land shall be!
O God of Heaven! hither see!
And give us genuine German soul,
That we may love it high and whole.
That shall it be! etc.'

At the settlement of public affairs after Napoleon's overthrow, constitutions were solemnly promised to *all* the German states; but the performance of that solemn promise was for the most part shamefully evaded or delayed. Hence a deep feeling of indignation prevailed. The people had recovered independence, and they were now disappointed in their just expectations. To the old idea of *one* Germany that of a *free* Germany being annexed, this disappointment could not fail to generate a dangerous reaction of popular discontent, of which the students largely partook They had been encouraged to combine against the common enemy; and their *Burschenschaft*, which was the form and title of their great association, composed chiefly of the members of the different universities to the number of many thousands in the whole, madly attempted to gain a new victory over their ungrateful princes. In 1816 this body had celebrated at Jena the return of peace with general satisfaction. The meeting closed with religious ceremonies, and the opening and concluding stanzas of a remarkable hymn composed by Professor Ulmann for this occasion, show the pious and united German character of this meeting.

'To whom shall first our thanks be pealed?
To God's most high and wondrous name,
Who in our shame's long night revealed,
Arose before us all in flame.
Who blasted all our foes' disdaining;
Our strength and beauty all restored;
Who on the stars for ever reigning,
Sits there from age to age adored.
* * * * *

'Close in,—the sacred circle throng now,
And raise the clash of triumph strong;
From heart to heart, from tongue to tongue now,
Like lightning send this joyful song:—
The word that knits our bond for ever;—
The good no fiend can from us rend,—
Nor tyrant villany can sever,—
Believe!—maintain it to the end!'

In the following years, 1817, 1818, and 1819, whilst the governments unhappily, instead of conforming to the spirit of the times, obstinately resisted a liberal construction of their own engagements; and the students, now become conspirators, as obstinately persisted in their design to establish 'one empire, one 'religion, freedom and equality;' the new constitution of this great Burschenschaft contained the following provisions.

'There can be no salvation to our beloved Germany unless through such a free and universal Burschenschaft, in which Germany's noblest youth continues intimately fraternized, and which shall always find the *gymnastic schools* its defence and alarm-posts.

'We will never apply the word *Fatherland* to that state in which we were born; *Germany* is our Fatherland; the state in which we were born is our *home*.

'When we quit the university, and are invested with any office, be it high or low, we will fulfil the same honorably, true to the prince and Fatherland, and in such manner administer as shall accord with these principles.'—p. 60.

The result of the opposition of the governments to this fine movement, which under wise guidance might have produced great things for Germany, was most disastrous. The sort of agitation pursued by the students and the other reformers, as we have seen, was not new; and the unhappy crime of one of their leaders, Karl Ludwig Sand, who in 1819 murdered the Russian Counsellor of State, Von Kotzebue, an active and unscrupulous opponent of their principles, led to the suppression of the *Burschenschaft*. This took place in the same year by the decree of the Diet of Germany, which declared all those who should in future be members of the *Burschenschaft* disqualified to hold any public office; and established a political supervision over the universities. A sort of protest was solemnly issued at the time at Jena in the German form of a song, than which we remember few more touching in all the laments of a defeated people.

'WE BUILDED OURSELVES.

'We builded ourselves a house,
Stately and fair,
And there in God confided
Spite tempest, storm, and care.

'They brand it as sinful—
They cheat themselves sore—
The form it may be broken;
The love lives evermore.

'We lived there so trustful,
So friendly, so free;
'Twas hateful to the wicked,
Such honest men to see.

'They wronged us, they charged us
With treason and shame,
They strove our fair young freedom
To curse and to defame.

'What God laid upon us
Was misunderstood;
Our unity excited
Mistrust e'en in the good.

'The form, that has been broken,
The ruins lie low;
Yet what they have discovered
Is merely smoke and show.

'Our ribbon is severed,
Of black, red, and gold;
Yet God has it permitted;
Who can his will unfold?

'Then let the house perish!
What matters its fall?
The soul lives yet within us,
And God's the strength of all?'
—pp. 95, 96.

The general peace of Europe during the next ten years tended to tranquillize Germany; but the French revolution of 1830 called forth sympathies which proved that the Jena students were right in their declaration that the spirit of liberty still lived among them. The old struggles had not been utterly vain. Some of the German governments had granted legislative assemblies; and although the popular cause had suffered serious damage by the defection of more than one of its best leaders, as for instance the celebrated Görres, it had been favored by the triumphs of freedom elsewhere, as in Greece. The liberation of that classical land excited the warmest feelings in the universities; but the young patriots must not be involved in the just reproach against the sovereigns of Europe for having turned that liberation too much to the advantage of despotic principles of government. Accordingly the revolution of July found numerous *sympathizers* across the Rhine, who were, however, divided on the great point of French intervention in German reforms. The majority were wisely opposed to such intervention; although many patriots, and especially many students, were not sufficiently prudent either in regard to the error of looking to that dangerous support to reform, or in the choice of a fitting time for pressing any political change. But we think Dr. Cornelius has not done justice to the spirit that prevailed at this later period among his countrymen; and this is a part of the volume to which, with some knowledge of Germans and of Germany, we wish Mr. Howitt had addressed the corrective of his more generous opinions. More should have been said of the events of 1830-3, or less than is to be found here in a single page, 457; and we hope one day to have a better opportunity from Mr. Howitt himself, of judging of the true character of the *second political* chapter of the German student's life, which that period formed. Of the *third* chapter, the period of the threatened

French war of 1840, Mr. Howitt gives us some hints; and we have not the slightest doubt that the result of his longer experience will be a vindication of his favorite students from the too severe observations of Dr. Cornelius on this point.

The volume published by Mr. Howitt, has furnished much matter for the foregoing sketch; and if we have succeeded in presenting the reader with a satisfactory view of the graver occupations of the German universities, many thanks are due to this volume and its authors. They have also done the public good service in preserving a record of manners important to be minutely described both for the sake of the corrections which are here proposed in some of them, and for the amusement of the multitudes who naturally take an interest in the occupations of the youth of any country. The drinking bouts, the quarrels of the Gown and the Town, the rows with the proctor, not always upon matters that greatly honor collegiate discretion, as the foolish resistance to *white trowsers* at Oxford some years ago will prove, and some other practices more honored in the breach than in the observance, which are still quite common enough with us, have their parallels beyond the Rhine. Mr. Howitt, who, with the exception of one unguarded remark, by no means undervalues what is good in the amusements of Oxford and Cambridge, and who cites classical authority for their blots, earnestly warns the German youth against them; but he as earnestly calls upon them to discard their own similar follies. The exception alluded to is, we think, worth a few observations. It occurs after Mr. Howitt has carefully qualified his censure of what none will deny to be censurable in the habits of our collegians: 'Making no charge against the great numbers of 'high-minded and gentlemanly young men who pass through, 'and confer distinction on our universities, we allude only to 'that class and those parties, which are not only depicted by 'the Westminster Review, but so fully described by the editor 'of the Quarterly Review, in *Reginald Dalton*.'—Pref. p. viii. Following up this censure with a contrast favorable to the German student, our author gives to them far too *exclusive* a share of the benefits of university nurture, which he describes with so much spirit and true eloquence,—as if there can be the slightest doubt of Oxford and Cambridge men also partaking largely of them.

'In the student-life,' says he, 'which is entered into as a brief season of youthful hilarity, which in this world can come but once; a season in which not knowledge is to be gathered, but life to be enjoyed; —friendships for life to be built up; love, perhaps for life, to be kindled; and the spirit of patriotism to be cherished to a degree which no after-chills and oppressions of ordinary life shall ever be able utterly to extinguish; in this life there is a feeling and a sentiment to

which *our student-life is a stranger.* It is from the bosom of this life that some of the noblest poets, the profoundest philosophers, and the most devoted patriots the world ever saw, have gone forth. It was from the heart of this life that Theodore Korner sprang, for the cause of his country and mankind, and sung, and fought, and died; it was from this that Goethe and Schiller, Hauff and Tieck, and a thousand others, have issued to glorify valor, or consecrate patriotism, or beautify the regions of the human soul by their songs and their imaginative prose. It was from this that the whole body of ardent youth arose, and quitting their Kneips and their Chores, called on their country to re-assert its liberty, to drive out its foes, and, at the people's head, fought with the spirit of the ancient heroes, and chased from their soil for ever the tyrant and overrunner of humbled Europe.'—Pref. p. ix.

To say nothing of the noble *Schiller* having come out of the thraldom of a military academy, not out of a *free* university, and readily admitting all their burning patriotism to be their own, for the absence of danger from our homes for many years has left us less occasion for that virtue, we claim a full moiety of the credit here given to the German students for capability of college *friendships*, and for the rational 'enjoyment of life' in our own young countrymen. The quest of love adventures, too, by the Isis and the Cam, is not quite a desperate game; and although we should be glad to hear of some social changes there, as already intimated, as well as of some of the scholastic improvements which the Germans have adopted, *and some which they still want*, being received at Oxford and Cambridge, the roll of our famous college men is not so meagre that we should be ashamed to compare their names with those of the best of our neighbors. Milton and Byron, Locke and Newton, Selden, Bentley, and Porson, Pitt, Fox, and Canning, stand forth in the world as somewhat strong proofs that our universities are not absolutely incapable of producing great poets, great philosophers, great scholars, and great statesmen.

Dr. Cornelius speaks with more reserve of our universities, in the remarkable chapter with which this book concludes; and in which he points out the great superiority of his own over those of France in regard to the mode of supplying the students with teachers, and to the assemblage of teachers and learners of all the sciences in one spot. The fixed stipend to the professor being aided by the students' contributions, excites exactly that suitable attention on both sides which is needed to make the one lecture well and the other attend well to the lecture. In France, on the contrary, the system of giving the professors high salaries without requiring payment from the pupils, has unquestionably had the effect, with some brilliant exceptions, of rendering both idle and inattentive. The same system in the case of many of the professorships in England has unques-

tionably also had the same consequences; and it was not without reason that Adam Smith recommended the contrary method now so well established in Germany.

In regard to the second point of superiority, he says with some truth as to France, that whilst 'there are, perhaps, twenty 'miserable faculties scattered over the whole surface of France, 'there is nowhere a genuine home for science,' p. 464. But in Germany more than that number of universities are completely furnished in every branch of learning, and in every scientific department. A considerable deduction must, of course, be made from this reproach for the *concentration* in Paris of all that the wisest can teach, however doubtful it may be, whether the students of that university are not, in other respects, in a great degree, without the advantages so well assured to German students.

The songs of the Germans are, of course, attractive to Mr. Howitt, as time out of mind they have been to our forefathers, whether in gay or in serious moods. The somewhat irreverent song of the *Pope and the Sultan*, given by Mr. Howitt (p. 253), has supplied us with an amusing example of the attractiveness of German melody and wit to English ears. A few weeks before reading the song in the Student-Life, we heard it well sung in a fine old manor house in Sussex. And besides the specimens scattered plentifully over the volume, there is one chapter expressly dedicated to this topic, which will afford a fair example of the peculiar train of thought, and of the original style of Dr. Cornelius, and of the merits and demerits of the translation.

'Traverse the whole territory of Germany,' says the author, 'every where, in the north and in the south, thou wilt hear German songs.

> 'What is the German's fatherland?
> So name me, finally, that land!
> Far as the German's free tongue springs,
> And hymns to God in heaven sings,
> That shall it be, while sun doth shine!
> That land, brave German, call it thine!

'Serious and deep feeling are characteristic traits of the German, and may, indeed, distinguish his character, so variously modified as it is, amid all the divisions of the German race, and by its manifold points of contact with its foreign boundary neighbours. Thus becoming tinged with so many colors, he who has the skill to clear the original from its foreign mixtures will continually find it lying as the one ground color, which always remains the same. To this depth and sincerity of feeling, the songs and poetry of the Germans are a necessity. As to the man—when all the chords of his heart are shaken by some mighty sorrow; when they threaten to rend asunder under the excess of agony —as then to him comes a flood of tears as a relief; which, as it were,

combines the contending feelings of his internal being, and amalgamates them with the most neutral body—water; so song presents itself as a medicine to prevent us from succumbing beneath an overwhelming feeling, which the sufferer would fain clothe in words, but finds all words too poor to represent. . . . Nature has lent the eye to the understanding that it may serve it, and in which it may wonderfully mirror itself. . . . . But she has bestowed upon her favorite yet another sense, through which the fibres of his brain can instantly be put into vibration. . . : . Accordingly the German expresses the most varied feelings in song. . . . . The common man in Germany sings as he goes to his labor; he sings while he works, in order to enliven himself, and when he has concluded he naturally sounds forth his song of satisfaction. A pleasure, without the accompaniment of singing, he does not understand. Thus the foreigner, who has a taste for singing, hears, with surprise, a chorus-song resounding from a public-house, or passing along the streets, which might not sustain a very severe criticism, but which does all honor to the uneducated singers. So they establish themselves in the smallest villages into gesang-vereine (singing companies). . . . . Thus it happens that songs of simple contents and of simple airs spread themselves rapidly amongst the people, and by no other means in Germany can you so speedily operate on the popular mind, as through the medium of such songs. In almost every different place, you have different songs. . . . . The bauer,* the hand-worker, the sportsman, in short, each and all have their peculiar songs in abundance, which are never out of their mouths. . . . . The young sing much, the carefree young still more; and the students, perhaps, most of all. . . . . The so-called common books contain rich collections of songs, so that the student can be in no embarrassment to find one suitable to the moment. He finds here a song adapted to every occasion, and to every mood of mind.'

Then follow several agreeable student-songs, translated with spirit; and the chapter concludes in language of which few will dispute the good sense and good feeling.

'Happy are they,' says the author, 'who carry on with them this free and cheerful disposition into after life, which, for most of those who now live so gaily and happily at the university, brings an arduous succession of labors loaded with cares and fatigues, sometimes, however, leaving as their reward, at the end of their career, a consciousness of having discovered a certain portion of truth, and of having been able to benefit their fellow-men. Student-life thus belongs to those things which can only come once in our existence, but which are, on that very account, the fullest of happiness, and must often extend their influence so far as, at least, to refresh by their memory a later, solemn, and joyless life. The songs of a happy youth accompany him who has entered on the more serious path of his existence, and their melody is able to bring him back for a moment, now and then, into the dreams

* The *Farmer*, and the *Artisan*, would have been better English.—Ed

of his young years. With a song of sorrow the student, too, follows to the grave the brother who departed this life, and then turns from the image of death, and rejoices that he yet longer can enjoy the happy Burschen period.'—pp. 280—297.

These songs are very numerous, and many of them are published in Germany. Mr. Howitt has selected thirty-four, which are accompanied in his book by music for the Piano-Forte; the *translation* is very happily adapted to the notes, with which the German text is also given.*

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* In order to justify the more strongly our praise of Mr. Howitt's translation of these songs, we shall examine some objections made to parts of his version of one of them—*the Sword Song of Körner;* and we have seldom read so reckless a specimen of the abusive—by courtesy only to be called criticism—as in the article in the *Times* of the 28th of Oct. on the *Student-Life*, in which those objections are to be found. The fittest rebuke to the writer of that article will be to show into what surprising errors he has himself fallen, whilst imputing the grossest ignorance to another as much his superior as the language of his vituperation exceeds the usual measure of even bitter comment. So inconsiderately, indeed, has this violent attack been put together, that after giving one stanza of the single song selected as a specimen of wretched translation, the writer, in the midst of his remarks on another stanza, not only returns to the former by mere carelessness, but he also there inserts as an improvement, a version of his own which actually justifies Mr. Howitt's. We give the original and all the versions together; copying the German from the *Stuttgart* edition of 1838, which Mr. Howitt has followed, but to which the writer in the *Times* prefers variations made, as he alleges, by a London editor, M. Klauer-Klattowsky.

The original of Körner.

'Wohlauf! ihr kecken Streiter!
Wohlauf! ihr deutschen Reiter!
Wird euch das Herz nich warm?
Nehmt's Liebchen in den Arm.'

Mr. Howitt's Translation.

'On, on, ye brave contenders!
Ye German true defenders!
And if your hearts be cold,
The loved one to them hold!'

Which the writer in the *Times* calls 'shocking disfigurement' and 'balderdash,' himself modestly proposing to substitute for it the following version

'*Well up,* ye brave *foe-chiders!*
Well up, ye German *riders!*
Oh! grows not each heart warm,
The loved one on his arm?'

Now respecting this *improved* version, we do very confidently appeal to the judgment of the writer's *German* authority, M. Klauer-Klattowsky, that it does *not* correctly translate the original; and there is not a critic in any one

Other interesting parts of this book are the stories of individuals obviously taken from real life. Among these we regret

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of the hundred periodicals of London but will say that Mr. Howitt's is incomparably the more poetical as well as the more correct of the two.

'Wohlauf' is translated better by 'on, on,' than by the curiously unhappy phrase of *well up*. 'Streiter is far worse rendered by the neologism, *fechiders*,—a term only applicable to unruly school-boys, than by 'contenders.' 'Reiter' has no more to do with *riders* in this stanza, than the German Hussars have with those *riders* whose 'names, weight, and colors' ring in our ears at a horse-race.

But there is no end to the reviewer's blundering. Having dismissed the stanza, he introduces into the midst of his notice of a subsequent one, a *third* version thus,

'The literal meaning of the words which he (Mr. Howitt) has rendered

'And if your hearts be cold,
The loved one to them hold,'

is this—

'Grows not your heart warm?
Take the loved on your arm.'

Now this *third* version, although certainly not so good in point of style as Mr. Howitt's, gives his meaning to the original, and exhibits the consistency of his judicious assailant in a light sufficiently ridiculous. The *dislocation* of his criticism on this occasion also, as will easily be supposed, has made no small nonsense of other portions of it.

But worse remains to be noticed. This writer attacks another stanza as a '*lower deep*' in the '*lowest deep*'—as '*revolting;*' and as containing 'a brutal and butcherly burlesque,' in the term *marrow*.

In this instance, the original of Körner is the injunction of the soldier to his sword not to be impatient.

'Bleib doch im engen Stübchen,
Was willst du hier, mein *Liebchen!*
Bleib still in Kammerlein;
Bleib, bald hol' ich dich ein.'

Mr. Howitt, familiar as he must be with our old ballads, had not, in his brief sojourn by the Neckar, forgotten *the Braes of Yarrow*. Accordingly from the

'Busk ye, busk ye, my bonnie, bonnie bride,
Busk ye, busk ye, my winsome *marrow;*'

he took a suitable word for the *Liebchen* of the German, and translates the whole stanza thus:

'Wait in thy chamber narrow,
What wouldst thou here, my *marrow?*
Wait in thy chamber, wait;
I 'll fetch thee, ere 'tis late.'

Compared with which lines, we have no hesitation in declaring the following '*improvement*' of the writer in the *Times* to be exceedingly bad.

'Wait in thy narrow chamber,
Nor think, sweet love, to *clamber.*
Wait in ,thy little *room,*
To fetch thee *soon I'll come.*'

to be unable to extract the memoir of Stark (pp. 379—388), or at least his very striking letter to his faithless Emily. The

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The Italicised words will suggest objections enough to this notable 'improvement' upon Mr. Howitt, and the *brutal and butcherly burlesque* imputed to the oldballad expression '*marrow*,' has its source solely in the coarse imagination of the critic.

Another retort arises upon the following passage, which we take literally from the *Times*.

'In the next verse the force of the last line,

'Als meine liebe Braut,'

is sadly impaired by omitting the initial *m* in the second word. There is all the difference in the world between '*a* beloved bride' and '*my* beloved bride.' We wonder whether it was Dr. Cornelius or William Howitt that had the impudence to take this liberty with the text of Körner. We consider such tricks or negligence intolerable. That ours is the correct *version* we infer first from internal evidence, and next from the concurrence of *two* editions, one of them superintended by M. Klauer-Klattowsky.

'As if thou wert allied,
To me, a lovely bride,'

is a poor dilution of the fervor with which the soldier addresses his sword. "Betrothed" (getraut), not 'allied,' is the word. This were better,

'Betrothed by my side,
The soldier's lovely bride.'

Now it so happens that a *third* edition of Körner's works, printed at Stuttgart, in 1838, as well as a sixth published at Berlin and Stettins under the care of the poet's father, lie before us, the text of which (not 'version,' as the profound Aristarchus has it) may safely be set against a London edition, even if superintended by M. Klauer-Klattowsky, as doubtless that respectable professor will allow; and in these genuine German editions it is *als eine*, not *meine*, liebe Braut. Our own inference from the context, too, differs much from that of the writer in the *Times*; for seeing that the preceding line has the pronoun *mir* to give the proper point of affection to the whole passage, and which Mr. Howitt has carefully preserved, we as much prefer the *eine* of the German editions to M. Klauer-Klattowsky's *meine*, as we do the abused translation to the *pseudo-improvement* of the writer in the *Times*.

The poem in question, Körner's *Sword Song*, is considered obscure to Germans, as it well might be, seeing that it was written in a bivouac, without revision, shortly before the poet received his death-wound on the field of battle. It consists of sixteen stanzas, of which the writer in the *Times* does not venture to attack more than seven. How justifiable the attack is may be inferred from our notice of the criticism upon four of them. The observations upon the other three are not a whit more decorous; and scarcely less hypercritical. We give the original with both translations, confident that the reader will have little difficulty in determining which is to be preferred, that of Mr. Howitt or that of the prosaic writer in the *Times*.

Körner.	Mr. Howitt.	The Times.
Du Schwert an meiner Linken,	'Sword on my left reclining,	My sword *on left* reclining,
Was soll dein heiteres Blinken?	What means thy clear eyes beaming?	What means thy joyous shining?
Schaust mich so freundlich an,	Thou lookst with love on me,	Thou beamst on me so kind,
Hab' meine Lust daran.'	And I have joy in thee.'	Delight *therein* I find.'

students' summer and winter excursions in the neighborhood of Heidelberg are singularly pleasing, and not a little characteris-

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Korner.	Mr. Howitt.	The Times.
'Mich trägt ein wackrer Reiter,	'A soldier bears me dearly,	'A *rider* bold doth bear me;
Drum blink ich auch so heiter.	Hence beam I forth so cheerly.	Hence beams serene too *share* me,
Bin freien Mannes wehr;	I am a free man's choice,	A freeman's *guard* am I,
Das freut dem Schwerte sehr.'	Which makes the sword rejoice.'	*Which gives the sword great joy.'*
'Der Hochzeitmorgen graut.'	'Fast dawns the marriage tide.'	'The bridal morn grows gray.'

In all the fiery vituperation which accompanies these *improvements*, we have been able to discover a just foundation for one correction only. The word *traut* in the last stanza but two is certainly equivocal; and Körner probably used it in the sense adopted by the writer in the *Times*. Mr. Howitt's slip is, however, venial, compared with the ridiculous exaggeration of his assailant, to whom we shall do rigorous justice in every sense of the word, by closing this note with the passage itself in which he has expressed his indignation forsooth, and his grief!

'It is with pain,' quoth he, 'and grief, almost with tears in our eyes (we solemnly protest this is no exaggeration) that we transcribe this beastly desecration of one of the most solemn stanzas in this most sublime composition. [Here follows in the *Times* the above-mentioned interpolation.] How magnificently the allegory is here carried out, the eyes of poet and reader being ever strained on the sword-bride. What vulgar profanity, what Visigothic recklessness, does this 'mirror of translators' exhibit! Yet a little reflection might have suggested to him a suitable version; *thus, for instance, he has the impudence* to render by the words 'in all her pride!' *Quousque tandem?* This would be a correct version,

'But God betrothes the bride
Upon the dexter side.'

or as conveying the spirit more forcibly,

'But God betrothes the *brand*
Upon the brave right hand''!!!

To these we could have added other errors, such for instance as cataleptic for catalectic, with misspellings of German words, and misreadings of English ones. But enough, we apprehend, has been said to justify our opinion in favor of Mr. Howitt. If further satisfaction be wished, the reader will find it by referring to Blackwood's Magazine for 1822, p. 585, for *another* translation of this song; and the remark in a note to that version, 'that this wild song is so completely German as almost to be *untranslateable* into English,' induces us to add, that it is a considerable merit in Mr. Howitt to have given it far more correctly than the flowing and spirited verses in Blackwood have done.

A story is told of the source of this attack, which, if true, will account for its extraordinarily incorrect English. A degenerate German is said to have composed it; and we regret to add, an English writer whose own transla-

tic; and faithful, as many an English traveller on the Rhine and Neckar will remember. The melancholy tale of poor Diehl (p. 143), with those of Krusenstiern and Avonsleben (pp. 213 to 217), afford excellent lessons against unfeeling practical jokes and duelling.

The numerous engravings with which the volume is adorned strike us as having one general fault. The students are too *old;* which may have arisen from their being taken from German plates, executed when the age of admission to the universities was usually more advanced than it is now. Menzel* complains bitterly of this *change;* and Mr. Howitt should have caught its spirit for his drawings.

In closing our remarks on the *Student-Life,* which we have vindicated with great satisfaction from unworthy assailants, we are bound to notice freely its defects. With a little more care, it would have been a valuable and most interesting Christmas gift at every grammar school in England; and with all its faults, we do not doubt that it will be popular. The inaccuracies of the translation are numerous; and the more to be regretted, inasmuch as in the portions of the work upon which sufficient pains have been bestowed, the success has been complete. To the foolish suggestion that the book cannot be genuine, but that Mr. Howitt, as many writers have before him, has employed a foreign guise to veil the creature of his fancy, we are constrained to reply with regret, that the *Germanism* of the book is far too obvious. There are other spots in it besides careless translations; and which are the results of too much haste. We heartily wish, and expect, that there may be a call for new editions of the work, with which of course these blemishes will disappear.

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tions have received indulgent criticism in the periodical press, undertook the ungracious task of conveying the article to an ordinary purveyor of the Times.

We repeat the anecdote in the sincere hope that it will have a suitable disclaimer, and the article itself a frank apology, by whomsoever it was written.

* Die Deutsche Literatur, von W. Menzel, vol. iv. p. 71. 1836.

Art. VII. *Russia under Nicholas the First: translated from the German.* By Captain Anthony C. Sterling: 73rd Regiment. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1841.

AT a very early period of the middle ages, when Constantinople was to a certain extent the centre of civilization for Europe and Asia, there appeared some rude foreigners on the banks of the Bosphorus, in canoes curiously manufactured from single trees, offering for sale slaves, furs, hides, honey, and bees' wax. Their aspect was savage, and their language Sclavonian. It turned out, upon inquiry, that they were subjects to the great duke, or chagan, or czar of the Russians, who ruled over a population scanty in proportion to his territory; the capitals of which were two large camps or fairs, called Novogorod and Kiow, formed in the most convenient locations for the purposes either of commerce or war. The effeminate Greeks received their commodities, and gave them back in exchange the corn, wine, oil, and other productions of climates more accessible to the sun than their own frozen regions. Trade began, and with trade cupidity augmented. Piracies instructed almost all the nations around the Scandinavian peninsula, that might made right, and that they were born for battle and plunder. Some of the independent vikingr or sea-kings had exacted, from a poor but primitive tribe on the Ladoga, sundry tributes in the shape of white squirrel-skins: those who paid saluted those who received them with the appellation of Varangians, or Corsairs: and these last kindly *protected*, or, in plainer and truer words, both ruled and robbed the weaker barbarians within their reach. About the middle of the ninth century, Rurik carved out a real and substantial monarchy after the most approved fashion. His brothers extended his influence, and assisted him to found a dynasty which reigned above seven hundred years. The sons of this chieftain acquired the spacious provinces of Moscow, and the lands lying from the Baltic and Borysthenes to the sixtieth degree of northern latitude. Many, if not most of their inhabitants, were perhaps Fennick in their earliest origin; but all were poor, hardy, covetous, ignorant, indisposed to agriculture, and ever ready for any scheme of spoliation. Their traders, having once tracked a way to the Golden Horn, began the game which was to require a thousand years for its accomplishment: and which possibly we may live to see concluded. They lusted for the glorious metropolis between the Euxine and the Propontis. Their expeditions repeatedly assailed the Byzantine empire. There were four tremendous incursions made within a couple of centuries. Nicephorus forfeited his name in resisting

one of them; but the heroic John Zimisces vindicated the wrongs of Bulgaria, and the imperial throne. Suatoslof had subdued the nations from the Danube to the Wolga, and added them to his patrimonial grand dukedom. His manners may remind us of what the Cossacks are still; for he always slept wrapped up in a bearskin on the ground, with a saddle for his pillow, and broiled or roasted horseflesh for his most luxurious diet. The sovereign of the city of Constantine, then as now, tampered with the Muscovite monster; sometimes bribing, sometimes cheating, and only consistent in maintaining a perpetual hatred of that power, which was destined to be so deeply feared. For the present, however, as already intimated, the prize seemed rescued from his grasp. Nevertheless, it has ever since been asserted and believed, as Gibbon from the best authority tells us, 'that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus was 'secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how *the Russians, in the 'last days, should become masters of Constantinople.* In our own 'time, a Russian armament, instead of sailing from the Borys-'thenes, has circumnavigated the continent of Europe; and the 'Turkish capital has been threatened by a squadron of strong 'and lofty ships of war, each of which, with its naval science 'and thundering artillery, could have sunk or scattered a hun-'dred canoes, such as those of their ancestors. *Perhaps the 'present generation may yet behold the fulfilment of a prediction, 'of which the style is unambiguous, and the date unquestionable.*' Olga, the mother of Suatislof, the precursor to subsequent Catherines and Elizabeths, had received christian baptism in the year 955; and whatever degree of sincerity may be attached to her conversion, it is sufficiently manifest that she did her utmost to improve her wretched fellow-countrymen. She constructed bridges over several rivers; opened various good roads into distant districts; and introduced an amount of social order not despicable for the days in which she flourished. Her grandson Waladomir overthrew idolatry altogether, instituted schools, fostered trade and commerce, maintained relations with foreign courts, and anticipated Peter the Great. Unhappily, the Mongols and Tartars trampled under foot many germs of improvement, which might have materially altered the position and prospects of some of the present members of the great European confederacy. From A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1481, the monarchs of Moscow were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of Zinghis Khan, or Timoor, and their representatives.

We notice these matters because, as it appears to us, the two first lines of the admirable little work, which Captain Sterling has so well translated, are the only objectionable ones in the book. The assertion is altogether erroneous that, 'under every point of view, Russia has been the last of European nations

'to enter upon a career of improvement.' History furnishes us with a series of facts to the contrary. Muscovy seems no sooner to have emerged from downright savagery, than its princes, at all events, began to struggle like giants and Titans, to become better than their forefathers. Their subjects committed themselves to the guidance of their rulers, instead of taking their own course, with all the childishness and folly of serfdom: this is undoubtedly true. But three objects have been always kept in sight for upwards of twenty generations, namely, the amalgamation into one body of all the Sclavonian hordes, the extension of the Greek church, and lastly the acquisition of Constantinople. Russian policy, under every conceivable disadvantage, has maintained singular unity of design. It was frozen up, indeed, during the Mongolian and Tartarian inundation, for two hundred and forty years; and even to a later period, from other domestic causes; like its own Siberian mammoth, an enormous torpid phenomenon! Yet when circumstances had once more burst the glacier, in which it had been preserved, instead of being found a mere corpse, or skeleton, its entire framework quickened into an awful vitality. The mass of wonder gradually worked itself into motion,—unwieldy enough to be sure,—but pushing itself forward, as it were with a tremendous crash, through the fences of civilized diplomacies. The slumber of ages had affected neither its objects nor its pretensions. Great Britain indeed can have no good reason for fearing these: though of course it must be exceedingly interesting to her to watch the curious movements of the mighty Calmuck. Hence our translator, with remarkable judgment and ability, has furnished us with the best handbook which even Germany could offer on the subject. The sixteenth century terminated with Ivan the Terrible, whose only surviving son proved the last male descendant, in a right line, from Rurik. Commerce had revived with the emancipation of Muscovy from the Tartars. Important communications recommenced with western Europe. The emperor Maximilian, at Vienna, kept up strict intimacy with his imperial brother the Czar Basilius. Privileges were granted to the Hanse Towns; whilst Poland had to surrender Smolenskow to the ambition of Russia then, as she has been forced to yield Warsaw since. A treaty of partition was entered into against Sweden, between Muscovy and Denmark. The Arctic Bear was already assuming the wings of its spread-eagles. Impostors meanwhile played all manner of ingenious juggles to obtain or keep an absolute throne, the steps to which seemed as slippery and fatal as the ice of its polar territories. The house, however, of Romanof ultimately succeeded, derived on the maternal side from the primitive governing family. Fresh potentates committed fresh aggressions, in various direc-

tions. Alexei sent an embassy to China, and made Tobolsky the staple of trade with Pekin. Peter the Great at length appeared, in due course, who defeated Turkey, and overran Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania. 'The ascendancy of Euro-'pean civilization had been sufficiently impressed on his saga-'cious mind, by his neighbourhood with Poland, more open as 'that country lay to western tendencies, and by his conflicts 'with Sweden, the prototype of German national existence. 'Still more distinguished for fulness of character than for force 'of intellect, he sought to guide his people with a master hand, 'and to hasten the tardy pace of centuries.' He performed marvels, as is well known; nor may we wonder at the general coarseness of his work, when we remember the magnitude of the scale on which he felt obliged to proceed. He had to shape a mountain of barbarism into the lineaments and figure of a civilized member amongst the family of European nations. The axe therefore must have been necessarily in his grasp much oftener than the chisel. His strokes nevertheless were all one way. He was a Russian, imparting to Russia, as an instrument under the auspices of providence, existence, features, manners such as they were, prosperity, and power. The precise form he wished it to take was just that which would the least interfere with his own designs as an autocrat. Obstacles vanished before him. He annihilated the Strelitzes, and coerced the clergy into peaceable behaviour. 'By incorporating the spiritual with the 'temporal power, the altar became more unconditionally sub-'servient to the throne in Russia than in any other christian 'European state. Thus Peter realized in the most perfect man-'ner his idea of unlimited and undivisible monarchy. Contem-'poraneous with Louis XIV. he could also say, 'The State,— ''that am I!'—but the substance and varieties of popular 'existence were widely different in the east and west of Europe.'

The learned and famous Schlætzer divided Russian history into five periods: that to the time of Suatopol, which he says ought to be styled *nascens*, or commencing; that from Yarsalaf to the Mongols, which was *divisa*, or divided; that from Battii down to Ivan the Third, which was *oppressa*, or oppressed; that from this last point to the celebrated Peter the Reformer, which was *victrix*, or victorious; and that from his extraordinary reign to Catherine the Second, which he calls *florescens*, or flourishing. Karamzin prefers the three more simple classifications of Ancient history from Rurik to Ivan the Third, when a system of appanage perpetually prevented permanent union; of Mediæval, from Ivan the Third to Peter the Great, during which the principle of monarchy dominated over that of aristocracy; of Modern, from Peter to Alexander, which may be described as the transitionary epoch, during which the Muscovite leviathan was

learning his occidental lesson. This has not been taught him in vain. But a few centuries ago, his territories constituted only a quarter of the present European, and just one seventeenth portion of the existing empire. Basilius alone tripled his dominions; Peter extended them 280,000 square miles; Anne, Catherine, Paul, his son, and Nicholas the First, have all followed up the same career. Conquest, fraud, and seizure, have combined into one vast body politic, the old principalities of the grand dukes, with the kingdoms of Kasan, Astrachan, and the Crimea; the wide wastes of Siberia; the Baltic and Polish provinces, Courland, Ingria, Finland, and the Ukraine; the recent acquisitions from Turkey and Persia; the tributary isles of the eastern sea; Georgia, which is said to have submitted of its own accord; and certain extensive, but worthless possessions in America. These dominions comprehend an area more than double the whole of Europe, reaching in length from Sweden to Canada, and in breadth from the Frozen Seas to the Danube, the Caucasus, and the borders of Japan as well as China. Winter, with its monotonous characteristics, forms the pervading feature of climate, except just in the south; and in striking analogy, too, it seems with the general cast of manners and government. 'The gradations, in the proportions of inhabitants 'to area, are so various, that its population is the best scale for 'estimating the real importance of any province. On this prin-'ciple it becomes evident, that the whole available power of 'Russia is contained in her European possessions; whilst the 'northern governments, even in these, scarcely surpass the limits 'of insignificance.' The gross total for the entire empire may be stated at about 63,000,000; but as there are only half-a-dozen cities with more than 50,000 souls, the proportion of those living in towns, compared with those living in the country, almost excites a smile. Not more than a ninth portion, on an average, and even in Poland only two-ninths have so settled themselves. The centres of real civilization must therefore be few indeed. St. Petersburg may contain about 500,000 inhabitants at the present time, but with an enormous excess of males over females, from the universal Sclavonic habit of nobles retaining immense swarms of servants, to say nothing of the numerous military always quartered in that metropolis. There were 70,927 of the latter in 1839, besides 126,313 crown serfs and peasants. Moscow, in the same year, reckoned 349,068; a population more approaching the state of things produced by trade, since the females comprise above two-fifths of the number. Warsaw, the third city of the empire, was the focus of Polish industry and commerce at the commencement of the present century, and had rapidly doubled its amount of inhabitants, after Alexander had protected its manufactures. Oppres-

sion, death, emigration, and exile, had destroyed 20,000 during the civil war of 1829-31; but the deficiency is said to have been fully made up, and its population now reaches 140,000. Riga has increased within the last thirty years more than a hundred per cent., having risen from 30,000 to 64,000. Odessa, scarcely half a century old, having only been founded in 1796, contains about 70,000 souls. Kazan, five versts from the Wolga, with its stone fort, wooden town, and Tartar suburbs, just maintains its celebrated leather manufactures, as also its Asiatic character of immobility; the inhabitants continue to be, what they have long been, about 50,000.

'After these come only five other towns, which contain between 50,000 and 30,000, namely, Kiow (the birthplace of the Russian state), Cronstadt, Astrachan, Tula, and Kaluga. There are some insulated large villages in the centre of European Russia, as there are in Hungary; but, belonging to the lords of the soil, they are prevented from becoming civil municipalities. One of these is the village of Iwanovo, in the government of Moscow, which is the property of a family named Schrematjew, and has a population of 48,000 souls.'
—p. 170.

There are various peculiarities which it is important to notice, with regard to the entire Russian population, lest the substantial strength of the empire should be overestimated on the one hand, or underrated on the other. The Sclavonians include four-fifths of the whole, being at least 50,000,000, which relieves the central government from all permanent apprehensions with regard to the lesser tribes and nations, which, through their want of connexion, can possess but little weight. It must not be forgotten, however, that Poland and Little Russia foster the most embittered hatred against Great Russia. The latter embraces indeed 36,000,000 souls, being three to one almost towards the former. The Lithuanians are about 2,000,000; the twelve Finnish tribes about 3,000,000; Mongolians, Caucasians, and Jews, make up the residue. These last may be put down at 1,500,000, on a moderate computation, possessing the right of settling only in the Polish and Caucasian provinces, and in the seventeen southern and western divisions, which constituted chiefly the kingdom of Poland before the partition. Every Israelite must now belong to some particular trade, or be treated as a vagabond. Nicholas has for some time past endeavored to encourage a taste for husbandry among them, by relieving farmers from the poll-tax for twenty-five years; and in cases where they form themselves into large agricultural villages, by excusing them from military service for fifty years. There are also other exemptions which they may claim under favorable circumstances. Merchants, handicraftsmen, and scholars, have

the same rights as other Russian subjects: manufacturers having purchased buildings for factories, pay none of the imposts usually attached to such edifices for ten years. Muscovy wants money, or floating capital, to animate in a commercial sense her immense material and territorial bulk. Silver roubles, and, much more, golden ingots, are far enough from being as yet common in the lands of sour quass, interminable vermin, and absolute monarchy. The Teutonic race appears, wherever it is found, to constitute the salt and soul of the social system. *Igneus est ollis vigor.* Their genius projects and forwards all important industrial operations; taking 'a share in the government, pro-
'ducing teachers and physicians for their own body, and spread-
'ing improvement through the whole mass of the people. But
'the number of the Germans is still very small; it does not
'amount to the one hundred and twentieth part of the whole
'population of Russia, being only 500,000: of which 112,000
'belong to the German colonies in the department of Saratow;
'90,000 to those of South Russia; 160,000 to the Baltic pro-
'vinces, including Petersburg; the remainder are scattered
'about in smaller numbers, mostly at Moscow and Warsaw.'

Germanic customs, indeed, as well as Roman laws, have contrived to exist from the primitive periods of Russian national existence. Rurik and his Varangians introduced the first; the second came in with christianity. A nucleus of feudalism was formed by the superior power of the Boyars or military leaders, and great landowners. But no separation into classes took place; the poor burghers were weak enough, nor had the municipal element scarcely manifested itself.

'For this reason there arose no monarchy based on estates, such as preceded the monarchies, however absolute, of the rest of Europe, which in turn paved the way for representative constitutions. Here the nation was almost entirely composed of bondsmen,—of noble landlords,—and of one autocrat enthroned far above his widely spread subjects, and ruling them with an unlimited sway. His mighty power could indeed be hemmed in, or arrested, by the rough violence of rebellion, but only for the time. The state might be compared to a pyramid, reared by some unskilful architect; the foundation was broad enough, but he had forgotten the granite courses receding tier above tier, while the sharp-pointed summit was run up to a disproportionate height. Russia formed the frontier line between European monarchies and Asiatic despotisms; and as in the latter, so in this empire, even till very recently, revolutions in the palace, and uncertainty in the succession to the throne, have continually occurred, although each ruler in his turn exercised the most unlimited power.'—pp. 3, 4.

One of the essential objects with Peter the Great was to introduce some subdivisions, to make his massive dominions at all manageable; but, as has been often and justly observed, his

classification was not so much an organized distinction and distribution of parts, as a mere mechanical separation of them. His famous hierarchy constituted so many steps of stone to an inner sanctuary, where religion, or at least that which was so called, sat suffocated with ceremonial and pageantry at the feet of a barbarous czar, holding bribes in one hand, and the knout in the other. Even the hereditary nobility enjoyed no other real distinction than that of being oxen with larger horns and fatter sides than the rest of the *vulgum pecus*, chewing the cud, or lowing in most uncouth dignity around the throne of the Russian Polypheme! So many of its members became absorbed in official situations, and so many of its privileges extend to subordinate agents of the executive government, that there will never be a field of Runnymede within the vicinity of St. Petersburg. The rank of Burghers underwent some re-arrangement, but according to an entirely accidental and superficial scale, namely, that of fortune. In fact, civil position is settled upon military principles; nor can it be otherwise, where liberty and knowledge are substantially rare, if not altogether unknown. The sceptre of absolutism will never be aught else than a sword, either sheathed or naked. Millions of our fellow-creatures, scattered over the regions and steppes from Archangel to Astrachan, may be considered as so many armies in a sort of domesticated encampment, told off by divisions in an unchangeable order, and yielding blind obedience to their imperial commander-in-chief. Their present potentate maintains this idea in its severest rigor. His predecessor Peter borrowed for their use the intelligence of other lands; Nicholas, actuated by the same genius of autocracy, rather endeavors to develope to the uttermost that power of every various kind which he thinks his slaves have already acquired. Internal peril, however, perpetually appears to cross the spirit of his dream. The diadem was placed upon his brow amidst the tumults of metropolitan insurrection; and he must be dining every day of his life, like Damocles, with some weapon of destruction suspended over his head, too often by only a single horsehair.

The employment of foreign masters or governesses in families is now prevented as much as possible; nor can even the nobility remain abroad more than five years—for which term of absence, moreover, they must have imperial permission. In 1840, a member of the Russian embassy at Rome was appointed inspector over all the artists of his country resident in that interesting capital. The eye of Muscovite espionage possesses even a sharper sight than that of the ancient Caledonians, or the celebrated man in the Mauritius! Nicholas is declared to have a strong will of his own, with a mind full of activity. Personal mobility is a necessary characteristic of his govern-

ment. He must see every thing done himself; for, whom can a despot trust? Public opinion there can be none. Men in general must walk through the length and breadth of such kingdoms, as they would through a gunpowder manufactory, in woollen shoes, for fear a spark by any chance should be elicited, and terrible explosion be the consequence. The despot himself indeed may, and must, as already intimated, show himself here and there and every where. However, even his ubiquity, were it in any degree feasible, would prove a poor substitute for the watchful control of an unshackled press. Officials, with the marks of the collar round their necks, are always found venal, insolent, and arbitrary. In Russia, where their best services are meagrely remunerated, they handle with an itching palm the ten thousand minor wheels of administration; whilst if apprehension, or conscience, or a friend, or a foe, should ever venture to remonstrate, an old proverb is in their mouths—'God 'is too high, and the czar too far off!' Few people live, as the present autocrat conceives himself obliged to do, continually on the wing. Like Adrian, seventeen hundred years ago, he never seems at rest. Every province of his vast empire has had the honor of kneeling down beside his horse or carriage. His very mandates and ukases manifest the wretchedness and precipitation of an individual tormented with the extent of his possessions, and whose heart has no home. In 1835, he suddenly appeared at Warsaw; and on receiving the deputies of the city, his reply to their very humble address was couched in these emphatic words—'If you persevere in your dreams of 'separate nationality, you are preparing your own destruction. 'I have built a citadel here, and I declare to you, that on the 'first disturbance I will level your houses to the ground!' In that very fortification, by the way, there was uncovered less than two years since a cast iron obelisk, erected to the memory of Alexander the First, described in the brief inscription as 'conqueror and benefactor of the Poles!' From the banks of the Vistula the emperor hastened to meet Lord Durham, whom he flattered and cajoled without mercy. From that time to this, review after review, examinations of military colonies and public establishments, incessant journeyings from Moscow to Odessa, to Sebastopol, the Circassian coast, and over the Caucasus into the centre of Georgia and Grusia, to Tiflis and Erivan, then through Germany and Poland once more, and recently into Finland, as well as northward to Archangel, would have worn out any less energetic restlessness. He was nearly killed by the overturn of his coach near Tchembar on the night of Sept. the 6th in 1836, and again in May 1839, near St. Petersburg. He has been nearly drowned on the Baltic,—all but consumed by fire on the railroad to Czarkoe-selo,—as also on the verge

of destruction in the conflagration of a noble steamer called after his own name. Alas! for the picture of splendid unhappiness given by Lord Londonderry, in his Recollections of a Tour in the north of Europe:

'We there learn, that the imperial family only tasted in private the sweets of familiar intercourse: when the curtain drew up, and majesty appeared upon the scene, ceremony reigned triumphant over the oriental show. On these occasions, as for instance at the annual consecration of the waters of the Neva, the emperor himself becomes the sworn slave of etiquette. This is true at the courts of all unlimited monarchs. To rule by the force of custom you must bow yourself to the same power. But the Russian has a peculiar character, from the union of the ecclesiastical and temporal authority, which in some degree has brought about a connexion between the ceremonies. The calculations of dexterous policy are very evident. A poor and rude people are to feel reverence for grandeur and wealth, but they must not be irritated or embittered by comparing them with their own misery.'—pp. 28, 29.

We have already alluded to the existence in Russia of Germanic customs and Roman laws. The most ancient legislative monuments are furnished by the chronicles of Nestor, extending from the times of Oleg and Igor. These were a couple of treaties concluded with the Greeks in the tenth century, which prove that the Muscovites had a separate quarter at Constantinople, where they were governed by their own private regulations; that they already admitted the validity of testamentary donations, even although they might be nuncupative; that the fortune of every Russian dying away from home escheated to the mother country, instead of following the feudal Droit d'Aubaine, in default of lawful heirs; that the rights of criminal jurisdiction were carefully secured; and, lastly, that pecuniary compensations were admitted for torts and wrongs, as is seen still more clearly and directly in the Code of Yaroslaf. This curious digest bears the title of Rouskia Pravada, or Russian Truths; which quite remind one of the Twelve Tables at Rome; except that since the eleventh century ecclesiastical usurpation had armed the hands of the church against person, property, and conscience. The Teutonic principles, however, of the Fred and Vergeld are fully admitted. Murders, wounds, and blows had specific prices or reparations attached to them, varying according to the condition of the victim, the nature or seriousness of the injury done, and the sort of weapon employed. A person was considered to have the right of avenging the assassination of his kinsman: but next to this in point of importance and heinousness was cutting or maiming the beard or the moustachios. Penalties attached to secret thefts, or open robberies, were also graduated according to value and circumstances. The

proofs of trespass involved all those singular modes of ordea practised among the German tribes; such as testing the witnesses and their oaths by boiling water, red-hot iron, and trial by battle. Each sovereign dispensed justice, either in person or through a delegation of his power to waivodes—the latter being always assisted by juries of twelve citizens: so old amongst the northern nations is that venerable institution, in which our native country more particularly glories. Aristocracy soon contrived to render nugatory such ancient vestiges of liberty. Magnates of every size and calibre absorbed them, one after the other, until they themselves were subjugated by one mightier despot. The hierarchy too continued not less active in its peculiar vocation, terminating in the same result. Prelacy, transplanted as it was from Constantinople, quickly put forth its innumerable pretensions as a religious establishment, not only to administer the sacraments, and promulgate its dogmas and discipline, but also to act out the untold enormities of the Civil and Canon Law. Hence bishops claimed cognizance over all matrimonial matters, from the slightest dissension between a man and his wife, to the more serious transgressions, of fornication, illegitimacy, adultery, polygamy, and divorces. Nor did they condescend to pause at a single point, until their interferences had imitated the frogs of Egypt, and intruded themselves, as they always do, into the houses, beds, bedchambers, cupboards, ovens, and kneading-troughs of the people. Their courts spread oppression and darkness throughout the empire, stretching an iron wing over the 'profanation of tombs, sacri-'lege, sorceries, idolatries, poisonings, the disobedience of chil-'dren towards their parents, the utterance of abuse and slander, 'lawsuits betwixt very near relations, and even the order and 'arrangement of municipal weights and measures.' Metropolitans frequently interposed between princes, more especially in the affair of appanages; and so far they checked the multiplication beyond certain bounds of nobles in moated castles, playing off the drama of King Stork upon a smaller and a smaller scale, until every district had become a petty sovereignty, and its lord a Nero in miniature. Slavery, nevertheless, flourished mightily, being maintained by protracted internal wars, and a state of perpetual conflict with the Asiatic hordes. Serfdom petrified the land.

Peter the Great could not leave the legislation of his country stationary; whilst, at the same time, he found himself powerless to endow it with a new code, as Napoleon afterwards did for another nation whose entire surface and framework had been shattered to pieces by recent revolution. Peter did what he was able to achieve, and displayed his practical wisdom in not aiming at more. He contented himself with re-modelling the

almost overwhelming congeries of antiquated customs and regulations. His successors down to the present autocrat framed commissions, and issued ukases for the same purposes, until at length, in 1833, was published under imperial authority the Swod, or a systematic collection of all the laws relative to the rights of citizens, and to most branches of public justice. The military laws remained to be collected, and this was ordered in the decree of the 31st of January, 1837. This military Swod, which embraces all the laws published and still in force, since the days of the great imperial reformer down to the 1st of May, 1838, is now completed, and became law on the 1st of January, 1840.

'Thus a work has been produced, which will be of the highest importance for the history of Russian civilization: it is a fixed level below which intelligence cannot fall, and it ensures the possibility of diffusing a true notion of justice. For the more a people becomes aware of its rights, the more sensible will it be of every attack upon them, and the more capable of weighing the advantages and disadvantages of all public measures. The establishment of the Swod will favor some growth, however gradual, of public opinion, and circumstances may render it a weapon for the attainment or the defence of political freedom.'—pp. 36, 37.

'The last reports of the Ministers of Justice and Public Instruction give valuable details on the moral and spiritual development of the empire. In proportion to the population, it would appear that there is a far smaller number of condemnations than in France. However, it is well known that the statistics of crime in Russia are not very accurately kept; besides, most of the crimes of the great body of serfs are not publicly punished, while the thinly-peopled expanses of the empire facilitate concealment. The belief in any superiority of morals over those of western Europe will be still more shaken when we reflect, that, according to a rough estimate, the four governments of Siberia contain about 100,000 convicts—many of whom, however, are for only political offences. But an edict, characteristic of Russian justice, was published in 1837, by which prisoners, *who were acquitted for want of proof*, were returned to their communes *in charge of the police;* but the communes might refuse to receive more than one-third of the number; in which case, *the others were sent to Siberia!* The rack is still in use, as a means of examination, if we are to believe the statements of the newspapers. In western Europe, education has been developed and fostered by a clergy who sprang from and belonged to the nation; and, in consequence, the system of popular schools has been universally diffused. But in Russia it is entirely an affair of government, and only calculated to meet the wants of the public service; so that it is not surprising that the higher branches of education should have been encouraged, to the neglect of the lower.'—pp. 60—62.

There are now in the empire six universities, several scientific in-

stitutions and academies, a good many lyceums, gymnasiums, and schools for the nobility. Petersburg possesses a noble academy of sciences; and at Kasan a college has been established for promoting the study of the oriental languages, which hopes some time or other to be the means of 'uniting the inhabitants of 'two quarters of the globe.' The instruction of the mass of the people, as might naturally be expected, is in a miserable state. 'With the exception of Poland, Finland, and the Cau-'casus, the proportion of learners to the whole population was 'only as one to two hundred and ten; and the increase of, at 'the utmost, 5000 scholars per annum is no very brilliant result. 'To encourage the educational body, the teachers of the middle 'and upper schools have been raised into a higher rank in the 'public service; and a general economical fund has been set 'apart for the whole civil establishment of instruction, so as 'to complete the centralization of the scholastic system, and 'to place in the hands of the minister a still greater power 'than he already possessed.' In fact, none know better than those at Moscow and St. Petersburg, that intellectual light once let in upon their political system would display in all its hideousness that *rudis indigestaque moles*, which stands like a Pyrenean range of wickedness betwixt Russia and the rest of the European world. Hence they are resolved to retain this lamp of Aladdin, *so long as they possibly can*, in their own hands, that they may let the scanty ray fall only where it may shine with safety for themselves: leaving unilluminated that thickness of darkness which seems the congenial region to which abuses and abominations resort for shelter, whether they belong to despotism, aristocracy, or the devil. There is not a movement made on behalf of literature and science in Russia, which does not become directly or indirectly chained to the chariot-wheels of the imperial power. Even the pupils in the upper and middle schools are concentrated, on every possible occasion, into boarding houses under governmental superintendence. The censorship has become as perfect a harpy as Celæno herself ever was, or as modern conservatism could desire: *una in præcelsâ consedit rupe;* and the moment any chance occurs of an intellectual banquet being spread before any portion of the public, high or low, in the metropolis or the provinces, down pounce the *obscœnæ diræque volucres* of the mental police, and defile the whole affair. Neither in the capitals, nor even at such an obscure and unconnected city as Archangel, are foreign papers, journals, or periodicals ever admitted, until they have been minutely examined; and all obnoxious passages are immediately blotted out with black paint, detestable to another sense as well as that of sight, besides the bodily fear induced by the menaces of enraged officials:

Diripiuntque dapes, contactuque omnia fœdant
Immundo: tum vox tetrum dira inter odorem!

Newspapers, indigenous to the country, either emanate from government, or altogether borrow their tone, language, and statements from head quarters. Poetry suffers least from meddling interferences, since of late its tendencies have been to kindle precisely that sort of enthusiasm which seems exclusively Sclavonian, and which therefore finds favor where even history itself would fail. Kryloff, the Æsop of Muscovy, has recently been honored with a decoration. His Fables are very popular, and form perhaps that mode of communicating information which slaves, orientals, and semi-barbarians can best understand. We were amused with one of them the other day, not a little characteristic as it is of the apprehensions entertained with respect to intellectual advancement. The sovereign of the infernal regions is introduced, with a thief and an author, each confined in a kettle, and placed respectively upon a roaring fire. As to the former, Satan lets the flame almost go out; whilst for the latter he heaps on fuel, and plies his bellows most laboriously and unmercifully. Whenever the persecuted author remonstrates against such manifest unfairness, pleading moreover the hardship and ingratitude of such returns, for his having instructed mankind in his day and generation, Lucifer assures him, that for this very reason he punishes him far more than the less mischievous robber, whose trespasses were of brief duration; whilst the injuries done by authorship might endure to all posterity! Autocracy need not fear conferring knighthood on such a son of Parnassus. Arts and sciences come in for their full share of jealousy, surveillance, and yet some apparent patronage. Government has contributed liberally to several geographical and geological enterprises. The Isaacs Church, too, will be completed this year,—an enormous ecclesiastical fabric, scarcely inferior in magnificence to the Vatican itself, and indeed on a scale of proportion similar to that phenomenon of architecture at Rome. Several other edifices of gigantic conception have been recently undertaken or finished; such as the famous winter-palace, which has revived like a phœnix from its ashes, as well as the still more remarkable Kremlin at Moscow.

Enormous works of this sort have always been erected in countries where oppression has subjugated millions to the will of one mind. The pyramids are instances in point, as well as the other marvellous monuments at Thebes, or Luxor, and generally along the banks of the Nile. Nicholas seems little more than an immense slave-proprietor, made up of Asiatic sympathies mingling with European characteristics. His subject masses

and myriads move with no freedom, although, in another sense, their country as a whole is rapidly progressive. The dominant principle with himself is to level and mould all domestic matters from the Baltic to the shores of Kamschatka into one type of Russian nationality and the infallible orthodoxy of the Greek church. Even the free patriarchal commonwealth of the Don Cossacks has been organized upon this scheme; and those lovers of tallow and train-oil profess themselves perfectly contented with the new state of things. 'The plan of macadam-'izing men may be beneficial in the Asiatic provinces where it 'raises their level, but in the same proportion it will lower that 'level on the German frontier, if applied to the more civilized 'people dwelling there. This policy has been exhibited in its 'naked ruthlessness towards the Poles, among whom self-'interest most strongly urged it, and who seemed to have the 'weakest claim for mercy. But through the long vistas of 'futurity, a doubt may be divined, whether the haste in dena-'tionalizing Poland has secured real speed; whether the inter-'position of a higher justice may not produce results which 'political cunning is little prepared for.' Meanwhile the compulsory study of the Russian tongue has been ordered. There is to come a time when polyphony shall cease amongst from threescore to fourscore millions of bondsmen. Nicholas entertains the idea, that forasmuch as their political state is one, their religion and language may as well be one and the same also. What else should be expected from the wearer of a crown, to which are attached in bonâ fide proprietorship, no less than 21,500,000 serfs,—both souls as well as bodies, according to Russian estimation? His nobility possess 23,000,000 more of these same sort of goods and chattels; with only the slight difference between the tyrant and the aristocracy which exists here between a man and his wife,—where 'all hers are his, 'and all his is his own!' Such are the naked facts of the case. These forty-four or five millions have to bear the bulk of taxation. Slavery is the Atlas upholding the social firmament of the Muscovite world. What will be the crash, when it falls,—since fall some day it must, that the throne of justice may be set up, and the golden sceptre of religion and liberty waved in glorious triumph over the wreck and ruin! Until, however, its doomed destiny arrive, both the diadem and coronet are trying to turn their human cattle to account, and make manufacturing machines of them. Brindley, the projector of the Great Junction Canal, informed our House of Commons that the Almighty had created and contrived natural rivers to feed navigable canals; and the Czar, with his magnates, impregnated with only half an analogous idea, are applying physical principles to politico-economical purposes. Much confusion, at no great

distance of time, may be anticipated. Many factories have been erected by the government; and many more by princes, counts, and barons. The greater concerns seem to be altogether passing into their hands. 'Many nobles have already 'succeeded by these means in clearing off the incumbrances 'from their vast estates, and so releasing themselves from their 'dependence on court favor. Their serfs are at once workmen 'and machines,' under the auspices of this singular spectacle of a twofold titled class, passing their nights in palaces and their days in counting-houses; all this, too, with an absolute master watching the entire concern, for the success of which none can be so deeply concerned as himself. Meanwhile the rapid multiplication of the nobility is a matter of much statistical interest. The European provinces contain within Russia alone about 540,000 hereditary, and 160,000 personal nobles, making up 700,000 individuals,—a seventieth part of the whole population. In Poland, there were in 1837 no less than 283,420 nobles, or about one fourteenth portion of her total inhabitants. Hungary, as is well known, presents a somewhat similar spectacle.

'The burgher-class in Russia is rising very gradually; for the inhabitants of the towns (exclusive of Poland), according to the last census, of the middle and lower classes, amounted to 4,175,869 persons; of which only 251,961 belonged to the commercial families, and 2,773,416 to the guilds of handicraft and tradesmen. The whole number of burghers in 1834, according to the journal of the home department, was 835,071. Five years later (1839) the entire number of Russian merchants was 36,617, of which only 889 were in the first guild, with a declared trading capital of £1,932,608; 1874 merchants were in the second guild, with £1,630,000; 33,808 were in the third guild, with a capital of £11,759,300; besides which there were 46 foreigners with a capital of £100,000. Add to these 5299 trading peasants, the nature of whose traffic is accurately defined by their trading certificate; only 22 of these belonged to the first two, the remaining 5277 fell into the third and fourth classes. In the class of peasants were included the military settlers and their families, the Cossacks, Calmucks, and Baschkirs; their united numbers were officially reckoned at 1,932,165. The same documents for that year gave 44,826,288 as the number of individuals belonging to the class of peasants; of which 21,463,993 were the property of the crown, and 23,362,595 belonged to different landed proprietors.'—pp. 180, 181.

With respect to spiritual matters, the emperor, as we have already perceived, is head of the Greek Catholic church, comprising within the limits of Russia Proper about nine-elevenths of the population, or 45,000,000. A religious war of conquest has been for nearly half a generation going forward against the Romanists, as well as the Armenians. The old Greek Roman

Union, on the terms that, retaining the Greek forms, the pope should be acknowledged supreme head of the church, arranged as far back as A.D. 1595 between Russia and Rome, has been lately annihilated. A similar combination for Little Russia shared the same fate near two hundred years since. By the ukase of the 5th of July, 1839, on this subject, the Vatican has lost nearly 4,000,000 of adherents; so that the papal allocution might well style it the 'most bitter and melancholy' event which has fallen out since the Reformation. This *heavy blow and great discouragement* 'will be felt in Europe, because 'all the life of Romanism is thus roused against Russia; because 'Austria is called on as the champion of Sclavonian Romanism; 'and because, while another rent has been thus made between 'political absolutism and the Roman church, the latter is forced 'to throw itself for support on public sympathy.' It must be borne in mind also, that in Hungary alone there are four millions of Greek Christians, besides those in Wallachia, Moldavia, Turkey, the new kingdom of Greece, and throughout the Mediteranean shores and islands. The clergy of the Greek church, within all the Russias, amount to upwards of 500,000 individuals,—awakening every day, it is to be trusted, from their torpor and gross superstition, as compared with past times, and not likely to forget that Russian eagles, as well as Roman and Austrian ones, have gleamed from the Alps upon the plains of Lombardy and Italy. The achievements of another Suwarrow, in some future European struggle, may be possibly directed more nearly against the Seven Hills and the Castle of St. Angelo,—whose religious subjects, under the auspices of the czar do not now exceed half a dozen millions. The Protestants may be stated at about 3,000,000; the Mahometans at 3,500,000; whilst Judaism, Lamaism, Fetishism, Schamanism, and Polytheism, divide the remainder. One can hardly fail feeling some degree of interest as to the recent efforts of the Bible Society, which Alexander so warmly patronized. Doctor Lyall observes, that 'the empire may not have been ripe enough to receive all 'the benefits anticipated from them by some; but a few seeds 'may fall into good ground, and in time may send forth blooming fruits amidst the widely-extended field of tares. Their 'effects may be looked for long after the present races shall 'have passed away from the face of the earth.'

We have only space left us for glancing cursorily at the Forces, the Finances, and the probable Foreign Policy of Nicholas and his immense empire. The two vast armies, existing down to 1835, have since that year been consolidated into one, with a considerably reduced staff in consequence. Its subdivisions consist of six corps of infantry, each 48,000 strong, with 12,000 cavalry attached to it, and 120 pieces of artillery.

Every corps has three divisions, each division two brigades, each brigade two regiments, and each regiment six battalions of 1000 men each: four of these last only take the field, the other two acting as reserves. The total active army, therefore, amounts to 360,000 men and 720 field pieces. Besides which, there are the guards in three divisions of infantry, one of artillery, and three more of cavalry; the grenadier corps, equal in strength to one of infantry; large reserves of mounted dragoons; and the independent regiments of Caucasus and Siberia. The entire peace establishment of the regular army, therefore, amounts to above 600,000 men, equivalent to one per cent. on the European population. The fleet comprises altogether 367 large and small ships of war, carrying 7,500 guns; including 48 ships of the line of from 110 to 74 guns, 39 frigates of from 64 to 44 guns, 94 corvettes, schooners, brigs, and cutters, 60 luggers and floating batteries, 15 war steamers, and 121 gunboats. These all tell well upon paper; but no nation can ever become an important maritime power without possessing a large commercial marine, in which a class of able-bodied and skilful seamen may be formed from their boyhood. Russia, with all her forces afloat, is at present like the genius of the Oriental tale, potent enough *if once let out*, but at the same time in reality locked up for all useful intents and purposes. The two keys of the coffer in which she is contained are the Sound and the Dardanelles. Her military colonies are principally in the south, and will render her frontiers impregnable on that quarter; but with regard to the effective force, which can ever be brought to act on the offensive, we conceive that no fears need be entertained with regard to ourselves. To act even offensively in confederacy with the other powers of Europe, she must be subsidized. Her credit has improved during the last eight or ten years; nor have her frequent loans, her failures in the Euxine, or the disasters in Circassia, at all impaired it. Her national debts are from £40,000,000 to £50,000,000 sterling, inclusive of some terminable annuities; as to the whole of which amount, the interest and sinking fund require about £3,000,000 per annum. Her entire imperial revenues, exclusive of Poland, would appear to reach at least £18,000,000 a year—sufficient for all necessary disbursements, when no foreign wars are being carried on. The gold-mines are supposed to be making considerable returns; but trade and commerce are doubtless doing much more. Hemp, flax, sailcloth, and cordage, form a fifth of the exports from Petersburg and Riga. Vineyards are on the increase, southward; and in 1835, the estimate of native wines was no less than 5,400,000 gallons. The tallow-trade renders grazing and cattle objects of great attention; and for the woollen exports, the Baltic sheep-walks, as well as those in

south and west Russia, are said to have undergone no slight improvement. The forests cover 486,000,000 acres of ground, of which 326,000,000 are crown property,—notwithstanding, too, that vast injury has been inflicted upon many of them through immoderate or injudicious cutting. The average export of timber may be stated at £400,000 per annum, of which at least a moiety comes to ourselves. Manufacturing skill is in its transitionary state, perhaps requiring factitious protection, until the different products attain greater excellence. The number of manufactories has augmented prodigiously, from 2270 in 1801, to 3724 in 1820, to 6450 in 1837, and to 6855 in 1838, employing 412,931 masters and workmen. Of these establishments 606 were for woollen goods, 227 for silks, 446 for weaving, 1918 for leather-dressing, 444 for candle-making, 486 for metallic hardware, and the rest for saltpetre, sugar, potash, chemical, color, tobacco, and paper works. The internal trade circulates through the means of such busy and crowded fairs as are held at Novogorod, whither goods are often brought to the value of nearly £8,000,000, of which at least one-tenth comes from China! The five other fairs of Korennaja, Irbit, Rostow, Kretchensk, and Romny, in the governments respectively of Kursk, Perm, Poltawa, and Jakutzk, presented wares, taken altogether, in 1838, to the estimated amount of £2,500,000. The total of Russian imports from foreign countries for 1838 came to something under £11,000,000, of which one-twelfth came by land; one-fourth consisted of consumables, one-half was for the use of manufactories, and one-fourth was manufactured goods. The gross exports for the year 1838 came to nearly £14,000,000, of which a fifth passes through Riga, a tenth through Odessa, a twentieth through Archangel and Taganrog.

As to Foreign Policy, the able diplomacy of the cabinet at St. Petersburg has grown into a proverb all over Europe. It cannot be reproached 'with losing by the pen what was won 'with the sword.' Scions of the aristocracy must consult national and not class interests there, or else they quickly find their way to the snows and wildernesses of Siberia.

'Nature herself seems to have traced the boundaries of a stupendous empire within the Baltic, the Icy Sea, the Ural Mountains, the Caspian, the Caucasian range, the Black Sea, and the Carpathians: in the west alone she left it open for the arms and policy of nations to diminish or increase its extent: for Siberia Proper can only be regarded as a wide and waste court-yard attached to the main edifice of the Russian state: but southern Siberia is capable of improvement, and will probably serve as a base of operations from whence European culture may penetrate into central Asia, which, though now benumbed, is not hopelessly dead. When the Russian power reached the gates

of the Caucasus, which were barred against it by the rude and proud independence of the mountain tribes, it could not but feel tempted both to burst through, and to pass round the obstacle. This natural boundary once overcome, the invading power flowed like water down its southern slope.'—pp. 93, 94.

Circassia still defies the Czar both in word and deed. General Weljaminow in 1837 demanded the unconditional surrender of her gallant inhabitants, assuring them that the British were deceivers, and asking them haughtily, 'whether they did not 'know that were the heavens even to fall, Russia had bayonets 'enough to prop them up?' However the best generals and regiments have hitherto failed in crushing these noble mountaineers; but ultimately, without question, the latter will have to give way; upon which they will be swept 'into the mighty 'stream of European existence, by which they are on all sides 'surrounded, and against which they set themselves in solitary 'grandeur, like the giant pinnacles of their native land.' Cracow still floats upon the tide of affairs, as a fragment of Poland; or rather of what it once was. Meanwhile Moldavia and Wallachia, Servia, Bosnia, and Monte Negro, are falling more or less under Russian influences. Nesselrode keeps a watchful eye upon all the members of the great and increasing Sclavonic family. He will try and exclude Austria, as far as possible, from the embouchure of the Danube, and interpose between her and the main territories of the Ottoman Porte. Towards France and Germany there would appear to exist a mingled feeling. Newspapers, in both those countries, receive Muscovite bribes; and towards the eastern provinces of Prussia the Czar manifests no favorable commercial policy, at all events. He is shutting them up from the mouths and regions of the Polish rivers, by opening an enormous road from the south-west angle of Poland to the Baltic. A railway has also been commenced, which will convey to the harbors of Windau and Libau all the commodities which formerly found their way to Tilsit and Memel. Russia evidently takes for the type of all these efforts our own more fortunate country. We are to prove, beyond other nations, the rival she chiefly fears: nor is the idea uncommon amongst many circles within the two metropolitan cities, that what the ocean is to Queen Victoria, the vast European and Asiatic continent is to Nicholas the First,—an area of enormous extent, where suitable preparations may be made for future triumphs and aggrandizements. Diplomacy, however, having history for its principal study, will bear in its recollection that whatever people can continue dominant at sea, will always in the long run culminate as to the general objects of its policy on land. The conflict of interests, meantime, between Great Britain and Muscovy become daily conspicuous

enough. Sweden and Norway, Turkey and Persia, Central Asia, China, and Japan, are the geese to be plucked, one after the other, as the game goes on. It remains to be seen who will get the most feathers, make the best supper, and repose the most soundly afterwards. The press is issuing its paper missives, war is casting his largest cannon, steam is blowing up its preparatory fires, and ambassadors are sinking mines and countermines in every conceivable direction. The Ottoman power may probably be suffered, through the operation of various causes, to waste away in slow consumption: but the states of Middle Asia will have to undergo a struggle, at once violent, complex, and uncertain. Toryism, now once more at the helm of our own affairs, no doubt gloats over the anticipated result. A moral lift, as Canning used to say, may be given to that system which promotes strong government, at the expense of liberalism and democracy. Nevertheless we are slow to believe that what Tacitus said of the Romans shall ever be correctly applied to ourselves: *ruitur omnibus in servitium!* Our hopes predominate over our fears. In going over, once and again, the universal history of mankind,—in looking back upon past follies, and forward upon the glowing, though perhaps shadowy prospects ultimately opening over the world, we rest our hopes, under divine providence, upon the middle classes of this and other countries, who, armed with the power of knowledge, and held in check by their own interests, shall build up a glorious fabric amidst the overthrow of despotisms and aristocracies! And until that era arrives, the eloquent and imaginative author of Ion, one of the finest dramas of the age, has taught us what to guard against:

> 'We must look *within*,
> For that which makes us slaves; on sympathies
> Which find no kindred object in the plain
> Of common life,—affections that aspire
> In air too thin,—and fancy's dewy film
> Floating for rest: for even such delicate threads
> Gathered by fate's engrossing hand, supply
> The eternal spindle, whence she weaves the bond
> Of cable strength, in which our nature struggles!'

Brief Notices.

Forget-Me-Not; a Christmas, New-Year's, and Birthday Present for 1842. Edited by Frederick Shoberl. London: Ackermann and Co.

This volume introduces itself to our notice by a characteristic preface, in which the editor moralizes with a somewhat amusing gravity on the changes to which all human affairs are liable, and the extent to which his own work has participated therein. It claims peculiar interest as one of the flowers of the season, from being, to use the somewhat complacent language of Mr. Shoberl, 'in point of literary merit, as in age, the *first* of the annuals.' The present volume constitutes the twentieth of the series, and is in every respect entitled to the same patronage which has been extended to its predecessors. Two or three subjects amongst its illustrations are better selected than usual, and are of a somewhat higher character. We notice particularly *The Surprise of Montrose* and *Louis the Eleventh at Plessis-les-Tours*, which have been illustrated by Allan Cunningham and Miss Lawrence with considerable talent, though there is somewhat of caricature in the early part of the former paper. The engravings are entitled to much the same commendation as formerly, whilst the literary contents are distinguished by much variety and skilful penciling. It will suffice to mention the names of James Montgomery, Charles Swain, Calder Campbell, Mrs. Gore, and Mrs. Sigourney, to assure our readers that they will find both entertainment and instruction from the perusal of the volume.

The Christian Souvenir. Edited by the Rev. Charles B. Taylor—The Scripture Illustrations by the Rev. Thomas Dale. London: Tilt and Bogue.

This volume answers fully to its title, as the slightest glance at its contents will show. A spirit of unaffected and deep piety breathes through every page, fully bearing out the statement of the editor, that, though designed for the lighter hours of the reader, 'it has been borne in mind that in the lightest hours of the christian reader his heavenly Father's presence is never forgotten.' The engravings, which are twelve in number, are all on Scripture subjects; and some of them are executed with great spirit and effect. The contributors to the volume are mostly clergymen of the Established Church, whose names will be a sufficient guarantee for the literary and religious excellence of their papers. Indeed, we are somewhat apprehensive that the great prominence throughout the volume of the latter quality will militate against its extensive circulation. It gives to it a grave and practical character somewhat out of keeping with the feeling which leads our young people to take up illustrated works. Practical treatises on religious subjects are of the greatest value, yet we doubt whether much good is effected by seeking to introduce them under the beautiful and attractive guise which they here wear. We hope we may be wrong in this conjecture, and heartily recommend the volume as a safe and useful companion.

The Domestic Management of the Sick Room. By Anthony Todd Thomson, M.D., F.L.S., &c., &c. pp. 506. Longman and Co. 1841.

In the volume before us, which is intended more especially for the perusal, or rather study, of the softer sex, the author 'has endeavored to convey that information which is essential to *aid* the medical treatment of disease, not to *cure* it.' Much is to be done in the sick chamber by means generally regarded as extra-professional, which may be readily understood and easily practised by attendants of ordinary competency; and which are in many instances of as much value to the patient as the sagest nostrum that was ever prescribed, albeit under the auspices of a gold-headed cane. We do not mean to underrate medical science and skill, but we *do* mean to contend that these derive their full efficiency in the treatment of disease only as they have the co-operation of suitable domestic management; which, it is too obvious, is but little understood by those to whom it is usually assigned. Dr. Thomson's work is a plain and concise compendium of the duties to which we refer; we therefore recommend it as an available antidote for much of the embarrassment to which they are frequently exposed who have the charge of invalids; and as a book of reference in cases where medical aid is instantly required but cannot be as promptly obtained. The subjects of which our author treats are necessarily numerous, and *generally* of sufficient importance to deserve grave consideration; but we should direct the attention of the *English* reader more especially to the remarks on 'ventilation,' 'bathing,' and 'administration of medicines.' Dr. Thomson might have given *the profession* a more scientific work, but he could not have exerted his abilities with more advantage to the public at large.

A Dictionary of the Art of Printing. By William Savage, Author of Practical Hints on Decorative Printing, and of a Treatise 'on the Preparation of Printing Ink, both Black and Colored.' London: Longman and Co.

This is a work of immense labor and of great utility, upon which the author has been employed, directly or indirectly, upwards of fifty years. His opportunities for collecting the requisite materials have greatly exceeded those of most men, whilst his diligence and skill are amply proved by the publication before us. The object of the volume, as stated by the author, 'was that of making a purely practical work: one that might meet every exigence of the printer whilst in the exercise of his art, and one that would serve as a book of reference to the author, the librarian, and in fact to every one interested in books or their production.' Every branch of the art of printing is treated with fulness, the details and illustrations being admirably adapted to subserve the practical aim of the author. Mr. Savage has supplied what was previously much needed, and his volume is so complete as to prevent all fear of his labors being superseded. We strongly recommend it as a book of reference to those who are interested in such matters.

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